THE

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A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

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LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, &c., &c.,

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THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

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VOLUME XXIII.—1894.

THE DEVIL WORSHIP OF THE TULUVAS.

FROM THE PAPERS OF THE LATE A. C. BURNELL.

I.

Preface by Major R. C. Temple.

IN 1882 my former friend and correspondent **Dr. A. C. Burnell** died, and when his library was dispersed in 1883, I secured, through the kind offices of Mr. Quaritch, the MSS. which I now publish. They are bound together in a volume[1] of 325 leaves of large quarto writing-paper of various qualities, written generally on both sides, making up altogether 650 pp.

There are in addition ten colored plates of devil-dancers by native artists, which have been reproduced for me by Mr. Griggs, and will be found in their appropriate places later on.

The title of the book as published is that given by Burnell on the cover of his MSS.

The contents of the volume are best described generally in the words of a note, in Burnell's handwriting and signed by him, found on the fly leaf at the commencement:—

"This contains a collection of the Tuḷu incantations, used at the ceremonies of Bhûta worship as practised in South Canara, and which are chanted by the *pombaḍas* or priests. The first 5 are from Dr. Mögling's MS. (at Mangalore). The next 5 were written down by a Tântrî (Tuḷu Brâhmaṇ), at the Mangalore *tahsîldâr's* request, for me. The remainder were collected by agents I sent to different places, and several were dictated by a blind *pombaḍa*, named Kânta, who also gave me information as to where other such compositions could be heard. They are all oral and contain many words not now in use. The *pombaḍas* are very averse to reciting them to strangers. The figures[2] shew the dress of the priest who dances, and who is supposed to personate the Bhûta. They are from actual observation by people in my service.—A. Burnell."

The contents are really as follows: —

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[1] The cover having been partially eaten by rats, I was obliged to have the volume rebound.
[2] *i. e.*, the illustrations. [3] The numbers refer to MS. *leaf* numbers.
[4] I follow the MS. strictly throughout.
[5] This seems, however, to be part of the preceding story, and the versified version is followed by one in prose.

(6)	Kodamaṇatâyana-sandi	124
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In addition to the above I found, loose among the MSS. leaves and wrapt up in an English-Kanarese Form of the Public Works Department,[7] two documents, which are of great interest in the present connection.

One of them is **a note in Burnell's handwriting**, in half margin, **of a Bhûta festival he witnessed from the 23rd to the 26th March, 1872, at Mangalore, in** the house of "Dhûmappa, bard of the Billava Caste." This note is accompanied by a running commentary in the other half margin from the hand apparently of some member of the well-known Basel Mission there. It is endorsed on the outside in blue pencil:— "Not yet made any use of. — **Joh. Hesse.**"

The other document is a **"description" of the same ceremony "as witnessed by A. C. B. and J. H."**[8] in Burnell's handwriting, and evidently intended by him for publication. It may have been actually published somewhere, for all I know to the contrary. It is enclosed in a blue official envelope and endorsed: — "Dr. A. Burnell with Monier Williams' best thanks and kind regards."[9]

The illustrations relate to the following stories, and were found in the following leaves of the MSS. :—

(1)	Jumâdi-pârdano	1
(2)	Pañjarli	10

[6] No rendering at all is given of this short tale.

[7] "Statement No. 2, shewing the particulars of expenditure under the South Canara District, for the official year 1880-81." This paper is superscribed in pencil in a German hand "Burnell's Bhuten." I have had it now inserted in a pocket in the new binding.

[8] That is, doubtless, "Joh. Hesse."

[9] And again by myself :—" Look this up and see if it can be made into a paper in connection with Burnell's MSS. of Tulu incantations.— R. C. T. —7-11-84."

Having thus described the papers in detail, I will now state the steps taken to make them available for those interested in such matters.

Burnell's note at the opening of the volume shewed that the text was probably of great linguistic value, and that it had taken him years to make a collection such as, most likely, can never now be made by another hand. The seclusion in which the Tuḷuvas live, further makes it probable that they have preserved that devil-worship, on which so much popular Hinduism is everywhere based, in greater purity than it is perhaps preserved anywhere else. It, therefore, seemed to me important to preserve the contents of the MSS. from possible destruction by publishing them, but here difficulties sprang up.

The number of persons of culture, who know anything of the Tuḷuvas and their language, is necessarily very small, and, unfortunately, although all but two stories, *viz.*, No. 21 of one page only, and the last at p. 312 ff. in the MSS., had been translated for the collector, the text, though very clear and admirably written, was in the Kanarese character introduced by the Basel Mission for printing Tuḷu,[11] excepting pp. 123-133 and the proverbs, which were in a plain, though untidy, Malayâḷam script. It, therefore, became obvious that only a person well acquainted with Tuḷu would be able to reproduce the text to any practical use. I, therefore, applied in 1886 to the late Rev. A. Männer of the Basel Mission for help, asking him to transliterate any of the stories, which, in his judgment, contained peculiarities of language. Probably all are worth, or will be in time worth, transliterating, but he selected only Nos. 1, 11, 16, 24, 25, and 26 for transliteration. In addition to this work, he very kindly made a number of variants in the translations of Burnell's employès, apparently by way of corrections of mistakes, and added an original text and translation "on the origin of demons," a long note "on Bhûtas," and some long variants of the stories given by Burnell.

The last of Mr. Männer's invaluable contributions was received in 1887, and ever since then I have been looking out unsuccessfully for a competent editor for the MSS., endowed with the leisure requisite for publishing them in the manner they deserve. At last I have decided to give them to the public with such explanations, as Burnell's own notes and papers, Mr. Männer's contributions, and such books as are at my command, enable me to make.

As the South Kanara volume of that most excellent series of books, the *Madras District Manuals*, has not yet been issued, it is, I find, exceedingly difficult to obtain, at first hand, any trustworthy account of the Tuḷuvas, although the missions at Mangalore and elsewhere are of long standing. Their country occupies the central portion of the South Kanara district, and their language seems to be now spoken by about half a million people.[12] Bishop Caldwell, with some hesitation, classes Tuḷu among the cultivated Dravidian languages, on the ground that, though it was unwritten, until the Basel Mission began to teach the people after 1834 how to write it in Kanarese and Malayâḷam characters, and to print it in the former, it had been very carefully cultivated by the reciters of poetry and prose; and he remarks frequently on its exceeding interest from the philological point of view. He describes the Tuḷuvas as the most conservative of the Dravidian peoples, and asserts, that in spite of the want of a written

[10] Two illustrations.
[11] Männer, *Tuḷu-English Dict.* p. iii.
[12] Hunter, *Gazetteer of India*, says, *s. v.*, by 426,222 in 1881, and, *s. v.* South Kanara, by 180,000 (!). Caldwell, *Dravidian Grammar*, p. 35, estimated it at 300,000 in 1875.

literature, their language shews no signs of disappearing,[13] which facts are of importance in the present connection, as tending to prove that the rites of the Tuḷuva Devil-worship are not only ancient in themselves, but are accurately preserved from ancient times.

One feels tempted to descant at length on the many affinities, as exhibited in the contents of the MSS. now published, that the Tuḷuva Bhûta cult presents to demonolatry generally and to the non-Brahmanic worship of the lower classes throughout the Madras Presidency; but, I think, in a work like this it is best to let the book speak for itself, and I, therefore, abstain from doing more at present than giving a few references to the books throwing special light on the present subject, which have come to my knowledge.

For the language, there are Brigel's *Tuḷu Grammar*, 1872, and Männer's *Tuḷu Dictionary*. 1886, and, of course, Caldwell's great work, *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, 1875.

For the people and their religion, the best account available, so far as I know, is that in Caldwell's *Grammar*, Appendices IV. to VII. pp. 541 ff. to the end of the book, especially that portion of them, in which he reproduces a considerable portion of his *Shânârs of Tinnevelly* (pp. 585 ff.). One of the points in the stories that follow, which will prominently strike the reader conversant with Hinduism as a whole, is **the strong hold that modern Brahminism has now obtained over the minds of the Tuḷuva Bhûta-worshippers,** and the acuteness with which their practices have been bent towards Hinduism pure and simple. Bishop Caldwell's remarks as to this at pp. 548 ff. are well worth study.

That the Tuḷuva **form of worship,** as recorded by Burnell, is **not confined to the Tuḷuvas,** even in its very terminology, is proved by the statements made by Rice, in his *Mysore and Coorg*, 1878, Vol. I. p. 366, Vol. III. p. 261, where we have, in these neighbouring Native States, such words given as, *kûli, kûli-kola, kutta, kuli-koṭa*; Pañchabhûta, Pañjuruli, Châmuṇḍi, Kulluruti, Guliga, Goraga ; — terms and names, which will soon become familiar to the reader of these tales.

In Stuart's *Manual of the Tinnevelly District*, 1879, pp. 16-20, are to be found some valueable remarks on **the Shânârs** and their demonolatry, mostly taken from statements by Bishop Caldwell, to whom indeed most of the information on this subject in the books I have been able to consult is ultimately traceable.[14]

The Billavar, or toddy-drawing class, is, in the Tuḷu country, apparently that chiefly given to Bhûta-worship, and its **close connection with the Shânârs** of other districts is quaintly shewn in that curious compilation, *Gazetteer of Southern India*, 1855, p. 546, in describing "Canara," of which I give an extract:—

"The Billawars are by profession drawers of toddy from palm-trees, and correspond with the Tiers of Malabar and Shanars of Tinnevelly. Twenty years ago [*i. e.*, 1835] the females of a degraded caste of **Holiers** used to come into Mangalore with no other covering, but some thick branches of a bush tied to their waist in front and the same behind. They have now [1855] substituted a cloth for the leaves in front.[15] The worship of evil spirits is almost universal among the Hindoo inhabitants, who are not Brahmins or of other superior caste. Places of worship, which are stones dedicated to them, are to be frequently seen in the fields, and every village has its temple. There are persons of the Holiza [? Holiya] caste, who, on the occasion of the feasts, perform the service and are supposed to be possessed by evil spirits. They have their hair loose and flowing and carry a sword which they brandish about, jumping, dancing and trembling in the most frightful manner. Sometimes a rope is tied round their waist and they

[13] *Dravidian Grammar*, pp. 35, 36.

[14] I may as well note that this distinguished writer's *History of Tinnevelly*, 1881, is, from its scope, useless for the present purpose.

[15] The Holeyas (scavengers) frequently appear in Burne ' pages.

are held like infuriated wild animals." It will be seen, therefore, that the examination of Shânâr ceremonies side by side with those of the Billavars of "Tuḷu-land" becomes important.

The subjoined list of scattered notices of customs identical with or similar to those noted in the pages that follow may prove useful to the student.[16]

Walhouse, *Archæological Notes, ante,* Vol. III. pp. 191 f.

Yule, *Marco Polo,* ii. 53-61.

Brian Hodgson, *J. A. S. B.* xviii. 728 ff.

Mouhot, *J. R. G. S.* xxxii. 147.

Narasimiyengar, *Bhûtas of Nagara Malnâd, ante,* Vol. I. p. 282 f.

Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal,* 232.

Marshall, *Phrenologist among the Todas,* p. 186 ff.

Before closing these remarks I would draw attention to **the remarkable likeness, both in form and contents, of the Bhûta stories of Southern India to the tales and legends told of saints and heroes in Northern India,** as detailed in my *Legends of the Pañjâb* and similar collections.

II.

ON BHUTAS.

By the late Rev. A. Männer.

According to the imagination of the people, in the Kanara District, the Tuḷu country is especially fitted for **demons,** which, they say, are partly **created by God,** like the **Pañjurli,** and partly **sprung from men,** like the **Beiderlu.** There are several kinds of them, mostly thought to be flying about in the air. Some are, however, considered to be residing in certain places, in houses, gardens, &c. While some are family Bhûtas, others are village Bhûtas, and others, again, are only to be found in connection with certain temples.

Very often **a stone of any shape, or a small plank,** is placed on the ground, or fixed into a wall, and **the name of a Bhûta is given to it.** Other representations of Bhûtas are in the shape of an ox **(Mahîsândâya),** a horse **(Jârândâya),** a pig **(Pañjurli),** or a giant **(Beiderlu).**

A peculiar small goglet made of bell-metal, into which from time to time water is poured, is kept before the Bhûtas, and on special occasions *kepula* flowers (*Ixora coccinea*) and lights are placed before them. On festival days cakes, boiled rice, and such like offerings are similarly placed before them to please them and to win their favour, and it is considered also that a drum, gong, or bell is required for their amusement. In the larger *sthânas,* or temples, a sword is always kept near the Bhûta, to be held by the officiating priest, when he stands possessed by the Bhûta and trembling with excitement before the people assembled for worship.

The family Bhûtas are worshipped by the families among whom they reside. **In every Sûdra**[17] **house** a room, sometimes only a corner, is set apart for the Bhûta, and called the **Bhûta-koṭya.**

The village Bhûtas are said to reside in **sânas or sthânas,** and are **worshipped by all the Sûdras of the village.** These *sthânas* are temples, built in solitary places, and are large and substantial, or small and dilapidated, buildings, according as the Bhûtas residing in them are considered to be powerful or otherwise.

The Beiderlu are the departed spirits of two Billavar[18] **heroes,** named **Koti Beidya**

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[16] Almost every *Madras Manual* may be looked up with profit for this purpose.

[17] A man of the servile caste. *Tuḷu Dict., s. v.* But see Caldwell, *Dravidian Grammar,* p. 547.

[18] Billavar = Shannan = toddy-drawer. Kitts, *Compendium of Castes.*

and **Chennaya Beidya.** It is also said that a **Bant**[19] of the name of **Kujumba Kāñje** died, and has since become a demon of the class to which the Beiderlu belong, and is, therefore, now included among them. The temple set apart for the Beiderlu to reside in is called a **garudi.**

There is another kind of demon called **Brâhmara, Berma,** or **Brâhmarâkshasa.** He is said to reside in forests, or amidst a group of trees, and *sthânas* are built for him in such places. These are called **Berma-sthânas.** The difference between this demon and the other Bhûtas lies in the fact that the officiating priest must be a Brâhmaṇ, whilst for all the other Bhûtas, any Billavar is entitled to become an officiating priest, if he is so inclined. This Berma-demon does not receive *nêma, kola,* or any such kind of worship; but the Brâhmaṇ goes to the Berma-sthâna occasionally — at the new-moon and such festivals — and offers *pûja* there, just as he would at the shrine of any other Hindu god. People of other castes bring offerings of fruits and flowers and cocoanuts and plantains, etc., at the same time.

There are also **Bhûtas connected with temples,** and the place set apart for them is called a **gudi. These are considered to be the attendants of the god** of the temple, and receive no kind of worship. But the officiating priest of the god pours some holy water (*tîrtha, i. e.,* the water in which the god has been washed) and puts some flowers and sandalwood paste (*i. e.,* the *prasâda*)[20] on the stones representing them. In some places the priest does this daily, in others it is done once a fortnight or on special occasions only.

The Holeyas, or Pariahs of South Canara, **worship a Bhûta** of their own, who is not recognised by any other class of the people. He goes by the name of the **Kumberlu,** and the place where he is said to reside is called **Kumberlu-koṭya.**

The Bhûtas who reside in sthânas, and the Beiderlu who resides in the *garudi,* receive homage and worship from all the the 'Sûdras of the village where the *sthâna* is. The **worship offered to these** demons is of four kinds, *viz.,* **kola, bandi, nêma and agelu-tambila.**

Kola is offered to the Bhûtas in the *sthâna* of the village, in which they are supposed to reside. The Sûdras of the village, and of those adjacent to it, assemble near the *sthâna,* and witness the *kola* ceremony in public, sharing the cost of it by subscriptions, raised among all the 'Sûdra families in the village in which the ceremony is held.

Bandi is a *kola,* with the addition of dragging about a clumsy kind of car, on which the *pombada,* or priest, representing the Bhûta, is seated.

Nêma is a private ceremony in honor of the Bhûtas, held in the house of any one who is so inclined. It is performed once in ten, fifteen or twenty years by well-to-do Billavars or Baṇṭs. The expenses of the *nêma* amount to about Rs. 600 or Rs. 700, and are borne by the master of the house in which the *nêma* takes place. The giver of the feast is obliged by custom to feed all the people of his caste who assemble at his house during the whole time that the ceremony lasts, which is usually from three to five days. He is also obliged to give presents of uncooked food and fruits, etc., to all who are prohibited from partaking of his food by their caste-customs. But he is partly, and sometimes fully, compensated by the presents, which are given to him by his fellow-castemen, and by the offerings brought to the Bhûtas.

During the *nêma,* the Bhûtas, *i. e.,* the things representing them, are brought from the *sthâna* to the house of the man giving the feast, and remain there till it is over.

The rites and ceremonies, etc., in all the three kinds of worship, known as *kola, nêma,* and *bandi,* are similar.

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[19] The Baṇt, Baṇti and Baṇta of these texts appear to mean a man of the Balija or trading caste. See Kitts, *Compendium of Castes.*

[20] Flowers are used in adorning the god, and sandalwood rubbed on a flat stone and formed into a paste is applied to it. The paste and the flowers are afterwards considered to be sacred and are given to the worshippers, who reverently put them on their heads. The whole, flowers and paste, are called *prasadâ.*

Agelu-tambila is a kind of worship offered only **to the Beiderlu,** and that **annually by the Billavars only.** The ceremonies connected with this worship are as follow:—

On a fixed day all the Billavars of a village go to the *garudi,* taking with them about seven *sers* of rice, various kinds of vegetables, *ghî,* curry-stuff, and other necessaries for the feast. The rice is boiled, and a curry prepared of the vegetables so brought, mixed with plenty of *ghî,* in the *garudi* itself. No fish or flesh of any kind may be used. The rice and curry are then served on three plantain leaves, one for each of the three heroes, Koti Beidya, Chennaya Beidya, and Kujumba Kâñje, and placed before them. Saffron-water, made red by the addition of a little lime, is sprinkled on the food thus served. Three lighted torches are then stuck in the rice, one on each leaf. After this, the assembled multitudes pray to the Beiderlu to be pleased with their offerings and to grant them prosperity. When the prayer is over, the food above mentioned is distributed among the worshippers, including portions for those who are absent, which are taken to them by their relatives or friends. In this way every one has a share of the sacred food, or *prasâda.*

It will be seen, then, that *kôḷa, bandi* and *nêma* are applicable to all the Bhûtas, including the Beiderlu, but that the *agelu-tambila* is applicable only to the Beiderlu.

There is yet another kind of worship, called **tambila,** which is offered every year **by the master of every Sûdra household to his family-Bhûtas,** who invites as many of his relatives or castemen as he wishes to receive. Some cocks are brought and sacrificed in honor of the Bhûtas, and are then used in making a curry. Cakes and other dainties are also prepared, and there is a family feast on the good things collected.

III.

Description of a Bhûta incantation, as practised in South Kanara (Madras Presidency), witnessed by A. C. B. and J. H., on March 23rd, 1872, at Mangalore.

In all parts of the Madras Presidency most of the purer Dravidian tribes, which it is generally the fashion to term the "lower castes," invoke as objects of worship beings, which really have no place in the Hindu Pantheon, and which bear purely Dravidian names. **This worship prevails very extensively in Tinnevelly and South Kanara, and extends even to Ceylon.** How far the beings worshipped are the same is doubtful. Some, *e. g.,* **Kutti-Kâttan** (Will-o-the-wisp or Corpse-candle), are feared over the greater part of Southern India.

This primitive religion is now no longer neglected by the self-styled "higher castes," which formerly merely tolerated, but now almost respect the barbarous rites; while some philanthropic Brâhmaṇs labour to persuade the people that their gods are **Bhûtas,** or attendants on 'Siva. These influences are apparent in the classification of the rites, which are *dêva-kriyâ* or *âsurakriyâ,* according as offerings are, or are not, made to the Bhûta. As the aboriginal "**Pêyi**" has been changed into "**Bhûta,**" so these rites have now a Sanskrit name, **nêma** (*i. e.,* **niyama**), and they are **sâna** (*i. e.,* **sthâna**) or **illêchchhida,** according as they are performed at a temple or in a house, though in both cases it is said that there is no difference in the performance.

The ceremony at which we were present is of the second kind, and was celebrated by the head-man of the **Billavar** (*i. e*, toddy-drawers) caste, once in about twenty years. The expense, five hundred to a thousand rupees, falls on him, but he is partly compensated by gifts from the people who attend. Europeans have so often failed to get a sight of these rites, that, even after permission had been given us and we had accordingly attended, it seemed questionable whether we had really seen the ceremony or had been imposed upon, and it was only after questioning a Bhûta priest, now a Christian, that we found out that what we saw was really the ceremony, and, therefore, we can confidently put forward this account of it.

On reaching, at about 9 p. m., the head-man's house in the native town [of Mangalore], we found a large ornamented shed erected in front of the house and in the garden, open on all sides, except the southern, where was erected a kind of altar, consisting of three benches placed so as to form three steps, and covered with a white cloth. In the middle of this was made a sort of shrine, or canopy, with a common lamp burning inside. On the three steps or ridges were garlands, and brass images of the five Bhûtas to be invoked that night, brought from the temple for that purpose. These were (1) **Jârandâya**, (2) **Sâra-jumâdi**, (3) **Kântanetri-jumâdi**, (4) **Marlu-jumâdi**, and (5) **Pañjurli**. The last mentioned has the form of a hog; the others are hideous deformed figures. About six feet in front of the altar was a common wooden tripod about two feet high, and on it a frame made of plantain stems, which contained a mass of rice, coloured with turmeric, and in which a three-branched iron lamp was stuck. The space in front of this was kept clear for persons making offerings and for the performers. The worshippers usually squat all round, forming a sort of ring.

On this occasion about 1,500 persons were present, and some had come from a distance of more than 30 miles! We were asked to sit down at the end opposite to the altar.

The performance commenced by the entry into the open space of **two men of the Billavar caste**, of whom one represented **Jârandâya**, and the other his dumb servant **Jumâdi Baṇṭi**. They were dressed with a fillet round the head and bangles on the ankles, such as dancing-girls wear. They held a highly ornamented sword upright in their left hands and a brass bell in the right, and walked up and down the open space, attended by fan and umbrella-bearers, and under a portable canopy. The one who represented Jârandâya quivered hysterically in every muscle and from time to time rung his bell slowly, and occasionally rested the bell which was heavy, on his shoulder. It was the belief of the worshippers that he did so, because he was **possessed by the demon Jârandâya.**

After about half an hour the *pombaḍa* actors appeared. These had their faces thickly painted with ochre, and were covered with a long fringe of cocoa leaves.[21] The *pombaḍa* representing Jârandâya wore a *kirîta*, or semi-circular ornament, over the head and shoulders, just like that which we see in the brass idols sold in the bazaars. Both had a sword, with blade like that of a Malay *kris*, and a bell. The two parties continued dancing for a while, and then the Billavar representing Jârandâya resigned the charge of the ceremony to the *pombaḍa*, by taking in each hand some flowers and betel leaves and throwing them over the other. In this manner, **the demon was transferred from the Billavar to the pombaḍa actor.** He at once commenced dancing furiously, howling and ringing his bell, while the incantation of the origin and deeds of the demon he represented were sung in Tuḷu to an accompaniment of tom-toms and horns, and similar noisy instruments, all of which, together, produced a most hideous din.

After the incantation was over Jârandâya **put on a metal mask**, and his servant held in his hand a similar mask with a pig's snout to it. The dancing then became very violent, and the performers, who had evidently already indulged in intoxicating liquors to a great extent, became plainly hysterical. Meanwhile the devotees offered cocoanuts and plaintains, etc., at the tripod.

The incantation of Jârandâya[22] may be literally translated from the Tuḷu as follows: —

"On a Tuesday at noon, **the hero Jârandâya** came to the Atrel ferry, riding on a white horse and holding a white umbrella. He ordered the ferry-man, **Kunya**, to bring the ferry-boat. The ferry-man replied that the boat did not belong to him, that he was not to get the fare, and that the boat had been kept by one **Koṭe Bâle Bermaṇe**[23] for crossing the river on Tuesdays and Sundays.

"'No matter, if the boat is kept by him for crossing the river; I will give you the proper fare. Bring the boat to this side,' said Jârandâya.

[21] With the flowers of the areca palm according to Mr. Manner.

[22] This is practically text No. 5 in the MSS.

[23] That is, 'the Brâhman.'

"As soon as he had said this, the ferry-man brought the boat.

"'Tender cocoanuts and cocoanut leaves are very dear in Kulur and Mulki. Therefore, I am going to a village where there are tender cocoanuts and milk,' said Jârandâya.

"He got into the boat. The boat moved on. It came to the middle of the river. It whirled round and round. Jârandâya murdered the ferry-man Kunya.

"He proceeded further and entered the bodies of Koṭe Bâle Bermaṇe, of a weeping child and a lowing calf. Wondering what this could be, he (Koṭe Baḷe Bermaṇe) sent for one **Maiyya Bermaṇe.** The latter looked into the *praśna*-book.[24] He found that a demon of the name of Jârandâya had arrived in the village from the south. A she-buffalo, together with her calf, were offered to the demon Jârandâya.

"There was a guard in the demon's *gudi.* Jârandâya was known by three names, *viz.*, **Jârandâya of the sthâna, Jârandâya of the kottige** (*i. e.*, the cow-shed), and **Jârandâya of the Chavadi.**"

"Vishṇu's flag with the figure of *garuḍa* was raised. The feast began. The yard was full of people. The *guḍi* was full of lamps. The demon Jârandâya settled himself in the place."

After the incantation the following dialogue took place between the *pombaḍa* representing Jârandâya and the headman :—

Pombada. "I ask you people of this village and caste, shall I, with joy, enter into this Pombaḍa ?"

Head-man and some of the people. "Yes, with joy !"

Pombaḍa. "Who are present of those who do not belong to this caste ?"

Head-man. "There are some Brâhmaṇs here. There is also the judge-*sâḥib* of this place, and one of the Pâdres,[25] &c., &c. All these have come with joy."

Pombaḍa. "Well, give them presents. Are there none here, who have come from far places ?"

Head-man. "There are some from Mulki, &c., people of this caste."

Pombaḍa. "Give them to eat."

After this, the demon Jârandâya, through the *pombaḍa* of course, asked for food. Heaps of rice, cocoanuts, &c., were presented to him. Also twelve fowls were killed and given to the *pombaḍa.* He bit them and gave them away to his caste people. After having touched some of the food, he washed his hands, besmeared them with powdered sandal-wood, and, sitting down on a stool, took the sword and bell into his hands, which he had put down before taking the food. Then he rose from the stool and asked :—"What was your object in celebrating this festival ?" The head-man explained that it was performed in accordance with a vow, and asked his blessing. The *pombaḍa* said :— "It is all well. I shall perform everything to your satisfaction."

Then the *pombaḍa* who represented Jârandâya, again, commenced to tremble and quake hysterically, and, rolling his bloodshot eyes, gave out his oracles. Every one was addressed according to his rank, and if the miserable medium (as a bystander informed us) offends a rich Baṇṭa by omitting any part of his yard-long titles, he is made to suffer for it.

The performance continued as long as the medium could hold out, and then recommenced in similar style with the representation of the second Bhûta. It took three days and nights to finish the series of the five Bhûtas. And certainly the performer fairly earned the eight rupees, which were paid to him for his heavy work!

24 Work on astrology.

25 *i. e.*, Dr. Burnell and the Rev. Joh. Hesse.

IV.

Extracts from Burnell's Notes, and the Commentary thereon,[26] made after witnessing the foregoing ceremonies.[27]

The festival was held on March 23rd, 1872, and the three succeeding nights at Mangalore in the house of Dhûmappa, head of the Billavar caste. B.[28]

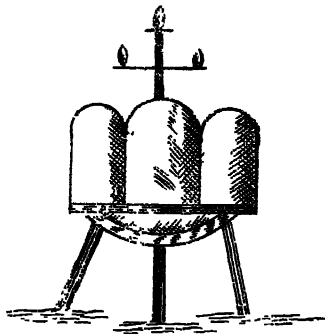
This festival is not an annual one, but occurs only once in fifteen to twenty years in fulfilment of some previous vow. Its proper name is **Illêchchhida-nêma,** which means a festival belonging to one house only, in contradistinction to the annual festival, which is celebrated in the Bhûta-temple, and is, therefore, called **Sânada-nêma. Nêma** is a Tuḷu Brahmanism for the Skr. **niyama.** The Illêchchhida-nêma lasts for five nights, from Friday to Tuesday. C.

The festival begins at about 7 or 8 p. m., and consists of a pantomimic representation of the stories told of the Bhûtas, who are then supposed to inspire the actor and enable him to foretell events. Two castes take part in this, the **Billavar** and the **Pombaḍa.** The first is the highest and will not drink spirits; so that up to a certain time, a double representation is necessary. B.

The altar used is called **tiruvayana.** C.

The five images are called together *bhaṇḍâra* (= *sâhiḷya*); and are named (1) **Jârandâya,** (2) **Sâra-jumâdi,** (3) **Kântanetri-jumâdi,** (4) **Marlu-jumâdi,** and (5) **Pañjurli.** Every article used on the altar is taken from the temple for the purpose. C.

About six feet in front of this is a common wooden tripod about two feet high. On this is a square frame formed of cocoa leaves (really of some part of the trunk of the plantain. C.), and in it a pyramid of (boiled. C.) rice and turmeric (to colour the rice. C.), into which a three-branched iron lamp is stuck, thus: — B.



In front of this are placed the offerings. Fowls and (?) goats (in the **âsurakṛiyâ**) are decapitated and the warm blood drunk by the officiating priest. B.

I am informed by a former Bhûta-priest, now a Christian, that no offerings or sacrifices are made at the **dêvakṛiyâ,** because the *dêva* is not supposed to need any food. At the *âsurakṛiyâ* fruits and chiefly fowls are offered. A Billava priest kills the fowl and then gives it to a *pombaḍa,* who bites it at once and then gives it to his fellow caste-people, who eat it. All this is confirmed by my *munshî,* a Brâhmaṇ. C.

The Billavar Jârandâya resigns charge of the ceremony to the *pombaḍa* (by taking in each hand some flowers and betel leaf and throwing it over the other) who commences dancing furiously, howling, and ringing his bell. B.

[26] See *ante*, p. 2.

[27] It is not worth while to give the whole of the notes, as the "description" was clearly made up from them.

[28] B. means Burnell: C. means the Commentary.

Flowers and rice, *pûvarri or hûakki*, are thrown on the *pombaḍa*, as the means of transferring the Bhûta from one person to another. There is a Canarese and Tuḷu proverb — "throwing flowers on a Bhûta," which is applied to a man provoked into a fury by some remark. C.

The Bhûta stories are sung, not by the man possessed by the Bhûta, but by some other person, male or female: frequently by the wife of the *pombaḍa* representing the Bhûta. C.

There is in Mangalore, and not far from the place where the ceremony which I saw was conducted, **a stone called Guttyamma,** before which a ceremony is performed once in 60 years (once in 19 years, and a former Bhûta-priest told me it had taken place thrice in his life time. C.). The stone is said to tremble sympathetically with the medium, as he dances. This cyclic festival occurred last in 1871.[29] Both ceremonies are largely attended, not only by the members of the two castes given to this worship, but by Baṇṭas also and even Brâhmaṇs, who seem to regard it as an excellent entertainment and a laudable usage. At the festival to-day (23rd March 1872) several persons had come from Mulki in order to be present. B.

This stone **(Guttyamma),** placed between two temples which are situated near one another, **belongs to the Malayaḷam-speaking Billavars in Mangalore.** The festival is called **Kalliyâṭa.** Oil is poured over the stone, etc.

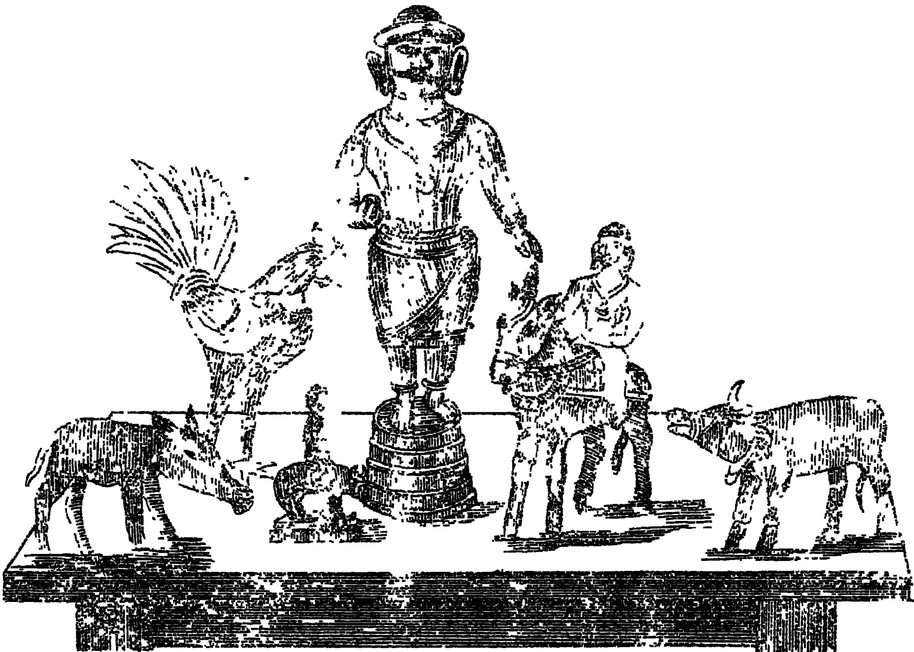
V.

Note on a printed slip attached to Burnell's "Description," by Major R. C. Temple.

Attached to the original MS. "description" above printed, are pages 51 and 52 of some perodical, apparently belonging to the Basel Mission and printed in German type. Unfortunately these pages have been cut in half, so that only the top halves are now in existence.

The fragment of p. 51 seems to contain accounts of the Basel Mission, and the commencement of an article:— Das Bewegung im Tululand, nach einem Bericht von Missionar Brigel[30] in Mangalur vom 17 Februar.

The upper half of page 52 contains, however, the plate given below and a short description thereof, which is of much interest in the present connection. I give a translation of it.



[29] Burnell was writing in 1872.

[30] Author of a *Tuḷu Grammar*, published in 1872.

Figures of Bhûtas from Tuḷu-land.

Observations.— The images of Bhûtas here given on a very small scale are from the originals in Mission Museum at Basel. The figures are in brass. We have already made a communication on the Bhûta-worship of the Tuḷu people in *H. B.* for December 1869, p. 164. In explanation of the figures we give the views expressed by Graul (*Reise in Ostindien*, I. 184 ff.):—" In Tuḷu-land they worship ten Bhûtas proper or demons, and seven spirits of the dead. On the whole it appears that all this devil-worship leads back to an original period of heroes, when, long ago, Nimrods ruled the land and perhaps the bold hunter cleared it of dangerous wild beasts. It is thus that we can clearly explain the circumstance, that on every public temple is painted a horseman with flowing garments, while, close by, the hog [*der Eber* (*das Schwein*)], the buffalo, the tiger and wild beasts, dangerous to the crops and herds, are sporting in a significant jumble. The seven spirits of the dead are apparently the spirits of heroes, and it is very significant that the proud, warlike cock is the chief live offering brought to the Bhûtas." Compare with the undermentioned new tract: — *Mission Life among the Tuḷus* (*Ein Missionsleben unter den Tulus*).

I am afraid that the above extract, so carefully preserved for upwards of twenty years, is not so valuable as the picture it professes to explain.

VI.

A list of the principal Bhûtas, furnished by the late Rev. A. Männer.

Abbage-Dârage.
Akkarasupuñjide.
Âḷiseitâne.
Aṇṇappe.
5 Annârakalkude.
Arasuḷa.
Babbare.
Bañjaṇatâye.
Baṇṭe.
10 Batâṇḍi.
Bâwanne.
Beinâḷi.
Beirawe.
Berme.
15 Bheirawe.
Bommartâye.
Châmuki.
Châmuṇḍi.
Chaṇḍi.
20 Chumâdi.
Deiyâre.
Dharmadeiwa.
Dharmâdi.
Dhûmâmati.
25 Dhûmre.
Duggalâye.
Durgi.
Dustâḷi.
Gâṇdhâri.
30 Gejjemalle.
Giḍi âwate.
Giṇḍe.
Guḷige.
Gulge.
35 Îsarakumâre
Ishtadêwate.
Jârandâye.
Jaṭhâdhâri.
Jaṭṭige.
Jôgipurse.
Jumâdi.
Jumbure.
Kâḷabeirawe.
Kâḷamma.
45 Kâlarahu.
Kâḷarâtri.
Kâḷarkâyi.
Kâḷastri.
Kâḷêśwari.
50 Kalkuḍe.
Kallabhûta.
Kalluratâye.
Kalluruti.
Kamberlu.
55 Kandela-jumâdi.
Kântabare.
Kanyakumâre.
Kariyamalle.
Kâtanetri.
60 Khaḍgarâwaṇe.

Koḍaṁbaḍâye.
Koḍamaṅtâye.
Koḍḍabu.
Kondalatkâre.
65 Korage.
Korati.
Kôṭichaṇṇaye.
Kôṭipûñje.
Kshêtrapale.
70 Kuḍpalu.
Kujuṁbakañje.
Kukkilatâye.
Kumâraswâmi.
Kuppepañjurli.
75 Kuratti.
Ku rave.
Lekkesiri.
Maddaḍkatâye.
Mahêśware.
80 Mahêśwari.
Mahisaṅdâye.
Mallarâye.
Maṁmayi.
Maṇḍi.
85 Marlu̥-jumâdi.
Mâyaldi.
Mâyandâḷu̥.
Muddiltâye.
Mûde.
90 Mukkâṁbe.
Mûṇḍatâye.
Mûrtilâye.
Nâḍu.
Naṅdigône.
95 Nâraltâye.
Nelliru̥tâye.
Netteru̥chauṇḍi.
Nêtramukkuḷi.
Nîche.
100 Padkaṇatâye.
Panemâḍe.
Pañjurli.
Paṭhikoṅḍâye.
Pâtâḷabheirawe.
105 Pâtâḷagulige.
Pejirenâye.
Pilichaṇḍi.
Pôsraḷatâye.
Poṭṭe.
110 Poyikaṇatâye.
Puḍabâre.
Pûḷaṅdâye.
Râhugulige.
Raktêśwari.
115 Ruḍrachauṇḍi.
Ruṅdâra-pañjurli.
Saṁpigetâye.
Saṅkalegu̥lige.
Saṛalu̥-jumâdi.
120 Sârâmahakâri.
Soṅne.
Subyamma.
Sûkotteri.
Tannimaṇige.
125 Uchchaṇḍi.
Uḍpishnâye.
Uḷḷâldi.
Uḷḷâye.
Warmalatâye.
130 Wôḍaltâye.
Wôkubaḷḷare.
Worte.
133 Yenmaṇṇâye.

VIII.

THE ORIGIN OF THE DEMONS.

By the late Rev. A. Männer.[31]

Text.

Adiḍu̥ Nârâyaṇa dêveru̥ bhûlôkonu sṛisṭi malpunaga, âre balatta bhâgoḍu Îswarelâ datta bhâgoḍu Brâhmelâ kuḷḷoṇḍu akulu irveru̥lâ Nârâyaṇa dêvereḍa kêṇḍini dânendu̥ṇḍa :—

"Indâ, bhûmiḍu̥ · î naramânya pakki paraṇe pijinu̥ḷu yenpatta nâlu̥ lakshântra prâṇiḷenu̥lâ sṛishṭi maḷtu̥du̥ indekuḷegu̥ takka âhâranuta korduni na bhûmigu̥ yeṇma dikku̥gu̥ yeṇma arasuḷu dîya. Âkuḷe pudaru̥; Indre, Agni, Yame, Neireitye, Varuṇe, Vâyavye, Kubêre, Îsânye. Iñchitti yeṇma gana urasuḷegu̥ dikku̥ḍa adhikâroḷe kârya, râtre pagelu̥ âpi lekka

31 This consists of a text and almost literal translation of a story related by an old Tuḷu Brâhmaṇ in 1886.

âkâśoḍa Sûrya Chandre·inpi î raḍḍenu dîya; undattande âji tiṅgoḷu mariyâla âji tiṅgoḷu aregâla, sîtôshṇa iñchittinenu mâta maḷta."

Undu mâta yeṇkuḷegu santôsha ându andudu paṇṇaga, Nârâyaṇa dêveru Îśvaryaḍa panḍini dânendunḍa.

"Indâ, îlâ yânulâ â Brâhmelâ nama mûverulâ ittudu bhûlâka paralôka îrêlu lôkada adhikâronu teîvoḍu. **Brahmâ, Vishṇu, Mahêśware**; inpi mûji pudarudâkaḷu nama âduppoḍu. Yeṅku srishṭi maḷpu adyôga, Brahmagu stiti malpu udyôga, Mahêśvaragu laya maḷpu adyôga."

Iñchitti udyôga nama maḷpoḍu andudu tanukuḷe aḷayi nêmaka maḷtoṇḍu, Nârâyaṇagu vâsa maḷpere Vaikunṭha, Îśwaragu vâsa maḷpere Kailâsa, Brahmagu vâsa maḷpere Satya lôka. Iñchitti jâguḷenu maḷtoṇḍu, bokka dêvalôka srishṭisiyeru. Muppatta mûji Kôti dêwateḷenu unḍu maḷtudu risiḷenu, hâhâ gandharverenu, apsarastrîḷenu, yaksharenu mini anḍa maḷtudu, môkaḷegu mâtavichârogu **Dêvêndre.**

Inpi arasunu adhikâraste âdu dîdu padunâlu lôka rakshaṇe maḷtoṇḍu uppunaga, Kailâsa paṭnoḍu Îśvare siṁhâsanoḍu kuḷḷoṇḍu tana sâratoñji ganḍa gaṇalâ, **sâratañji Bhûtalâ Vîrabhadrâdi** prâmatheru âyi mukhya gaṇakuḷe naḍuṭu uppunaga âre boḍedi.

Parvatâdêvi santôshoḍu kaṇḍanyaḍa kêṇḍini dânenḍunḍa :—

"O Îśvarâ, î bhûlôkoḍu uppie janokuḷu pâka jana pâpishṭeru, pâka jana puṇyavanteru âvere kâraṇa dâne? Avenu îru yenku vistârâdu paṇoḍu.

Andudu keṇṇaga, Îśvare panḍini.

Indâ, Pârvatiyê, keṇla. Yena pârsva bhâgoḍu î sârattoñji ganḍagaṇalâ **sârattoñji Bhûtalâ udbhavâdu puṭṭiya.** Aikuḷu yenanu yêpalâ sêvemaḷtoṇḍu yenanu âśraya maḷtoṇḍu itta; âpaga yânu âkuḷegu mechchidu sahâyogu bôḍâdu, **sârattoñji rogaḷenu puṭṭâye,** dâyegandunda lôkoḍu pâka jana dushṭerenu pâka jana paṇavu dravyâśe akaṅkârîlu inpi pâpishṭerenu bhaṅga maḷpere bôḍâdu uṅdenu maḷpoḍânḍu; ijjânḍa î lôkoḍu naramânyere garva hochchidu baḍaveregu diñja upadra maḷperu. Andudu tûdu iñchene maḷpoḍânḍu. Â Samâyoḍu î Bhûtaḷu mâtu kûḍudu yena yeduru aḍḍa bû rudu panḍini dâneṅdunḍa :—

'O Dêverê, î yeṇkuḷenu srishṭi maḷta **yeṅkuḷegu âhâralâ korla,** Yeṅkuḷu baḍavu bâjeludu taḍevande. kuḷḷuva.' Andudu naṭṭoṇunaga, yanu âkaḷegu appaṇe kordu pandini :—**Indâ, nikuḷu bhûlôkagu pôdu pâpishṭeregu upadra kordu âkaḷe kaiḍudu nikuḷu âhâra gettoṇle, yenanu nambunâkalegu upadra koraḍe.'**

Aṅdudu panḍudu appaṇe kornaga î bhûtoḷu kêṇḍini :—

'Dêverê, îru appaṇe korinava yeṅkuḷegu saṅtôsha âṇḍu, âṇḍalâ lôkaḍa pâpishṭeru âdappunâkaḷa yêru inpinavu gurta yeṅkuḷegu, teriyuji, avu teriyu lekka mâtra appaṇe koroḍu.

Aṅdudu bhûtoḷu naṭṭoṇunaga, yânu appaṇe korini dâneṅdunḍa :—

'Indâ, lôkaḍa pâpishṭeregu yânu dumbu dâlâ voñji rôga bêne saṅkaḍalâ nânâ tarata upadroḷenula koṇḍu pâḍave apaga nikuḷu añchittinâ kuḷenu tûdu pattule; pattiyarḍa nikuḷegu âhâra tikkuṇḍu.'

Aṅdudu panḍudu, Appaṇe kornaga â bhûtaḷu kuḍa arike maḷtudu kêṇḍini dâneṅdunḍa :—

'O Dêverê, iñchitti rôga saṅkaḍoḍu uppu naramânyerenu yeṅkuḷu pattuda andudu âkaḷegu teriyuni yeñcha? Uṅdeku dâne gurta?'

Aṅdudu arike maḷtudu keṇḍeru :—

'Âpaga yânu panḍini dâneṅdunḍa. **Indâ, lôkoḍu bâlmedâkaḷulâ jyotisheruta yantragârerulâ uḷḷeru, âkuḷenu yânu unḍu maḷtudu dîte; âkuḷe mukhântra teridu nikuḷegu âhâra koruveru, uṅdu nikuḷegu iyavu; nana nikuḷu hechcha pâteraḍe.'** Andudu panḍudu, appaṇe koriye.'

Ândalâ â bhûtaḷu kuḍa Îśwara kaitaḷu̥ battu̥du̥ âreḍa arike maḷtu̥du̥kêṇḍini.

"O Dêverê, yeṅkuḷu bhûlôkogu jattu̥du̥ pôwere appaṇe koriyaru̥, âṇḍa yeṅkuḷu voḍegu̥ povoḍu, vôlu uppoḍu ?"

Andu̥du̥ kuḍa naṭṭoṇu̥nega, Îśvare âkuḷegu̥ uttara kordu paṇḍini:—

"Indâ, nikuḷe pudaruḷu yânu̥ pratyêka pratyêkidu̥ korpe andu̥du̥ paṇḍu̥du̥, nikuḷu **Bobbarye, Kuḍgârâvaṇe, Paṭhikondâye** mini iñchittinâkuḷu tenakâi râjyoḍu vâsa âduppule; nanalâ nikuḷe śêrigegu̥ pâka bhûtoḷenu̥ kaḍapuḍuve. **Mahishâsûrerenu̥** nikuḷeḍoppa baḍa kâyi dêśoḍu uppaḍu̥ Bokkalâ nikuḷe śêrigegu̥ pâka bhûtolenu̥lâ deivolenu̥lâ kaḍapuḍave; undattande **Mallarâye Aṇappe Tattige** inpi bhûtoḷenu̥lâ paḍḍâyi râjyoḍdu muḍâyi râjya muṭṭa yânu̥ bête kaḍapuḍuwe."

Aṅdu̥du̥ î bhûtoḷegu̥. Iñchitti appaṇe kornaga, **Mahâkâlilâ, Vîrabhadrelâ, durdêvi Mârilâ** lakku̥du̥ kaṇṇu̥ keṁpu maḷtoṇdu Îśvaraḍa paṇḍini dâneṅdu̥ṅḍa:—

"O Îśvara dêverê, î Bhûtaḷegu̥ ahâragu appaṇe kordu kaḍapuḍavaru̥; yeṅkuḷenu̥ îru̥ madatriyaru̥ attâ? Âṇḍlâ îregu̥ ṁadatu̥ṇḍalâ, yeṅkuḷegu̥ madattijji. **Yeṅkulegulâ itte sâdi tâjâle.**"

Aṅdu̥du̥ â devateḷu noṭṭanu̥ naga Îśware paṇḍini.

"Iṅdâ, **Dhûmâvati** inpi **Bhûta** bhûmiḍu̥ **Tuḷu dêśoḍu Mûḍabedraḍu̥ Chanṭere śîmeḍu̥ Bailapari Ballâkuḷe** jâgu̥ḍu̥. Staḷa poyidu̥ kuḷḷudu. Uṇḍu aḷtu̥du̥du̥ paḍḍayi Samudra muṭṭalâ nina prastâpa lakkâdu̥ î nina bhogaḷeḍu̥ kôla baliḷu gettoṇdu nina ahâra Siṅdu̥du̥ santoshaḍu uppalâ. Aṅdu̥du̥ vara kordu âkuḷenu̥ kaḍapuḍiyeru̥."

Añchane hechcha itti Bhûtaḷenu̥ta woñjoñji jâgu̥du̥ appaṇe korḍu kaḍapuḍiyeru̥. Â saṅgati nana duṁbu paṇpuṇḍu.

Translation.

In the beginning, when the god **Nârâyaṇa** created the earth, **Îśvara** sat on his right and **Brahmâ** on his left side. They both spoke to Nârâyaṇa, questioning him as follows:—

"Lo! on the earth thou hast created eighty-four *lâkhs* of living creatures, from man down to birds, reptiles, ants, etc., and thou hast also given them proper food. For thy (world) earth thou gavest eight kings for the eight points of the compass. Their names are: **Indre, Agni, Yâme, Neireitye, Varune, Vâyavye, Kubêre, Îśânye.** Such eight kings thou hast made and didst give them the rule over the points of the compass. That there may be night and day, thou puttest in the sky two bodies, the sun and the moon. Besides this, thou didst make six months rainy season and six months hot season! Such thou didst, and for all this we rejoice!"

When he had said thus, Nârâyaṇa said to Îśvara as follows:—

"Lo! thou and I and Brahmâ, we three together have to govern earth and heaven; yea, the twice seven worlds. Brahmâ, Vishṇu, Mahêśvare; these three names let us have! I will do the work of creation, Brahmâ that of preservation, and Mahêśvare that of destruction."

Thus having resolved to perform such respective functions, they made Vaikuṇṭha into the abode of Nârâyaṇa, Keilâsa into the residence of Îśvara, and Satyalôka into the abode of Brahmâ. Thus the world of gods was made, and three *karôṛs* of gods, Ṛishis, Gandharvas, Apsarasas, etc., were created, and over all these Dêvêndra was put as their king and ruler.

While thus protecting the fourteen worlds, Îśvara was sitting on his throne at Keilâsa in the midst of his thousand and one male Gaṇas, and thousand and one Bhûtas, and other principal Gaṇas, including even Vîrabhadra.

Then his wife Pârvatî joyously addressed her husband as follows:—

"O Îśvara, why are some of the people living on earth sinners and some meritorious? Tell me this in detail."

When thus asked, Îśvara spoke as follows: —

"Listen, O Pârvatî. See, on either side of me these thousand and one male Gaṇas, and thousand and one Bhûta-gaṇas have come into existence. They are always serving me and dependent on me, and I was pleased with them, and for their aid I created one thousand and one diseases, because it was necessary to punish the wicked and money-lôving and proud sinners on earth; otherwise the pride of the people on earth would increase and the poor would be much oppressed. Having seen this, I had to do as I did. At that time all these Bhûtas assembled and, prostrating before me, addressed me as follows:— 'O God, thou hast created us, (therefore) give us food! We suffer hunger and thirst and are unable to endure it any longer.'

"When they thus begged I commanded them, saying as follows: — 'Lo! Go you on earth and give the sinners there trouble and obtain your food from their hands! (But) do not trouble those who believe in me!'

"Having heard this, these Bhûtas asked: — 'O God! We rejoice at what you have commanded us, but we cannot distinguish those who are sinners on earth; therefore, please direct us how to know them.'

"When the Bhûtas so prayed, I commanded, saying: — 'Lo! I shall beforehand charge the sinners on earth with some disease, with sickness and all kinds of trouble; you can then discover and seize such persons, and by doing so you can get food.'

"When so commanded, the Bhûtas questioned me, saying:—

'O God! How shall such men as are afflicted with disease know that we have seized them? What is the sign of it?'

"When so questioned, I commanded and spake to them thus:—

'Lo! In the world I have created soothsayers, astrologers and those that prepare charms. Through them they will learn to know that you do it, and then they will give you food. This must be now enough for you. Speak no more.'

"Thus I discharged them."

But afterwards the Bhûtas came again to Îśvara and questioned him as follows:—

"O God! Thou hast commanded us to descend to the earth, but where shall we go (when we get) there? And where shall we stay? Please tell us."

When they so begged of Îśvara he answered them saying:—

"I will allot you separate names, such as Bobbarye, Kaḍgârâvaṇe, Paṭhikondâye. As such go you to the Southern countries and kingdoms and settle there. Besides this, I shall send some Bhûtas to join you, and also the Mahiśâsuras shall be with you, in the Northern country. Also in future times I will send some Bhûtas and demons to join you. Besides this, I shall send Mallarâye, Aṇṇappe and Jattige, Bhûtas, to stay from the Western part of the country to the Eastern part."

When the Bhûtas were thus dismissed, Mahâkâli, Vîrabhadra and the mischievous Mâri rose, and with reddened eyes, addressed Îśvara, saying:—

"O God Îśvara! Thou hast commanded food for the Bhûtas and sent them away. Hast thou not forgotten us? Though thou hast forgotten, we have not. Therefore, now shew us, too, a way!"

When they thus begged, Îśvara said:—

"Lo, the Bhûta Dhûmavati is on earth in Mudabidri in the Tuḷu land, and has settled in a place belonging to the Beilapari Billaḷu of the Chantar's Country. From that place to the Western sea shew your prowess in that region, and amongst your pleasures receive *kolas* and offerings. Thus take your food and be happy."

After these Bhûtas had been sent away, the remainder also were commanded to their respective places. This, however, will be told afterwards.

BURNELL MSS. : — No. I.

THE SONG OF JUMÂDI.[32]

Original in the Kanarese character from the MS. of Dr. Mögling, Mangalore, March, 1872:[33] transliteration by Mr. Männer: translation from Burnell's MS. checked by Dr. Männer. Original text and translation occupies leaves 2[34] to 8 inclusive of Burnell's MSS.

Text.

Jumâdi Pâḍdana.

Purâlu̥da Paramêsri dêveregu̥ muppa dinata âyana !
Yêlu̥ dinata cheṅḍu̥da bâra !
Muji dinata kôrida kaṭṭa !
Muppa dinata bajjeida aṁboḍi : kôrida dûdu !
Muppa dinata utchaya ! Muppa dinata todaru̥ !
Koḍi yêri âyanada minadana **utchayo** tûwoḍaṅḍu̥du̥
Aḍûra Dêre Beide pôwoḍaṅpe.
Eiku̥ nâlu̥ yenma kôri tâṅkâye,
Tana jêwu̥ aruwatterenu̥ madyânada mûrte kâlyawêlyoḍu mûrâye.
Kôrida kaṭṭogu pôwodaṅḍu̥du̥ kôrigu̥ uîru̥ bâru̥ dîpâye.
Madyânada unasu̥ bêga aruwatteregu̥ unpâye ;
Unpâḍu̥ tânu̥ jôtra tuttiye.
Pullya bannada taretra kaṭṭiye ;
Kâru̥gu̥ nurlarita mâyana muṭṭu pâḍonḍe
Doṁbugu kalkuḍe pattonḍe.
Tana jêwu aruwattere keiṭu̥ kaṭṭi kôrinu̥ buḍudu koriye.
Kôri kaṭṭubâlu̥da sûdinu̥ keiṭu̥ pattonḍe.
Tana **Aḍûra stânada illaḷu̥** " Puralu̥da kôrida kaṭṭoḍu kôri genḍu̥du̥ batu̥nḍa.
Kôrida tammana aḍḍye tuḍudu balmana malpâwe."
Aṅḍu̥du̥ Jumâdi Bhûtogu kei muggidu̥ panḍonḍe.
Kôri pattâwonudu Aḍḍûra stâna illu̥ jatte.
Sârakâla Birmâna illada keitaḍegu̥ batte.
Apaga târi kariyaḍu̥ târi mûruwe **Birmana Beidye.**
Purâlu̥da Deweregu̥ muppa dinata âyana âpundu tûwere pôyâ aṅde."
" Eiku̥ âye tûwere pôwere pôweliyê kaṭṭere kôri ijji.
Kâpudu ittinawuperaḍe sari aṅde."
" Âpaga yeṅkulu pôpa îkuḷḷa." Aṅḍu̥du̥ môkuluberi pâḍoṇḍu̥ pônaga **Kâpuḍu itti perade keletu̥nḍu̥.**
Môkuḷu âñchenê Purâlu̥gu̥ pôyeru̥.
Âne kaṭṭu aṭṭasa kaḍateru̥.
Kudre kaṭṭu kinni gôli kaḍateru̥.
Meilu̥ nalipu **Meirepâde** kaḍateru̥.
Keipe kâyeru̥ kaḍateru̥ ; sîpe kukku kaḍateru̥.
Maralûra Kinni-muggeru̥ kaḍateru̥.
Beilsâl sandalige kaḍateru̥.
Pû mudipi **Madumâḷe kallu̥** kaḍateru̥.
Gurupurada beilu̥ kaḍateru̥ **Manêla** beilu̥gu̥ âyeru̥.
Amuñja beilu̥ kaḍateru̥.
Purâlu̥gu̥ muṭṭa muṭṭa âyeru̥.

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[32] Mr. Männer notes that Jumâdi is a Bhûta much feared and worshipped in every house. This song is recited by the dancer at a *kôla*, *i. e.*, a festival in honour of Bhûtas held at the expense either of a single family or of a whole community.

[33] As per Burnell's note on leaf 10 of MS.

[34] Leaf 1 is the fly-leaf.

Purâlu̥da bâkimâru̥ḍu̥ Manêlu̥da einu̥sâraḷu̥.
Purâlu̥da mûji sârâ âḷu̥.
Purâluda gôpuroḍu Pakkoṅgullâye Chikkarâyeru̥ mini kûḍuderu̥.
Dêre Baidye pôyinaye tana jêwu aruwatterenu̥ nirelu̥ tûdu kôri kaṭṭâye.
Doṁbu kalkuḍe kerpuḍu dîyeru̥, kâru̥da muṭṭu alpa kaḍete.
Pakkoṅgullâye Chikkarâyeregu̥ taggu̥ḍu̥ nelaṭu̥ untiye.
Solme-puḍe Pâḍiye, âpaga âkulu battanâ "Dêrebaidyâ nina jâtidâkuḷu ?
Kuddu̥deru̥ âkleḍoppapôdu kuḷḷâ aṅderu̥."
Iṁbe pôdu jâtidâklu, kulludarâ aṅdu̥du̥ kei muggiye.
Balle appâ kuḷḷe aṅdu̥du̥ mûjisârâḷu̥ kuḷḷiyere jâge buḍudu koriyeru̥.
Âkuḷeḍopanê kuḷḷiye.
Tanukuḷe sukha dukkonu pâteriyeru̥.
Îtu̥ portânaga doṁbaratu̥du̥ gâli bîjinḍu̥.
Apaga nana gâli bûjuṅḍu̥ dâne tîpim.
Kôrilenu̥ woḍḍâga aṅderu̥ ?
Nîrmârgoḍu lakki-Kuṁpali Kubala Dêre pôye
Âpaga Kubala Dêre kôrigu̥lâ î Aḍûra Dêre Baidya kôrigulâ jôḍu pati âṅdu̥.
"Âpaga kôrinu̥ mâṭa daṅḍeḍu̥ pâḍu̥du̥ bâlu̥ suttuga buḍuka."
Aṅdu̥du̥ pâteru̥du̥ buḍiyeru̥.
Aḍûra Dêre Baidyagu̥ kôri tikku̥ṅḍu̥, kaṭṭa dîti bâlu̥ḍu̥lâ suttu dîti nuluḍulâ kôrinu̥ mâta kaṭṭiyeru̥.
Mâta iṁbyagê tikku̥ṅḍu̥
Âpaga Manelida einu̥ sârâḷu̥ Purâḷu̥da mûji sârâḷu̥ Pakkoṅgullâye-Chikkarâye woṭṭugu kûḍudu paṅḍeru̥ :—
"Î Aḍûra Dêre Baidya keiṭu̥ kaḷḷa bâlu̥ kaḷḷa nûluṅḍaṅderu̥."
Kaḷḷa bâlu̥lâ pinaye kaḷḷa nûlandu̥du̥lâ pinaye,
Î jâgeḍa *goṅtulâ* Râwuda goṅtulâ piṁbe : ṅina bâlu̥ tûwoḍu dêwere.
Daṁbe kallu̥ḍu dîdu̥ pirmâna maḷpoḍaṅderu̥.
Âpaga daṁbe kallu̥du̥ dîdu̥ satya beṅde.
Bâlu̥ gettoṅḍe, badaḷu̥ irwâra yânu̥ pôpe aṅḍu̥du̥ appaṇe naṭṭiye.
Kôrinu̥ tana aruwattere keiṭu̥ tuṁbâye.
Kôri tuṁbâwonuḍu sarâne Atrela kaḍapugu batte.
Kaḍapudâye kôri korla aṅde.
Â duṁbu tikku̥di kôrinu̥ koriye.
Tana illaḍegu̥ daṅḍu̥ pâḍu̥du̥ tuṁbâwonudu batte.
Â marakale kôrinu̥ tolludu baḍedikeiṭu̥ koriye.
Moḷu bisaleḍu̥ dîdu̥ ulai pôyaḷu̥.
Âpaga â teiṭu̥ pôti kôri jîwâdu̥ tana illaḍa kubaḷu̥ḍu̥ keleṭu̥ṅḍu̥.
Â Aḍḍûra Dêre Baidya illaḍegu̥ pâru̥ṅḍu̥.
Dêre Beidyagu̥ duṁbu tikki kôriḍu̥ Aḍḍûra sânadaillâḷû tammana maḷpe anu̥ta îmaḷtu̥ja,
Wôḍa kaḍapuḍi marakalagu̥ kordu baṭṭa aṅdu̥du̥ paṇuṇḍu̥.
Âyagu râba Saṅkaḍa âṇḍu̥. Dêbegu̥ kanra kaṭṭu̥ṅḍu̥ danendu̥nḍa,
Awa battu̥ṅḍalâ chiṅte ijji, ânanda arpaḍa tirgandu̥ tirimei âwu.
Nîna tagegu̥ sankuḍa tûwere pôpujauâ aṅdu̥du̥ taṅgaḍi.
Dêbegu̥ irku̥ kaṇa kaṭṭu̥ṅḍu̥ :
Môḷu kuḍutu lakkiyaḷu̥.
Kaṇḍanya keitaḷu̥ yânu̥ tagegu̥ sankaḍa tûdu barpe aṅdu̥du̥ keṅdaḷu̥.
"Âpaga natta naḍirlu̥ Jâmada portugu pôpe andu̥du̥ paṅpanâ aṅde ?"
"Aṅdu̥ panḍu̥du̥ pôdu tage sankaḍa" tûyaḷu̥.
Aḍḍûra sânoḍu kôri aḍu̥du̥ aḍḍye suḍudu tammana malpâyaḷu̥.
Âpaga batti âpaṭṭu̥ nilṭu̥ṅḍu̥.





I.—The Devil Worship of the Tuḷuvas.

Fig. 1. Jumâdi. Fig. 2. Panjarli.

Translation.

Thirty days in honor of the Goddess Paramêsrî of Purâla!
Seven days play with bulls!
Three days fighting with cocks!
Thirty days play with areca nuts, and gambling with cocoanuts.
Thirty days festival! Thirty days illuminations of the *gudi!*
The ceremony of raising Vishṇu's flag and the figure of Garuḍa!
Aḍûra Dêre Baidya intended to go.
With this intent he had four to eight cocks fed.
At an auspicious hour he sent for his young nephews.
Intending to fight the cocks, he had water and grain served to them.
He gave an early dinner to his little nephews,
And after dinner dressed himself in his full dress.
He tied a red turban on his head,
And put his best slippers on his feet.
He held a palm-leaf umbrella in his hand.
He put his best fighting-cocks into his nephews' hands.
A number of spurs for the cocks he held in his own hands.
In his house at Aḍûra (Jumâdi's) stâna he swore: — "If I win the fight at Purâla,
I will celebrate a feast with cock's flesh and baked meat."
Thus did he vow to Jumâdi Bhûta.
With the cocks in his hand, he left his house and went to Aḍûra (Jumâdi's) *stâna*,
And reached the house of Sârakâla Birmâṇa.
Birmâṇa Baidya was drawing *toddy* from the cocoanut trees in the garden.
"Thirty days feast in honor of the goddess of Purâla. Let us go and see it!"
"I should indeed be glad to go: but I have no cocks for the fight.
I have only hens at Kâpi" — replied the other.
"Then we will go, you stay away," said the company and turned their backs on him. Just then the hens at Kâpi crowed!
However, they walked on to Purâla.
They passed the *aśvatta* tree, to which they tie elephants.
They passed the little banyan tree, to which they tie horses.
They passed the rock Meile, on which peacocks were dancing.
They passed the bitter *nux vomica* tree, and the sweet mango tree.
They passed the village of Kinni-muger in Maralûr.
They passed the *sandalika* avenue by the side of the paddy fields.
They passed the rock Maduṃâḷa, where the people dress their heads with flowers.
They passed the Gurupura paddy fields and came to Manêli.
They passed the paddy fields of Amuñja,
And drew nearer and nearer to Purâla.
In the field Bâkimâra at Purâla were five thousand men of Manêli,
And three thousand men of Purâla.
At the gate of Purâla, Pakkoṅgollâya, Chikkarâya and others were assembled.
Dêre Baidya arrived with his little nephews and secured the cocks in a shady place,
Laid down his umbrella and took the slippers from off his feet.
A little below Chikkarâya, Pakkoṅgollâya stood on some low ground.
Said Solmapuḍa Pâdiya and others:—"O Dêre Baidya, hast thou come?
People of thy caste are assembled, go and sit in their company."
He went and saluted them and said:— "Are my caste-fellows assembled?"
Then all the three thousand exclaimed:— "Come and sit among us!" and they made room for him.

He sat down among them.
They told each other their stories.
By that time the noon heat had gone and a cool wind began to blow.
And now they said to each other :— "The breeze is blowing, why should we longer delay?
Let us array the cocks for fighting."
Now arrived are Lakkikumpali Kubala Dêre from Nirmârga:
Then they tried if the cock of Kubala Dêre would match that of Aḍûra Dêre Baidya, and these said :—
"Let us arm our cocks with spurs and put them to fight."
And they did accordingly.
Aḍûra Dêre Baidya's cock won the fight, and the cock which had belonged to the opposite party,
Fell to the lot of his party.
Then the five thousand men of Manêli and the three thousand of Purâla and Pakkoṅgollâya and Chikkarâya complained :—
"Aḍûra Dêre Baidya hath a charmed spur and a charmed thread!"
"I know neither charmed spur nor charmed thread:
(But) what place is most favourable and when Râhu is most auspicious. This I know."
"We must see your spur, and you must put it on the long flat rock in front of the god and swear to us."
Then he put the spur on the stone and swore.
Taking his spur back he twice asked leave to go home.
The cocks he put into his nephew's hands.
Thus they went straight to the Atrela Ferry.
The ferry-man begged a cock of him.
He gave him the one that came first.
The remainder he put on a stick and brought home.
The ferry-man gave the cock to his wife.
She put it in an earthen pot and went inside.
The dead cock revived, and going to the house-top, began to crow.
It flew to the house of Aḍûra Dêre Baidya.
(Aḍûra) Dêre Baidya vowed a feast in his house to Aḍûra Jumâdi, but he gave none.
(For he) gave (the cock) to the ferry-man. So he became sick.
Then his sister Dêbe had a dream about it, and she heard a voice, saying :—
"Care not for the misfortune that has befallen him, for he will soon be free from it.
Go not to see your sick brother."
This was the dream of Dêbe in the night.
Startled by the dream she suddenly got up,
And asked her husband's leave to visit her sick brother.
"At this dread hour of the night you say that you will go?"
"Yes, I will go and see my sick brother;" and she went away.
Then she prepared a cock in the Aḍûra sthâna, baked bread and made a feast.
Then he was at once relieved of his sickness.

BURNELL MSS.—No. II.

PAÑJARLI.[35]

Original in the Kanarese character from the MS. of Dr. Mögling, Mangalore, and signed "M.": translation according to Burnell's MS. Original text and translation occupies leaves 10[36] to 14 inclusive in Burnell's MSS.

[35] So in title, but Pañjurli in the text.

[36] Leaf 9 is blank.

Translation.

It is said that **Pañjarli** was born on the *ghâṭs*, and the story runs thus:—

A sow gave birth to a twin brother and sister.

"Now we must descend the *ghâṭs*! What god shall we serve? If we serve the god **Sîḍaliṅga** in the South, he will probably accept our services, but his male attendants will not allow that. If we should offer to serve the god **Mahâliṅgêśvara** in the North, he may probably accept our services, but his male attendants will not let us serve him.

Now there is the god **Jimmappa** in the East, mightier than all the gods and Bhûtas. He is remarkably powerful, but his male attendants will interfere. There is the god **Subrâya** on the *ghâṭs*. He will permit us to serve him, but his male attendants will not allow that."

Such were the contending thoughts of **Pañji Gujjâre, king of the pigs,** blacker than the berry called *kâr*, and of **Pañji Kâḷi, queen of the pigs,** whiter than the flower called *jambe*.

Now they resolved to become the servants of the god Subrâya, giving him offerings, in case the male attendants should interfere. Intending to descend the *ghâṭs*, they consecrated five or six offerings to the god, bathed their heads and bodies, and, starting from the eastern gate, came to the western, and humbly asked the blessing of the god, thus:—

"Up to this day we were brother and sister, and now we descend the ghâṭs, and will become husband and wife!"

The god said, "Be it so," and they walked down the *ghâṭs*.

The wife became pregnant, and when they reached the low country, she was seven months big with child. The colour of her breasts faded and her head became dirty.

As she was completing the seventh month of her pregnancy, she felt the peculiar desire occasioned by pregnancy, and to satisfy it, her husband brought her yams (*kêne*), plantains and creepers.

When she was in the tenth [lunar] month of her pregnancy, the time of giving birth was near, and it became necessary to build a shed and to dig a pit.

"Go thou and find me out a branch of the *karya karâṭa* tree, and another of the plant called *śimuḷḷu*. The pit I shall dig myself," said the wife.

The husband went and brought the medicines, and in the meanwhile she dug a pit and built a shed, and sat within it possessed (by a Bhûta). While there, she began to feel the pangs of child-birth. She ground her teeth with pain, and her hair stood on end. Her groans were heard in the four worlds, and her sighs resounded in the three worlds. Both in her back and in her womb she felt rueful throes, and **at each pang she brought forth a pig.**

Three or six days after giving birth to her young, she descended into the low country with them. She could not find a good garden any where, and so **she entered the pleasure garden of the god Îśvara,** and, having entered it, she laid waste the plantains, the creepers, and the plant called *kêne*, and then returned to her own place in the forest.

When Îśvara awoke in the morning and looked at his garden, he found the whole garden laid waste and spoke to his servants thus:—

"Some wild beast has entered the garden, and has destroyed everything in it. Go you, and find it out."

They searched every part of the forest, every pit, street, lane and house, and at last found the sow sitting possessed (by a Bhûta) within a shed under a *śimuḷḷu* plant. The people of the whole town joined together and **shot the pig and the sow dead. The young ones the god Îśvara** took up in a blanket and carried to his palace.

His wife Pârvati had no children, and he said to her :—

"You have no children, therefore bring up these young ones with great care and attention," and he gave them into her care, and she brought them up.

About four or five months afterwards, they began to lay waste the garden. The god Îśvara saw this and said :—

"These evil ones I shall not allow to live, but will shoot them dead. Then Pârvatî wept bitterly and said to her husband:—

"To this day have I taken care of them, and you shall not kill them before my very eyes."

Then the god Îśvara cursed them thus :—

"No more be Pañji (pigs), but be known to the world henceforth as Pañjarli (Bhûta). Descend into the country and get tribute from the people;" and on account of the curse of Îśvara they became the Bhûta Pañjarli.

BURNELL MSS.—No. III.

THE SONG OF DEYIBAIDI.

Original in the Kanarese character from the MS. of Dr. Mögling, Mangalore, and signed "M.": translation according to Burnell's MS. Original text and translation occupies leaves 15 to 22[37] inclusive in Burnell's MSS.

Translation.

In Saṅkamale, a woman of the Joṭi Brâhmaṇ caste, was, as soon as she had attained to puberty, left in a forest with her eyes bound with a cloth.

A certain man, named Sâyina Baidya, had gone to that forest on that very day to draw toddy from the *kadamba* (*baini*) tree. While he was drawing toddy, the blossoms of the tree fell on the head of the Brâhmaṇ woman.

Then she said, "Whoever you may be, if you are a male, I shall call you my brother, and if a female, my sister."

On hearing these words, he descended from the tree, and then he said that he would ask one Parmâḷe Ballâḷ whether he could take her home. So he asked the opinion of the Ballâḷ thus : —

"I found a certain woman left in the forest with her eyes fast bound with a. cloth. Can I take her to my house?"

Then said the Ballâḷ, "Go and take her to your house, and take good care of her."

So he went to the forest, undid the cloth which bound her eyes, and went home in her company, taking with him the toddy. He lived in the house of his wife at Barke, and the woman and his wife lived in the house together. The women began to quarrel with each other.

Then he married the Brâhmaṇ woman to one Kântaṇṇa Baidya, residing in a garden in Kurgêl. After the marriage she became pregnant, and brought forth for the first time a female child. In its seventh year the child learned to speak, and was then married to Paiyya Baidya, a rich man in Paḷḷi.

While these events were taking place, another Ballâḷ went to a village named Boṇṭe Mâra, and as he was travelling along, he was hurt in the foot by a thorn of the white *kâsana* tree. Being hurt the Ballâḷ fell to the earth; when he tumbled down he said (to his companions) :—

"Why do you stand looking at me? Come out of this forest and carry me onward. Châvaḍi Sâṅkayyâ and Bûḍi Bommayyâ, take me to a house."

[37] Leaf 18 is blank.

Then they cut the branches of a tree, formed a rough litter with them, bore him to a house, and they seated him there. He caught cold and suffered from fever.

"Bring me a man that knows medicine and charms," said the Ballâḷ.

Then **Ammaṇṇa Baṇṇayya asked Birmaṇṇa Baidya** to treat the Ballâḷ, and the latter came immediately and gave him medicine, and uttered some charms. When he had done this, the cold, the fever, and the swelling (in the foot) rapidly increased day by day and became very large. The Ballâḷ could not taste his food, and could not sleep, and so he asked whether any other physicians or magicians could be found. He was told that there was one **Sâyina Baidya**, who knew medicine and magic.

The Ballâḷ then asked that Sâyina Baidya might be sent for, for a bandage. Accordingly Châvaḍi Saṅkayya and Bûḍi Bommayyâ went to him, and asked him to treat the Ballâḷ with medicine and with charms.

"I cannot bring medicine from the forest, as I am quite blind. **I have a sister Deyi**, who cooks food for one Kântaṇṇa Baidya and eats with him. Go there. She knows everything," said Sâyina Baidya.

They went to her house and called out her name. She came out, hearing the call, and enquired who it was that called her and what was their object.

They replied, "We are only the servants of a Ballâḷ, who has ordered us to ask you to come and adminster medicine to him and utter charms."

"I would have come, but I am fully pregnant," answered the woman.

On hearing this answer they returned to the Ballâḷ's house. The Ballâḷ was eagerly expecting their return, and they said (to him) :—

"She says that she would have come, but she is pregnant. She says that she is acquainted with medicines, but that she cannot walk, because she cannot see her feet, for her womb has become very heavy."

Then the Ballâḷ ordered his litter to be adorned and carried to her house. His servants accordingly adorned the litter, and bore it to her house and placed it at the gate. They asked her to come to him, and then she said :—

"He has sent me a thing that is quite useless to me," and having said this, she went to seven different forests, and brought handfuls of seven kinds of leaves. After fetching these, she went to three other forests, and brought handfuls of three kinds of roots. Then she went home and fetched a cocoanut from upstairs and placed it in the litter as an offering to the litter! She also put the medicine into it and walked on beside the litter. As she was approaching the gate of the house, the Ballâḷ was calling out :— "Has Deyi come? Has Deyi come?"

She walked gently and with great modesty, and the Ballâḷ was told that she was deeply blushing, he said :—

"Let her not be ashamed nor afraid, but let her come with straight-forwardness."

She came and sat down.

"Protect my single life from the grasp of death. Formerly my (Ballâḷ's) mother gave birth to a son like the god Râma. This day I am to be born from thy womb. If you protect my single life, I shall feed and clothe you for ever," said the Ballâḷ to her.

On hearing this, the ointment, which Ammaṇṇa Baidya had formerly applied, she washed away from his body, and applied a new medicine herself. She uttered some charms, and struck his head with the leaves. Then, day by day and minute by minute the disease in the neck descended to the waist; what was in the waist came down to the legs; what was in the legs descended to the feet; what was in the feet fled to the earth! The Ballâḷ could now taste his food; he could now sleep with ease.

"I will go home now," said he.

"Give me the food and clothes you had promised me," said Deyi.

Then the Ballâḷ said, "Before I give you food and clothing, I must ask the opinion of him who is esteemed to be the wisest in (my) brotherhood."

She replied, "The other day you could not get your friend to protect your life, but now to fulfil your promise you want to ask his opinion!"

But as she was going away, one **Abbyâ** said:—

"She has saved your life; you must needs give her food and clothes."

When he said this, she was called back:—

"To you I shall give oil, all kinds of ear-ornaments, a silk gown and a nose-ornament set with emeralds; the rest I shall reserve for the child that shall be born of you," said the Ballâḷ.

Then, doing him every kind of honour, she set out from the house.[38]

(To be continued.)

SOME INEDITED COINS OF THE KINGS OF VIJAYANAGARA.

BY

T. M. RANGACHARI, B.A.;

AND

T. DESIKACHARI, B.A., B.L.

It is an admitted fact that **the chronology and succession of many of the princes of the last great Hindu kingdom of the South** are still enveloped in obscurity, in spite of the numerous efforts that have been made in recent times to add to the existing stock of information relating to their history; and the value of coins in clearing up this obscurity will be gathered from a perusal of **Dr. Hultzsch's "Coins of the Kings of Vijayanagara,"** *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 301 ff. The list given in that article was an attempt to bring together and present in one view all the available information relating to the coins of the princes of this kingdom, as will be evident from the number of the cabinets that were examined, and the numismatic publications that were consulted, during its compilation. Subsequently, in a further note on South Indian Coins (*ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 321 ff.), some Vijayanagara Coins that had not been referred to in the previous list were described. As, however, the coinage of some of the Vijayanagara kings embraced a period of many years, and as some of them had apparently a fancy for issuing coins of various types, the articles above referred to were necessarily not exhaustive, and served only as landmarks for coin collectors, to enable them to distinguish between coins that had already been edited from those that have still to be presented before the numismatic public.

On comparing Dr. Hultzsch's lists with the coins in our cabinet, which had been classified by us as belonging to this series, we discovered that many copper coins in our possession had not been referred to by the learned doctor, and we have accordingly ventured **to supplement his lists by the following notice of some of the inedited coins in our cabinet.** Only such, however, of our inedited coins, as to the readings of the legends on which there was no doubt or uncertainty, have been taken up now, the rest being reserved for examination and notice at a future time.

First Dynasty.

Dêva Râya.

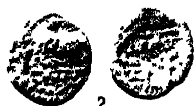
Fig. 1—

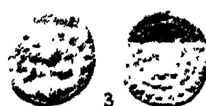
Obv.—Standing bull, facing the left; the Sun and Moon above; the whole encircled by a ring of dots.

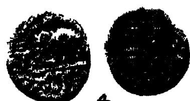
[38] The story is after this continued as the song of Kôṭi and Channayya.

COINS OF THE KINGS OF VIJAYANAGARA.


1

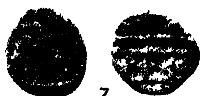

2


3

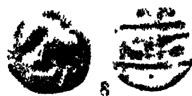

4


5


6


7


7a


8


9


9a

Rev.—The *chank* or conch shell with a sceptre to its left; above the sceptre partly visible the Kanarese letter ದೆ *thê.*

The Kanarese letter stands for, or is part of, the full legend **Thêva Râya.**

Fig. 2—

Obv.—Standing bull, facing the left with a dagger in front; the Sun and Moon above; the whole surrounded by a lined circle.

Rev.—Nâgarî legend—

श्री	**Srî**
उत्तम	**Uttama**
राय	**Râya**

distributed in three uneven lines amidst other emblems that cannot be deciphered.

Fig. 3—

Obv.—The *chank* and *chakram* (the conch shell and the discus), the usual symbols of Vaishṇava worship, separated by a dagger; above the dagger the Moon and below the Sun; the whole surrounded by a lined circle and ring of dots.

Rev.—Nâgarî legend, same as No. 2, with, however, the legend distributed around a dagger, the whole surrounded by a lined circle and ring of dots.

Fig. 4—

Obv.—An elephant passant, to the left; a dagger in front thereof; the Sun and Moon above; the whole within a lined circle and ring of dots.

Rev.—The Nâgarî legend **Uttama Râya,** as in figs. 2 and 3, in three lines, but without any emblems; lined circle and ring of dots as in the last.

We have, with some hesitation, assigned Nos. 2, 3 and 4 to Dêva Râya. They bear a strong resemblance to the coins of the First Dynasty, because it is on these latter, almost exclusively, that the elephant, the bull, the conch, and the discus figure. Of the princes of the First Dynasty the most famous was Dêva Râya, whose reign extended through nearly half a century, and who had issued coins of very various types, chiefly in copper. Though, no doubt, none of the inscriptions, that have been brought to light, allude to Uttama (which means 'best,' and is one of the thousand names of Vishṇu) as one of the titles of Dêva Râya, still it is not improbable that this prince had the name of Vishṇu put up on his coins, as he is known to have done that of Siva, *viz.*, Nîlakaṇṭha (blue-necked), on a coin figured as No. 23 in Dr. Hultzsch's list. Further there is nothing incongruous in the same prince adopting the titles of the presiding deities of two rival sects. The policy inaugurated by his father's learned minister Mâdhava, *viz.*, that of composing the differences between the adherents of rival religious creeds, and in effect reviving the old simple Vedic theology, was in all probability pursued by Dêva Râya, and this must account for the otherwise inexplicable fact, that the coins of his reign bear emblems and figures possessing both Saiva and Vaishṇava attributes (as for instance the bull sacred to Siva, and the conch and the discus the emblems of Vaishṇava faith).

Second Dynasty.

Kṛishṇa Râya.

Fig. 5—

Obv.—A bull recumbent, facing the left.

Rev.—Nâgarî legend in three lines—

श्री	**Srî**
कृष्णा (रा)	**Kṛishṇa (râ)**
(या)	**(yâ)**

The middle line alone appears on the coin in full, the rest appearing only in part, as if the coin was too small for the die.

Sadâśiva Râya.

Fig. 6—

Obv.—Lion passant, to the left.

Rev.—Nâgarî legend in three lines—

(श्री) स	(Srî) Sa
दा शि (व)	dâ Si(va)
(राय)	(Râya)

Achyuta Râya.

Fig. 7—

Obv.—A double-headed eagle holding elephants in its beaks and claws.

Rev.—Nâgarî legend in three lines—

श्री (प्र)	Srî (pra)
(ता) पाच्यु (त)	(tâ) pâchyu (ta)
(राय)	(Râya)

This is the copper prototype of the gold pagoda, fig. 29, Dr. Hultzsch's first list.

Fig. 8—

Obv.—Prancing horse, to the left.

Rev.—Nâgarî legend in three lines—

श्री (प्र)	Srî (pra)
(ता) पाच्यु (त)	(tâ) pâchyu (ta)
(राय)	(Râya)

Third Dynasty.

Vênkapati Râya.

Fig. 9—

Obv.—The figure of Hanumân, or the Monkey-God, advancing to the right.

Rev.—Nâgarî legend in three lines—

श्रीवें	Srî Vên
कपति	kapati
राय	Râya

Our thanks are due to Dr. E. Hultzsch, Government Epigraphist, Bangalore, at whose instance the plaster casts, from which the accompanying plate was copied, were prepared by Mr. R. Ry. B. Santappa Garu, Curator of the Mysore Government at Bangalore.

FOLKLORE OF THE SGAW-KARENS.

TRANSLATED BY B. HOUGHTON FROM THE PAPERS OF SAYA KYAW ZAN IN THE 'SA-TU-WAW.

(*Continued from Vol. XXII. p. 288.*)

VII.—How the Karens first feasted to the Nats.

"Having cast lots as to what we shall do, let us act accordingly. If the lot says that we should eat fowl first and afterwards pork, we will do so." Thus they devised and first catching a fowl they ate it and afterwards a pig.

Then they looked under the hut and saw a great many pigs there. They consulted together, saying: "See how many pigs there are. Let us ask the man who wipes away charcoal."

They did so. He replied: "Mind you catch first the old sow, who is always grubbing about. She is the chief of the pigs. For we here must feast together."

They did exactly as he told them, and descending from the hut they caught the old sow, and killed and cooked it. When the flesh was ready, they stirred it about in their curry.

They said to each other: "There is very much of it. In order that we may enjoy it thoroughly, push the liquor-pot close up to the well."

And so it was done.

Moreover, after they had feasted they performed the ceremony of *tamap'o* as follows. They took a fowl and killed it, and, having cooked it, ate a portion. Afterwards they went and buried the remainder under the ground, because they were afraid that some one else was going to come and eat it. They called this *tamap'o*.

VIII.—The writing of the Karens will come back to them.

Howbeit the Karens lost heavily and were not able to devise anything, so that their misery and insignificance were very great.

They considered again: "We are not as other people. Let us devise a means of getting back our writing. We will go and take it from the Kulâs."

They feared that the latter would not easily part with the writing; and, on searching amongst themselves they found only seven valiant youths, who would go for it. They despatched them accordingly, and they came to where the Kulâs were. When the Kulâs saw the Karens coming they feared greatly. The Karens on coming near the Kulâs clenched their fists, and so approached them together.

They said to the Kulâs: "Will you give up our writing, or will you not?" And they looked fiercely at them.

The Kulâs replied: "We will give you the writing. Do not be angry with us, O brethren."

But the hands of the Karens remained clenched, and they did not think fit to listen to the Kulâs.

The latter deliberated and said: "These Karens are tall and straight. We cannot conquer them."

But others said: "Only maidens can conquer young men."

So they deliberated and made ready seven maidens, tall and fair to look upon, and these they placed in front.

They called across to the Karens: "O Karens, if you will only trust our word, these maidens are yours."

When the Kulâs spoke, the Karens saw the faces of the maidens, and they became glad, and smilingly unclenched their hands, for the forms of these maidens were very beautiful, and they were decked with ornaments of great price.

And the Kulâs spoke cunningly thus: "Dear brethren, our father, God, gave one writing for one race and one for another. It will be hard for you to learn our writing, because God devised it for us only. Please now learn the writing with us, and afterwards you can return. Should you return now you will live unhappily, because you will not be able to do or make anything. Once you have mastered the writing, you can return. If you remain with us until you know it, these maidens are yours. Enjoy yourselves here."

When the Karens heard these words their resolution was broken, and marrying the maidens they became lost amongst the Kulâs. The elders left behind looked for their return; but they came not, and the elders heard news that they had become lost amongst the Kulâs, for the sake of the maidens.

And the elders sent word to them: "Will you not bring us back the writing?"

The young men replied: "When the time is come, we will certainly bring back the writing. But it is not yet time for us to return."

The elders returned, and no longer looked out for the writing, for it was lost. Howbeit the Kulâs will certainly send back the writing, and once the Karens see it, they will become happy and their eyes will be lifted up. But the elders, who had despatched the men to get the writing, looked out[1] for their return until they could do so no longer.

MISCELLANEA.

KONG-KIN-NA-PU-LO.

With reference to Dr. Fleet's proposal (*ante*, p. 43) to identify Nâsik with Hiuen Tsiang's capital of Mahârâshṭra, may I be permitted to point out that Hiuen Tsiang and Chinese writers generally have only eight points of direction, and he shews a preference for the four principal ones, except in cases where the direction appeared very close to the intermediate point; — hence 'west,' with him, may mean any direction almost between south-west and north-west; and so of other indications? Whether we should adopt Hwui-lih's direction of Bharôch as 'north-west' from the capital of Mahârâshṭra, or Hiuen Thsang's own statement of 'west,' may be a matter of opinion. Bharôch certainly lies between north-west and north from Nâsik.

From Dr. Fleet's proposal to identify Karnûl with the capital of Kong-kin-na-pu-lo, there may be grounds for dissent. We cannot twist Chinese representations of Indian names at will. The Chinese writers were scholars and had syllabaries for the transcription of names and vocables. The first syllable *kong*, we find used to represent *kôṅ*, and also *kum* (in Kumbhâṇḍa); *kin* before *n* is used for *ka*, as in *Kin-ni-kia* (for Kanaka); it appears for *kâñ* in Kâñchipura, for *gan* in Sugandhi, for *ghaṇ* in Nighaṇṭu, and in So-kin-ti-lo for *kan* in Skandhila; and *na* is always *na*, *nâ*, *ṇa*, *ne*, or *nya*. The *pu-lo* in this name is represented by the same Chinese characters as in Kâñchi-pura,[1] &c. Hence we are almost constrained to transliterate into Koṅkaṇâpura. It was 2,000 *li* northwards (not north) from Kâñchipura — say 330 miles, and 2,400 to 2,500 *li* north-west from it (say 400 miles) was the capital of Mahârâshṭra. If this latter were at Nâsik, or thereabouts, then we might be tempted to seek for Koṅkanâpura about Kopal, or Kôkanûr (? Koṅkanûr) which is 310 miles as the crow flies from Kâñchi and 335 from Nâsik; by road about 350 and 390 miles respectively. Now Kôkanûr, as well as Ittigi, must have been a place of note, and is still remarkable for some very old temples of about the 7th century A. D. May we not identify it with Kon-kin-na-pu-lo?

J. BURGESS.

Edinburgh, June 14th, 1893.

PROF. WEBER ON THE KAVYAMALA.

The first part of the *Journal of the German Oriental Society* for 1893, pp. 120 ff., contains an appreciative article by Prof. Weber on the *Kâvyamâlâ*, published in Bombay at the Nirṇaya Sâgara Press.

This excellent work is, no doubt, well known to most of our readers, and any detailed account of its contents would be unnecessary; but it is certainly a matter for congratulation that a collection of Oriental Texts should be edited and printed by native scholars in Bombay, in a style which is capable of satisfying the somewhat severe requirements of European critical scholarship. It is not claimed that the book represents the most advanced principles of strictly scientific editing, an *apparatus criticus*, and so forth. Now and then the text, when it depends on a single and perhaps corrupt manuscript, leaves much to be desired; but it is better to have a text which is incomplete or fragmentary than to have none at all. The editors have evidently spared no labour to obtain as intelligible and correct a text as was possible in the circumstances, and to avoid mistakes in printing; while the influence of European scholarship is shewn in the introductory notices furnished regarding the authors of the works published, their lives and their other writings, in the indexes of verses, the lists of contents, the tables of *errata*, and the like. Special acknowledgment should be made of the numerous instances in which complete commentaries are printed with the texts, and, when these are wanting, of the excellent notes on obscure passages supplied by the editors themselves.

The *Kâvyamâlâ* contains edited texts of works falling under the head of Drama, *Kâvya*, *Alaṁkâra*, and Prâkṛit literature. Many works are published for the first time, including some nine or ten plays and a large number of epic poems. The collection of works on Rhetoric is specially rich and valuable. Amongst the Prâkṛit works, the edition of Piṅgala's *Prâkṛita-sûtrâṇi* on Prâkṛit Prosody, with the commentary of Lakshmîdhara, is deserving of particular attention.

Prof. Weber's notice concludes with two useful indexes,—one of works, and the other of authors.

[1] *Kwâ-là aklĕ*, lit., to look along the path expectantly. A most expressive idiom to people living in the jungles. Amongst the Southern Chins the same expression prevails, meaning "to hope, desire, long for."

[1] S. Julien's *Méthode*, pp. 126, 133, 157, &c.

THE DEVIL WORSHIP OF THE TULUVAS.

FROM THE PAPERS OF THE LATE A. E. BURNELL.

(*Continued from page* 24)

BURNELL MSS. — No. IV. PART I.

THE SONG OF KOTI AND CHANNAYYA.

ORIGINAL in the Kanarese character from the MS. of Dr. Mögling, Mangalore, and signed "M.": translation according to Burnell's MS. Original, text and translation, occupies leaves 23 to 53 inclusive in Burnell's MSS. It is really a direct continuation of the story of Deyibaidi.

Translation.

On leaving the Ballâḷ's house (Deyi) walked on by the sides of the paddy fields, and began to feel pangs of childbirth, little by little. She stood on the road, clasping a cocoa-nut tree bearing fruit of a red colour, and dropped tears.

At this time one Buddyanta came up, and, on coming up he said:—"O my mother! O Billavar girl! Is it the overflow of blood in your veins, or is it the pride of wealth (that makes you stand thus)?"

Deyi replied:—"If I have done this out of pride, I shall suffer hardship. If out of trouble, the children that shall be born of me will relieve me of it."

Meanwhile, the Ballâḷ had sent his wives to see whether Deyi had reached home, or was still on the road. They came and called her to their house, and when she came, the Ballâḷ said:—

"There are seven rooms in my *bîḍu* (residence). One of them do you set apart for her, and let her bring forth her children in that room."

By this time Deyi felt pain, and (her attendants) hung up a rope to facilitate the delivery, praying to the Bhûta, Brahmara of Kemmuḷe.

Then, first she brought forth a male child. From one womb she brought forth two children. On the ninth day after this, she and her children were purified, and it was desired that the ceremony of giving names to the children should be performed on that day. So that he might out-live the corner-stone of the temple of the god at Kôṭêsvara in the South, the first was named Kôṭi: and so that he might live as long as there existed the corner-stone of the temple of the god at Badiriṅga in the North, the second was named Channayya.

Through Ammaṇṇa Baidya, Birmaṇṇa Baidya killed the mother of these children by means of magic. The Ballâḷ caused her to be buried in a corner of the room, in which she had stayed, and had her children purified. He gave orders that, as they had no mother, they should be well taken care of; and he sent for their use first a cow and then a she-buffaloe, one after the other, as each ceased to give milk. He also provided them with carpets and shawls, one after the other, as each became useless. In this manner he treated them with much respect.

Then the Ballâḷ sent for Sâyina Baidya:—"Feed these your children well," said he.

So Sâyina Baidya had the children taken to his house, and when he was leaving the Ballâḷ's house, the Ballâḷ provided him with everything he wanted, in order to bring up the children well.

While they were living in Sâyina's house, they saw Buddyanta's children playing with cashew-nuts; and when they saw this, they went to Sâyina Baidya, and asked him to give them some cashew-nuts, and also with implements for the game. He gave them trowsers and coats, and had a horn blown in their honour!

The next day they went out to play: —

"O, you children of Buddyanta! We will also play with you. We will also stake cashew-nuts," said they.

So they played, but upon the agreement that there were to be no squares for the play, and were completely beaten by Buddyanta's children.

Then the younger of them said to his brother: — "Give me my turn now. I shall proceed with the play."

So he took his turn and began to play, and he completely defeated Buddyanta's children. They then demanded that the play should be renewed with the squares.

The victorious party said: — "You yourselves had ruled that there were to be no squares for the play. Now we will not agree to that," and they walked straight home.

Buddyanta's children went home and informed their father of this, and he came and took the cashew-nuts by force from the hands of the victorious children.

"We are young and you take the nuts from us by force. Keep them well, and when we are grown up, we shall get them from you," said the children.

Buddyanta took the nuts home, and tying them in a cloth, hung them up in the smoke.[1]

"We must go to see the Ballâḷ. In his face sits (the goddess) Lakshmî (good luck), whereas in our faces sits Kâlî (bad luck). We must get rid of Kâlî and try to gain over Lakshmî."

So spake the children to each other, and one of them advised the other to ask the opinion of Sâyina Baidya. Sâyina Baidya went to the Ballâḷ, who was sitting in his hall with great enjoyment. On his head was a hat of areca-nut shell ornamented with peacock's plumes. His body was decorated with garlands of jasmine flowers, and of the flowers called *kêtaki*. To the Ballâḷ thus seated, Buddyanta made a lowly obeisance.

The Ballâḷ said: — "Come, Sâyina, take a seat. What is your object in coming here?"

Sâyina Baidya replied: — "(The goddess) Kâlî, who sits in the faces of the children, whom you have nourished, should be driven away, and the Goddess of Wealth invited to sit there instead."

To this Ballâḷ answered:— "Have the ceremony performed according to the custom of our caste. Fell plantain trees. Hang up festoons of cocoanut leaves. Set up four posts of plantain trees. Ceil the inner roof. Carpet the ground. Rain coral on the heads of the boys. Wave lamps before their faces in a plate filled with rubies. Perform the ceremony just in the same way as the Ballâḷ king would have done."

On hearing this, Sâyina Baidya returned home, and inquired who had been serving his household as a barber from the time of his ancestors. He was told that it was one Îsara Kaṁbi, the son of a barber, and that he was at that time living on the land of one Kaṇḍe Boḷḷari Svâmin in a place called Karmi Sâle in the City of Îjiyâ on the Ghâts.

He then desired to write him a letter on palm leaves and send for him; and enquired who had been writing such letters from the time of his ancestors. He was told that the writer was a clerk named Nârâyaṇa Raṅgôjî. Raṅgôjî was then sent for, and came, and asked Sâyina Baidya why he had been sent for.

Sâyina Baidya then sent a servant to a place named Uddanda Boṭṭu, and caused some raw leaves of a young palm-tree to be brought, and to be exposed to the morning sun. In the evening he caused the leaves to be taken out of the sun, and had them tied up in bundles. He had the middle parts only of the leaves preserved; their ends he had cut off. The clerk held

[1] *i. e.*, in the chimney.

one of those trimmed leaves in his hand and it bent; so he caused oil and turmeric to be put on it. Then he asked Sâyina Baidya what he should write on it.

Sâyina Baidya dictated thus :—" O you who have been serving my house as a barber from the time of my ancestors, know that from Sâyina Baidya's house **Kâlî is to be driven out and Lakshmî is to be invited instead.** You must bring with you for that purpose all the instruments connected with your profession. Bring two pairs of razors, a pair of scissors, a small cup for holding water, tweezers, and a glass in which the face can be reflected. Kâlî is to be driven out from the persons of the children, whom the Ballâḷ has caused to be brought up. Immediately on seeing this letter, in whatever dress you may be in at the time, and even though you may be taking your food, you must start, taking your box with you, and following the man I have sent you."

He then asked for a man to be the bearer of the letter. **Vaṇappa Bhandâri**, the son of his mother's sister, was sent for. Sâyina Baidya paid him the expenses of the journey, and of his family during his absence, and tied the letter in the skirt of his garment. Vaṇappa Bhandâri then started, and passing out of the yard of Sâyina's house went on his way straight to the Svâmin's residence on the *ghâts*.

He stood at the gate and called out :—" Îsâ of Karmi." The first call Îsara heard, but made no answer. The second he answered, and at the third he came out, enquiring who called him.

" It is I and no one else," was the answer, and Vaṇappa Bhandâri undid the skirt of his garment and gave the letter to the barber.

Îsara Kaṁbi then opened the letter, extended the leaf to its full length, and read it. Immediately on reading it, he rose from his dinner, and in the dress he wore at the time he set out, taking all his instruments with him; and, following the man sent to him, he descended into the low country, and came to Sâyina Baidya's house. He was asked to name all the things required for the ceremony.

" Five bundles of betel-leaves, five areca-nuts, a cocoanut having three eyes, a *sêr* of green rice, and cow's milk, are wanted," replied the barber.

He was supplied with all the things required for his part of the business. All the friends of Sâyina Baidya assembled; a small bower of plantain trees was formed, festoons of cocoanut leaves were hung up, the inner part of the roof was ceiled, and the ground was covered with a carpet.

The children of Sâyina Baidya together with the friends, who were assembled, circumambulated the bower, the boys being seated within it. Then the pouring of rice on their heads began. First the barber poured it, next Sâyina Baidya, and last of all, **Sâyina Baidyati, mother of Kântaṇṇṇa.**

Then the barber, holding the left cheek by his hand, began his work on the right cheek of Kôṭi. The front part of his head he shaved and made figures of the sun and the moon; and on the back of the head he made the figures of Bhîma and Arjuna. Thus the tonsure of **Kôṭi Baidya** was finished, and he was lifted by the hand.

Lamps were waved before his brother's face, too, in a plate filled with rubies. Coral was thrown on **Channayya's** head, and his head, too, was shaved, and figures of the sun and the moon formed on the front part, and figures of Bhîma and Arjuna on the back. The tonsure of both was thus over, and they were now to bathe themselves, and wash away the pollution of being shaved.

For this purpose they got ready the juice of several kinds of leaves growing in dry and wet paddy-fields; and *uddu*, and pods of green gram, and several substances for washing away oil; also a thousand pots of hot water and a thousand pots of cold water. They warmed themselves by bathing in the hot water, and cooled themselves by bathing in the cold water.

They then went to a room where there was some sandal-wood, and ground a great deal of the sandal-wood, and fully besmeared their bodies down to their waists with it, and then sat down to take their food. They next got into a palankin of the color of parrots, and each of them tied to his waist a dagger like that of Râma.

Thus did they go to the Ballâḷ's house. They approached the gate, and entered the enclosure, and, passing through the yard in front of the house, went into a room set apart for the use of bards, poets, and such like.

They then went into a room on the western side of the house, and climbed into the upper-story by means of a rope. On a great chair the Ballâḷ was sitting in great enjoyment. He had a hat of areca-nut shell, decorated with a crest of peacock's plumes. On his head were garlands of jasmine flowers and of the flowers called *kêtaki*. Thus seated, the boys made him a lowly salute.

"Come, my children, sit down," said the Ballâḷ.

He brought a bed of flowers and spread it out, and they sat down on it and placed their daggers on the ground. Then the Ballâḷ asked them why they had come, and they replied :—

"You have nourished us with great love. You have treated us with great respect. From this time forward, also, do you provide for our livelihood!"

Then the Ballâḷ said : — "Buddyanta owns the upper part of a **paddy field named Anilaja**; the lower part of that field, I shall assign to you."

He accordingly marked its boundaries, and when he was giving the field to the boys, he advised them to make some offering to Buddyanta, whenever they might sow it.

With the intention of sowing the *yanêla* seed at the proper time, they gathered all the refuse of the field and set fire to it. And then, after eighteen days of the month Paggu had passed, they ploughed the field with two pairs of he-buffaloes. Thus did they cultivate the *yanêla* crop.

Meanwhile, **to choose a day for celebrating a kambaḷa[2] in his field, Buddyanta** was going to ask the opinion of one **Maṭṭi Bîra Ballâya.** On his way he passed the field of Kôṭi and Channayya, and they called out to him :—

"Where are you going to, Buddyanta ?"

"I am going to ask the opinion of a soothsayer for fixing a day for the celebration of a *kambaḷa*," replied Buddyanta.

"When you are asking about your *kambaḷa*, please ask also about ours," said the young men.

Then Kôṭi asked his brother to go up to the upper-story of their house by a ladder, and fetch down a cocoanut. Then he took off its outer skin, removed all the fibres from it, and gave it to Buddyanta. Taking the cocoanut with him, Buddyanta walked away, but when he got out of their sight, he struck the cocoanut against a rock, broke it to pieces, and put the pieces into the skirts of his garment. He munched them all the way as he went along. Channayya saw this, and he said to Kôṭi :—

"The cocoanut we gave to Buddyanta he has broken to pieces, and he has been eating it all along the way; so we have not had the good fortune of eating vegetables mixed with cocoanut!"

Buddyanta went to Maṭṭi Bîra Ballâya, and asked him to name a day for the celebration of a *kambaḷa*. Tuesday was found to be an auspicious day, and, when he heard this, Buddyanta returned home.

[2] [This is an agricultural ceremony, and consists in racing with buffaloes and bullocks in a rice-field for luck. — ED.]

"Now, Buddyanta, what day has been found to be auspicious for us and what day for you?" asked Kôṭi.

"This Tuesday has been chosen for me and the next for you," replied Buddyanta.

"We must celebrate the *kambaḷa* on the same day as Buddyanta, and we must sow our field at the same time that he does;" so the young men resolved within themselves.

They then said to one another that they ought to order some he-buffaloes and coolies for the *kambaḷa*.

"You go to the lower parts, and I will go to the upper parts, to order he-buffaloes and coolies. He who owns four he-buffaloes should send two to us, and two should he send to Buddyanta; and he who owns two only, may, if he pleases, send them to us, or he may send them to Buddyanta," said the elder to the younger brother.

Now, at this very time, Buddyanta also intended to order he-buffaloes and coolies.

"Where are you going, Kôṭi?" asked he.

"I have come to order he-buffaloes and coolies," was the reply.

"For you the next Tuesday has been chosen. This Tuesday has been chosen for me. Why do you act in this manner?" asked Buddyanta.

"Acting upon your advice, my brother has put the seed that was in the upper-story into water," replied Kôṭi.

When Buddyanta proceeded further, he met Channayya Baidya, and, seeing him, he asked him where he was going to.

"I am going to order he-buffaloes and coolies, my lord!" said Channayya.

"Then, when do you mean to celebrate your *kambaḷa?*" asked Buddyanta.

"It should be celebrated to-morrow. Listening to my brother's advice, the seed that was in the upper-story I put into water," answered Channayya.

"What do you mean by this, Channayya? What trick are you playing?" said Buddyanta.

The men who were to drive the buffaloes were ordered to appear along with the animals very early the next morning, and the maid-servants were ordered to appear with earthen pots in their hands. The next day, the buffaloes and coolies both came to the fields, and it was only after the fields of Kôṭi and Channayya had been twice ploughed that the buffaloes came to Buddyanta's fields; and by the time that the fields of the latter had been ploughed once, Kôṭi and Channayya had entirely finished their *kambaḷa*. Then they sent four buffaloes and four coolies to Buddyanta's fields.

Then Buddyanta came from **Vali Mañje Kaṭṭe**, rooted out the *kuntâlam* plant growing in the water, and severely beat the buffaloes and coolies.

Then the two brothers said:— "Do not you beat the buffaloes and coolies belonging to others. If you bear hatred against us, revenge yourself on our own persons;" and to the coolies and buffaloes they said:— "Although you have been beaten, we shall consider the aggression as against ourselves."

They then caused the buffaloes to be washed and boiled rice to be served to them. They also caused fodder to be served to those who were willing to eat it, and supplied tender cocoanuts to those who would not take fodder. To the coolies they said: — "Go home in great enjoyment."

They then brought some seed in baskets to their fields for sowing them; while Buddyanta had his seed carried to his fields in a palankin, and a plantain tree carried on the shoulders of coolies. The two brothers then planted a plaintain tree in their fields, sowed them and returned home.

Three or six days afterwards, Channayya said to Kôṭi: — "Now them uddy water in the fields must be let out and pure water let in, and we should see what the seed has come to. Will you go, my brother? or shall I?"

"The bluntness of Buddyanta and your angry disposition will not well agree," replied Kôṭi.

Then he took his harrow with him and set out from his house; he passed **Uddanda Boṭṭu,** and went through the field named Anilaje, and walked by the side of a paddy field named Pûmaje Râjjya in **Munilaje.** On his way he observed that Buddyanta's field had not even so much water in it as would be sufficient for a fly. Buddyanta was engaged in scaring birds from his field. The fields of these brothers presented the appearance of the sea bearing Râma's name.

Buddyanta was sitting in his house at **Vali Mañje** with great enjoyment, when Kôṭi laid down the harrow on the ground, and exclaimed:—"Salutation to my lord!"

When he saluted him from the eastern side Buddyanta turned his face to the north; when from the north he turned his face to the west; when from the west he turned himself round to the south; and when he saluted him from the southern side Buddyanta looked down on the earth.

At last Kôṭi said:—"I saluted you full four times and not even once did you return my salute! If I had saluted the wild *kâsana* tree in the jungle, even that would have dropped its fruit and leaves, and its tendrils would have greeted me. You have not returned me even so much. Let one of my salutations go to (the god) Nârâyaṇa on high, another to the (goddess) Earth below, a third to your ancestors, and the last to the **Bhûta, Brahmara of Kemmuḷe.**"

Saying this, he took up his harrow with him and went to the banks of his field. He made a wide opening in one of the banks; the water flowed out with a rapidity equal to that of rivers during the monsoon. Seeing this, Buddyanta called out his servants and they shut up the opening made by Kôṭi by means of grass.

Kôṭi then said:—"Take care, Buddyanta! The *suggi* crop is the only means of food for the monsoon for you as well as for us! If you have enmity against us, avenge yourself on our persons, and not on the crop that we have cultivated. Let, therefore, the water, which is flowing out according to custom, flow on in its proper course."

"Who has given you a right, my youthful Billavar, to fell the trees in the forest, and to dig a channel, and let out the water of your field through that channel?" said Buddyanta.

"As it was I that came here, matters have come only to this; but if my brother had come they would have borne a serious aspect," replied Kôṭi.

"Did your brother descend from heaven, or did he spring out of the earth? Was he born in a peacock's plume? Was he suckled by the wild buffaloe? Can he make the water in a small earthern pot flow out in a rapid current? Will he ride to this place on a noseless horse? Ah! your brother will surely come, and shall I not get ready a bundle of thorny plants? Shall I not strike his face with it?" said Buddyanta.

At this time Channayya came to Uddanda Boṭṭu and looked around him, and said to himself:—"What could possibly have delayed my brother so long? He is not yet to be seen."

Meanwhile words rose to a high pitch between Buddyanta and the elder brother, and Channayya heard them. He went to his house, and, unsheathing his dagger, proceeded to the place, and when he reached it, he saw his brother and Buddyanta quarrelling with each other. He remonstrated with Buddyanta and warned him not to interfere, saying:—"Will the water that is poured on the feet come up to the head? Or will the water poured on the head come down to the feet? Let the water, which is flowing out according to custom, have its proper course."

On this Buddyanta said :—"Who has created a custom for you ?"

Then Channayya held Buddyanta by the head and broke his neck. He held him by the back, and broke the back-bone. Then he hurled him to the ground, so that he fell with his face upwards. His throat and his breast with his silver-hilted dagger he stabbed full three times. Buddyanta vomitted all his food; his bowels were loosened, and his soul fled from his body to Kailâsa! The two brothers then took the corpse by the hands and feet, bore it to the channel they had dug, and there they placed it. They then put a harrowful of earth on its head, and said to the corpse :— "Do you imagine this to be a red turban."

Next they put a harrowful of earth on its breast, and said:—"Consider this to be a blanket of the colour of pigeons."

A third time they put the same quantity of earth on its middle, and said :—"Take this to be a shawl of the best manufacture."

And for the last time they put a harrowful of earth on its feet, and said:—"This last do you consider to be slippers."

They then smoothened the earth, just as they would do the banks of the *suggi* fields. The harrow they decorated, and made it look somewhat like Buddyanta, and placed it on his seat, and said :—"Sit down here and scare away birds!"

"Now, my elder brother, on our way home, let us go to Buddyanta's house," said Channayya.

"To Buddyanta's widow let us mention a fact, apparently true, though not really so," said the elder brother.

They then proceeded towards Buddyanta's house, and stood at the gate and called out to his widow. She came out answering the call, and enquired who it was that had called her.

"We are the persons that called you," answered the two brothers.

She asked them to come in and sit down. They sat down on a swinging cot.

"You, Sirs, who never visited our house till this, what is your object in coming here?" asked the woman.

"Our lord, your husband, is very thirsty, his body is full of sweat, and his throat is dry; therefore he has ordered that, with milk in a cup, water in a goblet, and betel-leaves in a metal plate, you should go there, accompanied by a maid-servant," replied the brothers. "Wherever you went, there he would sprinkle water mixed with cow-dung, and wherever he went, there you would do the same."

"Who has effected this union between you, who have been so widely separated?" asked the woman.

"All the great men of the upper and lower countries joined and united us together," replied the brothers.

"If you have become friends, I shall still have the fortune of enjoying married life," said the woman.

She further said :—"You, my children, who never came here till this, and have so strangely visited our house, take your food here."

"Till yesterday we have lived upon your food and salt, and henceforwards, too, we are only to depend upon you," replied the brothers.

She then asked them to at least chew betel-leaves, and offered them the leaves in a metal plate. They took up some leaves in their hands and said :—"We will go."

Meanwhile, accompanied by the maid-servant, who took with her milk in a cup, water in a goblet, and betel-leaves in a plate, the widow proceeded by the sides of the bank named

Aṇile of the field called **Ambaḷa**. Here blood was slowly flowing through a narrow channel near the field. Then she went to the shed in Vali Mañje, and saw a harrow decorated so as to assume the appearance of Buddyanta, placed on his seat ! She cried out:— "Oh! the brothers have committed murder!"

She threw away her nose ornament, and cried out:—"Let it ornament the breasts of those heroes!"

She threw away her neck ornament, and cried out:—"Let it adorn the breasts of those heroes!"

She cast off her ear-rings, and cried out:—"Let them ornament the breasts of those heroes!"

She dashed her bracelets to pieces, and the brothers rejoiced to see Buddyanta's wife in this distracted condition, and returned home. All the water in the country became poisonous to them and every man became their enemy. They then resolved to leave the country and to go to foreign lands, and said to each other: — "If we are to go away, our uncle lives in his house named **Mandil Nêma Barke**. Let us visit him."

Saying thus, they went on their way. **Svâmi Baidyati**, the woman that had nourished them, saw them from afar and said to Sâyina: — "The children that have not visited us for so long are coming!"

By this time they had reached the gate and went into the house. Seeing this, on a swinging cot she spread out a bed of flowers, and asked them to sit down. At the same time Sâyina Baidya came and also sat down on the same cot.

"You children, who have not come here for such a long time, with what object have you visited us to-day? What are those stains on your faces? And why does your dagger shine so brightly?" asked he.

"Our mother has not been able to wash away those stains, and our dagger, having been whetted, the polish on it is still bright," replied the brothers.

"Tell me the story as it really is, will you, my children?" said Sâyina.

The younger brother said:—"The tone of Buddyanta's words rose to a high pitch, and so he met his death at the hands of Channayya."

"Now you will be hated by one and all of the people of the country," said Sâyina Baidya.

"We will leave our country and go to a foreign one. In our life-time you supplied us with a handful of food and after our death you would have reduced our bodies to five *sêrs* of ashes!" said one of the brothers.

"At the age of seven years, land was given to you by **Parimâḷe Ballâḷ. Do not go away, when you possess land and the love of women. Make the throne**[3] **the cause of your departure.** Consider this well," said Sâyina Baidya.

Then they asked him to tell them the means, by which they were to carry out his advice.

"O, my children, listen to me then. The *pancholi*-betel creeper that has climbed up the areca-nut tree, and the *maṇḍoḷi*-betel creeper that has climbed up the mango tree; fetch you some leaves of both these creepers, tie them in bundles, put them into the skirts of your garments, and beg of the Ballâḷ to give you the food and clothing he promised your mother to give you. Then he will become terribly angry. Do you then take him at his word, put the blame upon him and go away." Thus did the wife of Sâyina advise the two brothers.

They sat down to take their meals. There were five hundred kinds of curries mixed with curds, and three hundred kinds of curries mixed with tamarind pickles, and green rice boiled in milk. They ate food mixed with *ghî*, washed their hands in whey and chewed betel-leaves.

[3] *i. e.*, the Ballâḷ.

After their dinner they came out, and set out from the house. They went towards the house of Parimâḷe. The five hundred men in the service of Parimâḷe, and the three hundred in that of Koḷamâḷe, asked them who they were, and whispered to each other: — "We cannot find out whether they are merchants or Brâhmaṇs, or whether they belong to the class called Vakkatêra, or whether they are Baṇṭs."

At this time the Ballâḷ was looking out of a window of his house, and he said: — "The children that are coming are those that I brought up."

By this time they approached the gate and came to the spacious yard in front of the house, and went into the crowded hall. They proceeded to a room set apart for the use of bards, poets, musicians and the like. It was a room on the western side of the house. By means of a rope they got into the upper-story which was made of silver, and sat down on two chairs. Wearing a hat of areca-nut spathe on the head, decorated with peacock's plumes, the Ballâḷ was nodding on his seat. He was adorned with jasmine and *pandanus* flowers. To the Ballâḷ thus seated, they bowed low.

"Come, children, take seats," said he.

"We would first speak about the purpose with which we have come, and afterwards about the matter of sitting down," said the brothers.

"You can speak about the object which has brought you here, but sit down," said the Ballâḷ.

They sat down near the door, and he asked them to tell him the object of their visit.

"We have become tired of living by cultivation. Our purses have become empty. Supply us with something that will defray all our expenses," said the brothers.

"What do you want, my children? Tell me and I will give it you," said the Ballâḷ.

"In front of your mansion there is a field named Bâkimâr, in which can be sown five *sêrs* of rice, and which produces five hundred *muḍis*.[4] Give us that," asked the brothers.

"That field meets all the expenses of my household. Leave that, and ask for another," said the Ballâḷ.

"There is the field Bertâḷi below your mansion. You sow three *sêrs* of rice in it, and when you reap the crop you get three hundred *muḍis*," said the brothers.

"Leave that one and ask me for something else!" said the Ballâḷ.

"In your spacious cow-pen, there are two milch she-buffaloes, give us one of them," asked the brothers.

"They are for supplying milk to the children of my household. Leave them and ask for something else," said the Ballâḷ.

"In the yard of your house, there is a jack-tree of a superior quality. On one of its branches there is fruit with a soft rind; on another there is fruit with a hard rind; on a third there is unripe fruit; and on a fourth very tender fruit. Give us that," asked the brothers.

"I cannot give you that," said the Ballâḷ.

"Your grand-mothers have two pleasure-gardens. Favour us with one of them," said the brothers.

"You, who to-day have asked for a a flower-garden, will to-morrow ask me for one of my grand-mothers!" said the Ballâḷ.

"Ah! you have conceived the strange idea of marrying us to the very mother that suckled us!" said the brothers, and, bowing low, rushed out of the house, and proceeded on their way.

[4] [A measure of grain containing from 40 to 60 *sêrs*.—ED.]

While they went on their way, they met the Ballâḷ's nephew coming from a place called **Dêvaṇa Ajale** belonging to one **Bôḷa Mardaḍe.**

"Why are you walking with such angry looks from the Ballâḷ's house?" asked he.

"The Ballâḷ had the strange idea of marrying us to the very mother that suckled us, therefore we came out of his house," said the brothers.

His nephew asked the Ballâḷ: — "Why did those heroes go out of your house in anger?"

"They asked me to give them very unusual gifts and I became terribly angry; then they saluted me and went away!" said the Ballâḷ.

"They shall not be left unpursued, in their own land. We must construct **a fort in the paddy field called Koḷala** and must give them battle," said the nephew.

Then the Ballâḷ asked him to try and make peace with the brothers, and bring them back to his house. The nephew then took some precious shawls in both his hands, and said to the brothers:—"O, my heroes, make peace, and I will give you whatever you want."

"Give your shawls to the Pariahs that have long served you! We will never enter the hall that we have once left," replied the brothers.

Then the royal elephant was sent out to fight with them.

"If you have come to fight on behalf of justice, on our very breasts we shall let you tread; but if you have come on behalf of injustice, we shall cut you to pieces," said the brothers to the elephant, and the elephant returned to its stable.

Next the royal horse was sent.

"Are you come to fight on behalf of justice or of injustice? If on behalf of justice, we shall allow you to pass over our very breasts; if on behalf of injustice, we shall cut off the legs of your foal," said the brothers to the horse. Hearing this, the horse went back to its stable.

A company of player youths and some youths of the class called Châvaḍi Makkaḷa were armed, each with a cudgel, and sent to fight.

"Are you come to fight on the side of justice, or on the side of injustice?" asked the brothers. Hearing this, the youths turned back.

The brothers then proceeded on their way, and while they were walking, they **resolved to get back from a plough-wright the implements of husbandry, which they gave him to be repaired,** and which they used for cultivating the field Anilaja; namely, the plough made of the tree called *bêdiyña*, having a handle made of the tree called *tiruvu*, some iron nails, and a yoke made of the tree called *koraji*.[5]

BURNELL MSS. — No. IV. PART II.

THE STORY OF KOTI AND CHANNAYYA.

Original in the Kanarese character from the MS. of Dr. Mögling, Mangalore, and signed "M.": the translation according to Burnell's MS. Original, text and translation, occupies leaves 54 to 122 inclusive in Burnell's MSS. It is a direct continuation of Part I. which breaks off in the middle of a sentence.

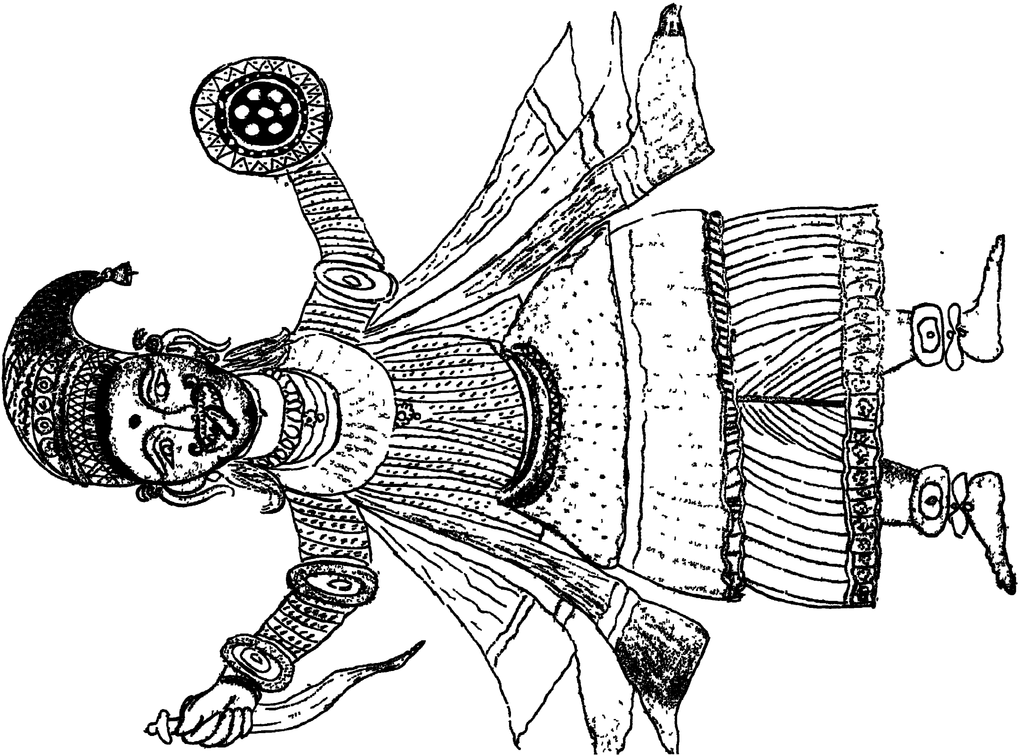
Translation.

When Kôṭi and Channayya called out to the **plough-wright,** he came out from his house.

"Give us the implements we entrusted to you the other day," asked the brothers.

"The plough-tail and the plough-share have been injured by white ants, the plough-shoe has been injured by rust," said the plough-wright.

[5] From this point the story is continued in prose.



"You had better give us our implements; if not, we will reduce you to Buddyanta's condition."

Hearing this, he went in, and, stretching his hands to the rafters of his roof, he took down the broken plough-share, the decayed plough-tail, and the injured plough-shoe, and threw them away, saying :—

"Let the instruments, which were used to furrow the earth, henceforward furrow your breasts."

"Ah! you son of a paltry courtezan, shall the implements used to furrow the earth furrow our breasts?"

Saying this **Channayya Baidya** held him by the head and **broke his neck.** He hurled him to the ground, so that he fell on his back. He looked at his neck and at his breast, and with his silver-hilted dagger stabbed the plough-wright in the breast. The plough-wright vomited all his food, and the wound streamed forth blood. The plough-wright fled from his body to Kailâsa, and they said to the corpse :—

"Drink a bellyful of rain water, repair old ploughs, and make new ones."

So saying they went on, and, on the way, a **washerman** said to them :—

"What are those cries of men and groans of women in that plough-wright's house?"

They answered him :—"We kindled a fire, a spark flew from it and burnt a shed; therefore are the inmates of the house crying out."

"Wherever you go, there ruin will never be wanting; and wherever the crab goes, there dirt will never be wanting," said the washerman.

"Do you compare us to a fish that lives in the water? You whoreson! You that live by washing the clothes of others!" said **the brothers**; and holding him by the head **broke his neck.** They rolled him on the ground, so that he lay on his back. The centre of his breast they stabbed three times, and they then said to the corpse :—

"Bring dirty clothes, clean them, and eat your bellyful." Saying thus, they proceeded on their way, and came to a small river. They washed their hands, feet, faces and bodies in it. After washing themselves they sat down by the foot of an *aśvattha* tree, and, having sat down, they undid a small bag containing betel-leaves, areca-nut and the like, and chewed pieces of areca-nut, and *pancholi* betel-leaves. They ate white lime and Sûrat tobacco. They tied up the bag, and went on chewing the betel-leaves.

There was a toll gate on the way, and as they approached it, **the toll-man Dêre** saw them coming and asked them who they were. They said that they were travellers.

"Look! there is the toll gate: pay me the toll before going away," said the toll-man.

"Toll! what is it on? Do we carry any packs on our heads? Did you see any loads on our backs? Is it on any cattle that we have brought with us? Have we brought a whole family with us?" said the brothers.

To this the toll-man Dêre answered :— "The toll on the steel-dagger, five feet long, that you carry with you, amounts to a cash. Pay that to me and then go away."

The brothers said :—"Never has any man set so low a price on our dagger, and now you have been born!"

"Is it wonderful that you should be asked to pay the toll? If the son of a Baṇṭ should pass this way, he would pay toll on the slippers on his feet. Should **the Seṭṭi's son Shenaye** pass, he would pay toll on the white umbrella in his hand. If the son of a king should pass this way, he would pay toll on his palankin," said the toll-man.

"You may proceed, I shall pay the toll to Dêre and follow you," said Channayya to his elder brother.

Kôṭi went onwards, and the younger brother took a cash from his pocket and said:—

"Here, Dêre, receive the toll."

"Stretch out your hand to the verandah and pay it me," said Dêre.

"Come down from the verandah and receive it," said Channayya.

"I will not descend from the verandah," said the toll-man.

Channayya stood awhile, gazing at him with fiery eyes. He twisted his red moustache. He ascended the verandah and caused Dêre to run round the verandah thrice, held him by the head and broke his neck. Then Channayya held him by the back and broke the back-bone. He stabbed his breast and neck three times with his silver-hilted dagger. Dêre vomited up all his food, and his soul fled from his body to Kailâsa.

Channayya then said to the corpse:—"Eat your bellyful and thus feed your belly. Receive toll from Baṅga, Mûllaya and Chauṭa."

So saying, he placed the cash on the breast of the corpse and went on. The wind was blowing and the two brothers spread out a dirty blanket under a banian-tree. They undid the bag of the colour of parrots and pigeons, containing betel-leaves and so on, and chewed areca-nut with much enjoyment. Channayya swooned from the effects of the areca-nut.

"My throat is dry with thirst," said he.

Said Kôṭi:—"See here, brother, there is the spot named Darma Kaṭṭe. If you look towards it, you can see it, and your call can he heard there. A poor Brâhmaṇ keeps holy water there."

So spake Kôṭi, and the pair went to Darma Kaṭṭe.

"Give us a little water, Brâhmaṇ, to allay our thirst," said they.

"What is your caste? And what is your religion?" asked the Brâhmaṇ.

"We wear the thread to mark our religion, and we are Billavars by caste," replied the brothers.

"Come to the southern side. I have got a tube of bell-metal, and I will pour water along it into your hands, and thus you may allay your thirst," said the Brâhmaṇ.

"We will not drink out of the vessel that has been used by people of a hundred and twenty different castes. We will hold our dagger to our mouths, and you may pour water into our mouths along it."

Kôṭi then placed the point of the dagger in his mouth and stretched the hilt towards the Brâhmaṇ. Thus he assuaged his thirst. Next Channayya placed the point of the dagger in his mouth, with its hilt towards the Brâhmaṇ, who then poured water upon the dagger. On seeing the red moustache and the flaming eyes, and the broad face of Channayya, the Brâhmaṇ's hand trembled, and he poured out a large quantity all at once. The water ran down on to Channayya's body, and he said:—

"O, you Brâhmaṇ! Do you give water for the sake of charity, or for the purpose of committing sin?"

Saying thus, he suddenly stood up, and made the Brâhmaṇ run round the verandah.

"Wait a little, brother! Wait a little! Do not murder him. If you disobey me, your crime will be equal to that of murdering me; to that of killing a cow in Baṇâras; nay, even to that of destroying the Bhûta, Brahmara of Kemmuḷe."

Thus did Kôṭi solemnly warn his brother. Hearing this, the latter drew back and said:—"The cow that you speak of is in Baṇâras and the Bhûta, Brahmara, in the forests of Kemmuḷe; but where can I wash away the sin of murdering you?"

Hearing these words, the Brâhmaṇ said:—"Do you wait here a little while. I will just go home and return."

He ran home so fast that the dust rising from the earth covered all his head. He held a little grass in his hand, and by its means induced his cow to come home from the garden, where it was grazing The cow came home and its pretty calf was put to suck its mother. When it had sucked once, the Brâhmaṇ drew a *sêr* of milk. A second time, the calf was put to its mother, and this time the Brâhmaṇ drew two *sêrs* of milk. He then boiled the milk and reduced it to one *sêr*. Then, taking with him a stool made of the wood of the tree called *kadaḷi*, ornamented with flowers of silver, and another of gold set with precious stones, he came to the two brothers, and said :—"Drink this milk to allay your thirst." They accordingly drank the milk, and said to each other that they would not murder the Brâhmaṇ, who had given them milk.

"Sit down, both of you, and I will predict future events."

So the Brâhmaṇ prophesied.

He said :—"O you heroes, in the village named Adakkanellijîne, the Koragars, living in their sheds called *koppu*, the Mugêrs in those called *voṇi*, and the Bâkdêrs of the plain, are all eagerly waiting to meet you. Kemêr Ballâḷ, of the village named Pañje, keeps a watchful guard. Therefore, be very cautious on your way. If you think that what I say is false, on your way to Nellijîne, you will see white stone-berries and Kôṭi Baidya's palankin, and hear the sound of the war drum. If you think this also to be false, you will meet a female areca-nut seller called Kântakke. She will verify my statement; and if this, too, shall prove false, when you return, you may put me to death."

Hearing this Kôti and Channayya walked on. On the way they met the female areca-nut seller Kântakke. She cried out :—"O children; why are you journeying? Where did you come from? Where do you go to? Over there, wood, stone and earth-work is being busily carried on. O children, why are you journeying?"

"She, who has given us such good advice, shall not henceforward carry the basket of areca-nut on her head," said the brothers to each other, and they gave her their blessing by lightly touching her hand with their dagger, and said to her :—

"Put out rice to interest in kind and money to interest in coin, and thus live happily."

They went on their way to Nellijîne, and while they were walking on they saw a bunch of stone-berries. Channayya took one of the berries and threw it up, he held his dagger directly under it and passed the dagger through the berry. The berry as it fell was reduced to powder as fine as red turmeric. The people saw this wonderful feat, and said :—

"If the younger brother can shew so much dexterity, how much more will the elder be able to shew? All our ability and skill would be as nothing in comparison to theirs. If we obey our master's orders (to fight them), half of us will lose our lives."

Thus spake the Bâkdêrs of the plain, and the Koragars, living in their sheds termed *koppu*, and fled. The Mugêrs, carrying bows, held each a blade of grass in his hand and fell prostrate before the two brothers, crying for protection.

"For ever and ever we will serve you like crows," said they.

The brothers heard this, and poured water on the hands of the suppliants, saying:—"Be you our bond-slaves," and the brothers blessed them by touching their hands with the point of their dagger, and gave them some rupees.

"Feast yourself with toddy," said the brothers, and then, taking their way, they went through the plain in Pañje.

On that plain there were some cow-herds grazing thousands of cows. Channayya proposed to his brother to propound a riddle to the cow-herds.

"A riddle requires little wisdom, but great wit," said Kôṭi. They then said to the cow-herds :—"Look! in your herd of cattle, a bull has brought forth a calf and is licking it."

To this the others answered:—"Look to the West, O you heroes! and see the sea on fire!"

"The great god[6] is descending, O you boys!" said the brothers.

To this the cow-herds answered: — "It is not that the bull has brought forth a calf and is licking it, but that the bull is smelling its dung."

"O! they have solved our riddle, Channayya Baidya," said Kôti.

"We must get every information about the way from these boys," said they to each other.

So they said to the boys: — "Which is the way to the house of that rich man in Paḷḷi named Paiyya Baidya?"

"O, heroes, if you go by the road on the left, you will come to the village Êḍambûr. If you go by the road on the right, you will come to the village Pañje. And if you go by the great road in the middle, you will find the house of that rich man in Paḷḷi called Paiyya Baidya."

"What are the signs by which we may know his house?" asked the brothers.

"There is a gate of bamboos, and a spacious cow-pen. The house has an upper-story, and the well a pump. The *manoḷi* creeper has been trained up a double *paṇḍâl*. The cocoanut tree bearing red fruit has a circular basin round it, and in front of the house there is a shed with a thick roof."

Thus the boys told the brothers all the distinguishing marks. After hearing this, Kôṭi and Channayya proceeded on their way. They entered Paiyya's enclosure, crossing the hedge round it, and called out: — "Paiyya, Paiyya!"

The first call, his wife merely heard, but did not answer. When they called out again she answered the call, and when they called out a third time she came out asking: — "Who is it that calls?"

"It is we and none else. We the travellers. Is Paiyya, the rich man of Paḷḷi, present or not?"

To this the woman answered: — "He is not present. He is gone to draw toddy from the *kadamba* and date trees in the forest called Saṅk in the East."

"At what time does he go out, and when does he return?"

"He goes out in the morning and returns at noon. If you are Brâhmaṇs wearing the thread, sit down on the round platform of the cocoanut tree bearing red fruit. If you belong to the tribe called Vakkatêr, sit down in the shed, built by the poor man. If you belong to our caste, sit down on the swinging cot within the house," said the woman.

Hearing this, they approached the house and said: — "We will not enter into a house in which there are no males."

They spread out their dirty blanket within the shed and sat on it. They chewed betel-nut with much enjoyment. Then Channayya became thirsty.

"You, who are a member of Paiyya's family, please give us a cup of water," said he.

To this the woman answered: — "I will not go out of my house to a place where there are no males belonging to my family."

She said this merely in jest, and did not mean it in earnest. She took off her dirty dress and put on a clean one; and then, taking a copper pot in her hands she went to the well which had been walled in, and by the means of the pump drew pure water from the deep well. She poured the water into a goblet and came into the house. As she was coming in, the younger brother looked at the elder's face, and the elder looked at the younger's face, and they began a suppressed laughter. Said the woman:—

"You men, are you laughing at my beauty, or are you laughing at my foolishness?"

"We did not laugh at your foolishness, but we laughed at your beauty," said they.

[6] *i. e.*, the Sun.

And then they said: — "Before we can drink the water given by you, you must first tell us in what place you were born, the tribe you belong to, the names of your mother and father and the **Bhûta you worship.**"

"As for my native place, in its eastern part it is named **Seṭṭi Bannâḷa**; in its western part it is called **Uppi Bannâḷa**; in its southern part it bears the name of **Kiroḍi Bannâḷa.** In the northern it is known by the name of **Becchi Bannâḷa. My father is Kântaṇṇa Baidya, my mother Deyi Baidyadi, and my uncle Sâyina Baidya.** As for the Bhûta, worshipped by my family, I have merely heard it said that it is the **Bhûta, Brahmara of Kemmuḷe.** I have not personally seen it. It is said that after my birth my mother gave birth to two children in Parimâḷe's house, that these latter are burning city after city even without fire, and that my hands were joined in marriage to those of a stranger at the age of seven. My name is **Kinni Dâru.**"

"We are the persons that committed depredation in the kingdom of Parimâḷe!" said the brothers.

Hearing this she held Channayya by her left hand and Kôṭi by her right, and led them both into the house and seated them on the swinging cot. Then she held a little grass in her hand and called home the cow that had gone out to graze. She put the calf to suck, and drew two *sêrs* of milk. She boiled it and reduced it to one *sêr*. When Paiyya Baidya, the rich man of Paḷḷi, came home, carrying a pot of toddy, he went into a small room, and heard the creaking of the swinging cot.

"My old enemies are come," said he to himself, and, seeing the brothers, he precipitately fled.

Kôṭi saw him running and said:—"O, my sister Kinni Dâru, your husband, our brother-in-law, is running away. Fetch him hither," said he.

She went out and addressed her husband:—"O my lord! O you monkey of the forest! Stop! My brothers, your brothers-in-law, have come."

Thus she brought him back to the house. She entered the house through a narrow door, came to where her brothers were sitting, and seated her husband between them. Then she went in and brought the milk and gave it to her brothers saying:—

"Drink milk to assuage your thirst, my brothers; and as they drank, they said to each other:—

"We will not meditate evil to a house in which we have drunk milk."

Kinni Dâru then went inside the house and made preparations for cooking. Channayya and Kôṭi bathed themselves, and went to a room where there was *sandal*-wood. They ground up a great deal of it, and besmeared their bodies. They came to the basin of the sacred *tuḷasi*, and each made a mark with the earth of the basin on his forehead, in order to earn merit. They then came in and sat down to take their food, and were served with green boiled rice, *ghî*, five hundred kinds of curries mixed with curds, three hundred kinds mixed with tamarind, and tender bamboo shoots, and pickled berries called *kâvaḍe*, and ate the food mixed with *ghî*. They washed their hands in butter-milk, and, thus finishing their meals, sat down on the swinging cot and chewed betel-nut.

They asked Paiyya Baidya of Paḷḷi:—"Who are the most intimate friends and the most faithful servants of **Kêmêr Ballâḷ of the village of Pañje?**"

"I was the dearest friend of the last Ballâḷ, but those of the present one are **Châmuṇḍu Bernâye and Chandagiḍi Baidya,**" said Paiyya.

"Can you introduce us to Kêmêr Ballâḷ?" asked the brothers.

"I can," said Paiyya; and so the three set out together to visit him.

In a small hut consecrated to the Bhûta in the village Perunḍe Permunḍe, Chandagiḍi was teaching a number of boys to play dexterously on the flute. They went towards the place. Chandagiḍi saw them from afar, ordered the sound of the flute to cease, and all men to be silent, and shut the doors.

They stood in front of the hut and called out:—"O Chandagiḍi, Chandagiḍi." But he did not answer the call, neither did he come out of the hut. The brothers then broke open the door by means of their dagger, and entered the hut. They searched the four corners of it and found Chandagiḍi standing beside a pillar, clasping it closely like a lizard.

Said Channayya to Kôṭi:—"How many kinds of lizards are there, Kôṭi?"

"There is the white lizard, and there is the black lizard."

"How many kinds of eagles are there?" said Channayya.

"There is the red eagle, the black eagle, and the yellow eagle," said Kôṭi.

Hearing this, Chandagiḍi moved away from the side of the pillar.[7]

"I have heard that you are teaching some boys to play on the flute. Teach my brother Channayya," said Kôṭi.

"I will teach him. The new comer shall be the pupil, and he who was here before, shall be the master," said Chandagiḍi. Then they played on the flute.

"Chandagiḍi! Who is the master and who is the pupil now?" asked Kôṭi.

"O heroes! The new comers are the masters and he who was here before is the pupil."

"Chandagiḍi, introduce us to Kêmêr Ballâḷ of the village of Pañje," said the brothers.

"I will introduce you," said Chandagiḍi, and walked on first, while they followed behind. Kêmêr Ballâḷ had posted an elephant in the way. But, although the heroes were young, they did not leave the elephant alone. They caught hold of its trunk, and pulled it violently backwards and forwards, and the elephant cried out. Then they proceeded further, walked a little distance and looked back. Chandagiḍi had concealed himself, like fruit hidden under leaves.

"We took him for a faithful *giḍi*, and so brought him with us, but he has proved himself to be a flesh-eating *giḍi* (vulture) and has fled," said the brothers to each other, and proceeded towards the house of Kêmêr Ballâḷ of Pañje.

They crossed the gate, entered the enclosure, and came to the spacious yard in front of the house; he saw them at a distance. He seated one Jâḷa Kottâri on his seat, and went himself into the upper-story. The brothers entered the house and approached the Ballâḷ's seat.

"Wait a little before you salute, my brother," said Channayya to Kôṭi.

"Are you the only Ballâḷ in this house? Is there another Ballâḷ here or not?" asked the brothers.

Hearing these words, the Ballâḷ came down from the upper-story. He caused Jâḷa Kottâri to be displaced and seated himself on his proper seat. The brothers then formally saluted him.

"Come, heroes; take seats," said the Ballâḷ. A bed of flowers was spread out, and they sat on the same bed.

Just at this time, the Ballâḷ secretly received Sâyina's letter from the kingdom of Parimâḷe Ballâḷ. He read the letter, which was as follows:—"The heroes have committed murder in the kingdom of Parimâḷe. They have murdered one Buddyanta. Therefore, when they come to you, you should confine them in a narrow room and put them in heavy chains."

[7] [There is a play on the name "Chandagiḍi" here. *Giḍi* means an eagle or hawk. See below in the text. — ED.]

Thereupon Kêmêr Ballâḷ said to the brothers:—"I have erected a mansion and have named it Êlaḍe, and I wish you to examine it, and point out to me its several beauties and defects."

So he conducted them into the mansion. They examined every part of it and said:—

"O my lord, there is no creeper without a curve, and there is no thorn without a point."

Then the Ballâḷ said:—"Now let us go to the upper-story, O you heroes!"

Accordingly the Ballâḷ went first, and the brothers followed him. When they entered the room the Ballâḷ came down, and the porter shut the doors. The man that had charge of the key, locked them in, and their legs were heavily chained.

The elder brother cried out:—"O God! O God! O my hard fate! How woeful is my story! My death is approaching! I am now to die, even with my brother, whom I brought with me, at the age of seven years! O Brahmara, send us relief! The offering we consecrated to you shall be the bell-metal handle of our dagger. If you are the Brahmara that relieves men in their difficulties, relieve us now! We are heroes that in life deserve a place in the king's council, and after death to be taken to the heaven of Brahmara. We are they that in no circumstances fail to fulfil our promises."

At these words Brahmara sent him gigantic strength in his right shoulder, and the heavy chains broke, and the upper-story gave way! Did he crush it like an elephant? Did he stamp on it like a tiger? Did he shew the ferocity of the wild hog? He stamped on it like an elephant and five hundred stones fell down, and three hundred stones fell down by the force of his dagger.

In the field called Bâkibalatimâra in Pañje, he spread out his dirty blanket, and sat down on it. He undid the white bag of betel and said:—

"Come, my brother! Come to me creeping, my brother! This event will serve to remind me always of my visit to Pañje! What is there to shew that I have visited Pañje?"

"I shall try whether Brahmara is merciful towards me or not," said Channayya.

No sooner had he uttered these words, than Brahmara sent him remarkable strength in his right shoulder. The heavy chains broke, he crushed the upper-story like an elephant. He stamped on it like a royal tiger. He displayed the fury of the wild hog. Five hundred stones fell down by his stamping, and three hundred stones fell down by the strokes of his dagger. The roof gave way and fell down on his head; but he easily blew it off! The mansion in Pañje was levelled to the ground.

The brothers then sat down together in the field Bâkibalatimâra in Pañje, and they caused the Ballâḷ of Pañje to be brought before them and reproached him thus: —

"O you flat-nosed Ballâḷ! You crooked-eared Ballâḷ! You opium-eating Ballâḷ! You *bhaṅg*-smoking Ballâḷ! You swollen-legged Ballâḷ! You Ballâḷ that takes three meals a day! The golden swinging cot of Pañje with its silver chains, we shall swing in Êḍambûr, and the wooden one there with its iron chains shall be swung by us in Pañje. Your upper-story we will level with the spade, and the roof will we set on fire. We will have your house destroyed by the pick-axe. We shall make you creep like a lizard. We shall make you run like a blood-sucker. Seven feet of land in the village of Pañje we shall annex to Êḍambûr."

Having thus severely reproached the Ballâḷ, they told him that they would leave the village. On one side was Pañje, and on the other was Êḍambûr, and between them was a *silâ*-stone,[8] serving as a boundary-mark. They saw the stone, and it was covered with writing.

"Look here, brother, see this writing on this stone," said the younger brother.

[8] [An inscribed stone: a stone with an ancient inscription on it. — ED.]

"My qualifications are only, that I was born before you and that I have grown up speedily, but writing, wit and wisdom are all your part," said Kôṭi.

Then the younger brother knelt down. Was it to dig out the stone? Or was it to read the writing on it? He read the writing, and said to his brother thus: — "O my brother! in former times, Êḍambûr was very powerful, and Pañje paid tribute to Êḍambûr. Now Pañje has become powerful and Êḍambûr pays tribute to Pañje. Seven feet of land of the village of Êḍambûr have been annexed to Pañje. Therefore it is now necessary to change the place of this stone."

Having said thus, he dug up the stone, and moved it seven feet back, and thus annexed seven feet of land to Êḍambûr.

The two brothers then proceeded on their way. They saw the coming of the wind, and sat down under a banyan-tree. Meanwhile, the story about their imprisonment had reached the Ballâḷ of Êḍambûr, and he had sent one Channayya, surnamed the Young, to make peace with Kêmêr Ballâḷ, and release the prisoners. While Channayya of Êḍambûr was going to Pañje on his mission, the two brothers were sitting under a banyan-tree to enjoy the cool wind. He saw them, and from the size of an ordinary man, he shrunk to the size of a span!

"Don't you weep, and don't you shrink, Chânnayya. Come here! Where are you going to? Whence did you come?" asked the brothers.

Channayya replied: — "The Ballâḷ of Êḍambûr sent me. He heard that you had been imprisoned by the Ballâḷ of Pañje, and so sent me to get you released by making peace with him."

"Who is the dearest friend and the most faithful servant of Ballâḷ of Êḍambûr?" asked the brothers.

"I am the man," replied Channayya.

"Then can you introduce us to him?"

"I can," said Channayya, and he took them to his own house.

"You must stay here to-day, and I will introduce you tomorrow. To-day you must take your meals in my house; tomorrow I shall introduce you at the noon-day *levée*. In the morning I shall go and ask his permission," said Channayya, and went off at once into the Ballâḷ's verandah.

"What kept you away so long, Channayya?" asked the Ballâḷ.

He replied: — "Heroes that never had visited me up to this time, have this day come to my house. They are the most beautiful men that yet I have seen. They love friendship, and such men never have been born before, and never will be born again. They are able to raise an empire and also to subvert one."

"Fetch the heroes hither. I shall give them an interview at the noon-day *levée*," said the Ballâḷ.

Then Channayya returned home.

"What order has the Ballâḷ given?" asked the brothers.

Channayya replied: — "He has ordered me to take you to him. I can do it; but look here, my heroes! We shall have to go through the forest of Kemmuḷe. If you see anything in that forest, do not say to any one that you have seen it. If you hear anything, do not say that you have heard it. If a pregnant cow goes into that forest, it brings forth a dead calf. If a pregnant woman goes there she mis-carries. If a bird able to fly goes there, its wings are torn. If a creeping ant goes there, it can creep no more. Therefore, O you heroes, you should follow me as a child follows its mother; as chickens follow the hen; and as the thread follows the needle."

When he had finished, they set out, Channayya of Êḍambûr walking first, and the brothers following him. They walked very fast, when passing through the forest of Kemmuḷe. While they were walking through it, the brothers asked their guide: —

"What is that in the distance, Channayya of Êḍambûr; what is it that in height equals a cocoanut tree and in circumference an umbrella, and is shaped like an umbrella? Is it a mosque of the Mâpiḷḷas? Or a temple of the Kuḍumbis? Or a temple of the Jains? Or simply a temple? Or is it a guḍi belonging to the Bhûta, Brahmara?"

"O heroes, the time of your death is come! I shall also have to die with you," cried Channayya.

"Channayya, do you sit down here under this trunkless *sânti*-tree, hidden under its leaves. We will give some offerings to the Bhûta Brahmara, and on our return, we will take you along with us," said the two brothers, and proceeded towards the Bhûta's *guḍi* with great speed.

They crossed a bridge of ropes and reached the place and came to the yard in front of the *guḍi* and stood there, like Bhîma and Yâma, with their breasts towards a pillar and their backs towards the long flat stone in front of the deity. The noon-day worship was finished, the doors of the *guḍi* were shut, all the lamps were out, and the sound of the bells had ceased.

Then they prayed to the Bhûta thus: — "We are heroes that in life deserve a place in the king's council, and after death a place in your council-chamber. If you are the Brahmara that helps men in their difficulties, the doors of your *guḍi* that are shut, should now open; the lamps that have been put out, should become lighted; the bells that have become silent, should ring; and the signal gun should be fired, and the horn and the drum should sound."

Before the words had left their lips, Brahmara had granted their prayer. The doors that had been shut opened, and the lamps that had been put out became lighted, and all their prayer was fully answered. They then prayed that the Bhûta should descend from the seventh story of the *guḍi* and come down to the third, and that he should hold a golden plate in his hands and receive their offerings. Then Brahmara descended from the seventh story to the third, riding on a white horse. Holding a silver umbrella, he wore a garland of white conch-shells on his right shoulder, and on his left, a garland of black shells. He had a discus on his head and his breast was covered with a square shield. The two brothers then delivered to him the offerings they had consecrated to him. The Bhûta gave them his *prasâda*.[9]

Now when they had finished their worship with flowers, hear, O ye people! a wonderful miracle was wrought by Brahmara of the forest of Kemmuḷe. When they had finished their meals, they were suddenly attacked with fever and cold, and ran to the house of a Brâhmaṇ so fast, that their heads were completely covered with the dust rising from the ground. Now, before leaving the place, they had crossed the yard and had entered the *guḍi* itself, and had thus polluted it. The Brâhmaṇs asked them what was the matter, and said:—

"You have polluted the sacred *guḍi* of Brahmara. O heroes, was it through the pride of race, or of money, or of your gigantic strength?"

"Listen to us, Brâhmaṇs. If you think that Brahmara is helping you, move him by your prayers to shut the doors that have been opened," said the brothers.

The Brâhmaṇs then began to pray, and knelt down; but although their throats became dry with their praying, and their knees broken, Brahmara did not grant their request. He did not become their charioteer. The brothers then advised them to place one of their hands on one of their eyes, and the other on one of their ears, and to stand on one leg. While they were standing in that posture, the brothers prayed as follows:—

"If you are a Brahmara, willing to help us, you must needs become now our charioteer,

[9] Some ground sandal-wood and some flowers as a mark of his favour.

and must shut the doors that are now open. The torch that is now burning, you must now put out, and from the third story, you must now ascend to the seventh."

All their prayers were granted, and they told the Brâhmaṇs to take their hands from their eyes and ears. When they had done so, they observed, with great surprise, that one of their ears had become deaf, that one of their eyes had become blind, and that one of their legs had become lame. Then the two brothers left the yard of the Bhûta's *guḍi*, and, crossing a bridge of ropes on the way, came to where they had concealed Channayya of Êḍambûr under the leaves of a tree; and accompanied by him went on to the verandah of the Ballâḷ of Êḍambûr, who was sitting on his seat with much enjoyment.

"Ah, Channayya of Êḍambûr, have you brought the heroes along with you?" asked Ballâḷ.

"I have, my lord," replied Channayya.

The two heroes then formally saluted the Ballâḷ, and the Ballâḷ caused a bed of flowers to be spread, and asked them to sit down on it. They sat down on the bed and placed their dagger on the ground.

The Ballâḷ then said to them: — "I know by hearsay that you have been imprisoned in Pañje. Is it true?"

"We have been imprisoned, my lord!" answered the heroes. "We know by hearsay that you are a very weak king, and that your kingdom is but very small."

"O heroes, it now behoves you to remain in my kingdom. Do you want the field called Berampoḷḷi cultivated by the Brâhmaṇs, or that called Guttuberke cultivated by the Baṇṭs, or that called Naṭṭil Nâlaja cultivated by the Billavars?" asked the Ballâḷ.

The brothers replied:—"If you give us the field Naṭṭil Nâlaja, cultivated by the Billavars, our own caste people will become our enemies. If you give us the field Guttuberke, cultivated by the Baṇṭs, it will be like setting a dog against a dog. If you give us the field Berpoḍi, cultivated by the Brâhmaṇs, you will be only setting the cobra against the serpent. Therefore, if there is any waste land, or any land overgrown with the plants *tumbe* and *nekki*, give us that. If there is any land such as is named by us, favour us with that."

"O heroes! there is the land called Ekkadka Erryaṅgaḍa," said the Ballâḷ.

"Then give us that, and mark out its boundaries," said the brothers.

Accordingly the Ballâḷ marked out its boundaries, and when he had done so, they went and inhabited that desolate land. Their cook was Svâmi Baidyadi, the woman that had nourished them.

When eighteen days of the month Paggu had passed, they gathered all the rubbish in the fields and set fire to it. They then ploughed them with four he-buffaloes, and in a corner of the field, they sowed some seed to prepare plants for transplanting.

"We must transplant them in the proper time, and we must reap the crop with songs," said the brothers to each other. They thus cultivated the *yaṇêla* crop, but when, on a day, they went to see the state of the crop, they found it all destroyed by wild beasts.

"We had only heard up to this time that the Ballâḷ of Êḍambûr was a very poor king, and that his kingdom was in a very bad condition. Now, we actually see it. In this country, there is no practice of hunting. There are no great festivals, nor the sport of driving he-buffaloes in fields. The food that we eat is like an anchor in our hearts, suspended by the chain of the water that we drink. Our clothes do not become dirty, and our dagger gets rusty." So spake these brothers to one another.

Meanwhile the Ballâḷ of Êḍambûr had sent a spy to see what his new guests were saying about him. The spy came back and spoke to his master thus:—"O my lord, they are finding fault with you. They are sorry for having remained in your country."

"What do they say?" asked the Ballâḷ.

"They say that in your country there is no practice of hunting. They say that you are a very poor king, and that your kingdom is badly governed; that the food they eat is like an anchor in their hearts, and the water they drink like the chain by which it is suspended; that their dress has not become dirty, and that their dagger has got rusty."

"Do they speak of me thus?" asked the Ballâḷ.

"They further suggest," said the servant, "that all the *śrâddhas* of your ancestors, which have remained unperformed, should now be performed; that all the bottomless wells should be dried up; that all the thick and inaccessible forests should be rendered accessible; and that all the invulnerable beasts should be conquered."

(To be continued.)

TRADERS' SLANG IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT S. M. NATESA SASTRI, B. A., M. F. L. S.

The traders in Southern India, as everywhere, have a custom of talking, when they meet together, in a **peculiar language, which has a conventional meaning among themselves,** with the object of keeping chance listeners ignorant of their transactions and tricks. Thus, when one trader asks another what the price of a certain piece of cloth is, he will answer it is *puli*, meaning ten rupees, for among all the Tamiḻ traders, from Cape Comorin to Tirupati, *puli* means ten rupees, while in the ordinary language it means 'tiger.'

With great difficulty I have been able to gather **two groups of such conventions,** to which I now give publicity in the hope that the readers of this *Journal* will produce more. But, at the same time, I must inform them that it is no easy thing to arrive at the true signification of secret trade symbols and words, for once the desire of the enquirer to pry into their meaning becomes clear to a trader friend, that friend becomes cunning and suspicious, and then rarely, if ever, gives the true meaning. It is only by constantly comparing information from different sources that one can hope to meet with success.

The first of my groups prevails in the purely Tamiḻ districts of Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura, and Tinnevelly, and stands as follows :—

arumbu (bud) = $\frac{1}{16}$
pû (flower) = $\frac{1}{8}$
pû arumbu (flower bud) = $\frac{3}{16}$
piñju (tender berry) = $\frac{1}{4}$
kâ (as pronounced—*kây*, berry) = $\frac{1}{2}$
pû kâ (flower berry) = $\frac{5}{8}$
paḻam (fruit) = $\frac{3}{4}$
mati (moon) = 1
vinai (action) = 2
guṇam (quality) = 3
śuruti (*śruti*) (the *Vêdas*) = 4
śaram (garland) = 5
matam (religion) = 6
tirai (ocean or sea) = 7
giri (mountain) = 8
maṇi (gem or jewel) = 9
kiḷi (parrot) = 10

The fractional terms are comparable with the system published by Major Temple, *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 157, as current at Dehlî, and elsewhere in Northern India. It will be seen that **all the words relate to flowers and fruit,** and so a conversation, which really relates to an argument over fractional prices, would appear to a bystander to be desultory, polite talk over garden produce or the season. He would thus be certainly deceived. So far, the group has been well conceived for a system aiming at the deception of persons not in the secret.

The set of numbers from one to ten have not been nearly so well thought out, and might be guessed by a sharp Hindu, well up in the philosophy of his religion: because they are derived from philosophical expressions that have universally fixed numbers attached to them. Thus the word for 'one' is 'moon' (*mati*); and there is obviously but one moon in the world. So *vinai* means two; and there are only two 'actions' recognised in Hindu philosophy — *nâl-vinai* (good action) and *tî-vinai* (bad action). The symbols for 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 are exceedingly plain, for every Hindu of any knowledge of philosophy knows that the *Vêdas* are 4, the *matas* 6 (*shaṇ mata*), the *tirais* (*sapta sâgara*) 7, and the *giris* (*ashṭa giri*) 8. *Maṇi*, = jewel or gem, for 'nine' is also to be classed as a plain symbol, for *nava ratna*, = the nine gems, is a common saying. The symbols 5 and 10, *saram* and *kaḷi*, garland and parrot, respectively seem to have been arbitrarily chosen, for such symbols as *bhûta* (*pañcha bhûta*) or *avatâra* (*daśâvatâra*) would well have suited the numbers 5 and 10.

My second group, which prevails in all the Tamiḷ districts, is a purely arbitrary one, with no meanings for most of the words employed. It may be compared with Major Temple's North Indian group, *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 158. This group is as follows:—

śâviśam = $\frac{1}{16}$	*tiruvâṇḍai* = 3
śendalai = $\frac{1}{8}$	*pâttâṇḍai* = 4
tiri viśam = $\frac{3}{16}$	*kulachchu* = 5
karundalai = $\frac{1}{4}$	*kirâti* = 6
taṅgân = $\frac{1}{2}$	*pichchu* = 7
tirukkâl = $\frac{3}{4}$	*valivâṇḍai* = 8
śâvâṇḍai = 1	*tâyâṇḍai* = 9
tôvâṇḍai = 2	*pulivâṇḍai* = 10

Of the symbols for fractions in this series, *śendalai*, *karundalai*, and *taṅgân* ($\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$) are purely arbitrary, and have no meaning of any kind. *Śâviśam* is, in fact, a combination of two different words, *śâ* and *viśam*: *śâ* meaning one (see *śâvâṇḍai*) and *viśâm* meaning sixteenth, the whole meaning one-sixteenth. *Triviśam* is a poor symbol from a deceiver's point of view, for the very word means three-sixteenths.

As to round figures, the combination of *âṇḍai* with several of the words makes the symbols puzzling at first. *Âṇḍai* means master, and appears to have been used in the symbols with no meaning of any kind, and merely with the purpose of puzzling. The symbols in which *âṇḍai* appears are:—

sâ=*v*=*âṇḍai*=1	*vali*=*v*=*âṇḍai*=8
tô (*dô*)=*v*=*âṇḍai*=2	*tây*=*âṇḍai*=9
tiru (*tri*)=*v*=*âṇḍai*=3	*puli*=*v*=*âṇḍai*=10
pâttu=*âṇḍai*=4	

Thus, in 7 out of the 10 numerals *âṇḍai* appears: but sometimes the first syllable alone, without the suffix *âṇḍai*, is employed to designate the figures, thus:—

śâ=1	*vali*=8
tô (*dô*)=2	*tây*=9
tiru (*tri*)=3	*puli*=10
pâttu=4	

The *va* appearing in many of these symbols is only a joining link between the two parts of the words according to the rules of *sandhi* in Tamiḷ. When deprived of *âṇḍai* some of these symbols become quite plain. Thus, *tô* (*dô*) and *tiru* (*tri*) are only simple, ordinary words for two and three. The other symbols ordinarily used with *âṇḍai*, are, however, entirely arbitrary. The conventions for 5, 6, and 7 are equally arbitrary.

The general opinion among traders is that the second group of cryptic words is more difficult for the public to guess at than the first.

Private-trade-signs to mark the prices of articles in writing are, of course, used all the world over. The commoner ones in Madras to designate fractions are as follow :—

+	$= \frac{1}{32}$	—	$= \frac{1}{8}$
O	$= \frac{1}{16}$	|	$= \frac{1}{4}$

These four marks were reluctantly given me by a trading friend, who assured me that the round figures were represented, in writing, by the initial letters of the words for them contained in my second group. Thus $1\frac{1}{32}$ would be written *ś*+. Here the *ś* stands for *śû*, one, and the + for one-thirty-second. These symbols for fractions are generally used to designate the profit the native firm or trader charges on the cost price.[1] Sometimes purely arbitrary marks are chosen in order to puzzle other traders; thus ⌣ sometimes stands for $\frac{3}{4}$ths; and sometimes an asterisk stands for $\frac{3}{4}$ths.

The trading world of South India has a number of **amusing stories** of the successful working of their conventions and of the great use they have been to them. **Here is one,** which a trader related to me at Conjeeveram (Kâñchîpuram).

Ten traders had gone to the town of Arcot from Conjeeveram to sell their goods, and were returning home with their purses full. In those days the path lay through a jungle for a certain part of the way, and, while they were passing through this, they were surprised unawares by three daring ruffians armed with scythes, while the poor traders had not even a stick between them. For trading and manliness, in the opinion of many Hindus, do not go hand in hand, and a trader must always submit to physical force without attempting to resist. True to this theory, our ten friends, as soon as they saw the three thieves, shuddered at their weapons, and, on the first demand, laid their all on the ground.

Had the thieves quietly retired to the woods with the money, this story would have ended here, and there would have been no occasion for the trading world to boast of the usefulness of their conventions. But, unfortunately for the thieves, the matter did not end there, for the ruffians were elated at their easy conquest. They had always met with some show of resistance in their other adventures; but in this case they had only to order, and, to their surprise, found that the traders implicitly obeyed. So they collected the purses together, and, sitting opposite their trophy, asked our trader-friends to stand in a row. Their good dresses were the thieves' next demand. These, too, were given without any objection, excepting a small bit of cloth for each to cover his nakedness; and this was only kept with the due permission of the ruffians, willingly granted, for they contemptuously pitied these poor specimens of the human race with no resistance in them. The ten traders now stood as suppliant beggars, ready to run away as soon as leave might be given. But no leave was given, as the thieves had comfortably taken their seats near the booty and the good clothes, and wanted to have a little more fun.

Said the chief of the three: "Do you fools know how to dance?"

"Yes, your honour," was the reply; for a denial of any kind, the traders thought, would only bring down the scythes on their necks.

"Then let us witness your dance before you go away. Give us all a dance," was the order.

The traders had to obey. One among them was very intelligent, and thought within himself that, as the thieves had won everything without any trouble, they would entertain no suspicion of any tricks being played at them. So he commenced a trick which, if the other traders helped, would work successfully. If not welcome to them, he could easily give it up without any harm to himself or to others; for none but his own party would understand what he was driving at. Now there must always be a song before a dance, or rather dancing must be accompanied by a song; and so he sang a song to introduce the dance, which was

1 Compare Major Temple's remarks on *nafa'* and *asal dâm* in Northern India: *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 156 ff.

clothed in the language of the traders' convention by way of hint to his companions as to how they were to act.

The song was—

Nâmanum puli per
Tâḷanum tiru per
Sâvana tâḷanai
Tiruvâṇa tâḷan śutta
Sâvana tâḷan mîdi.
Tâ taî tôm tadiṅgaṇa.[2]

Which may be freely translated thus:—

We are *puli x*,[2]
They are *tiru x*,
If on a *śâ x*,
Tiru x sits down,
Śâ x remains.
Tâ taî tôm tadiṅgaṇa.

The hint contained in this song was that they (the traders) were *puli* (ten) in number, that the robbers were only *tiru* (three), that if on each one (*śâ*) robber three (*tiru*) traders fell, one (*śâ*) of the traders still remained to tie the hands and legs of the surprised robbers. The thieves, secure in their imagined success, thought that the song was merely meant for keeping time to the dance, and suspected no trick. The whole body of traders, however, caught the hint, and separated themselves into groups of three, leaving the business of tying the thieves' hands and legs to the starter of the song. When the thieves were all eyes and ears for the dance, and when *tâ taî tôm* was at last significantly pronounced, the traders fell upon the robbers. There was a very severe struggle, no doubt, but three to one is no proportion at all in a free fight without weapons, and the thieves had already laid theirs aside in their elation, and so in the end the traders managed to tie them up, and render them helpless. Then, taking possession of their money and other valuables, the ten traders safely returned to Conjeeveram.

What is it that saved them in this delicate position? Traders' convention, is the only answer of the trading world.

BOOK NOTICE.

INDIAN EPIC POETRY.

For many years the study of the two great epics of India has been like Triśaṅku, neither in heaven nor on earth. The subject was too modern for students of the *Vêdas*, and too antique for those who devoted themselves to classical Sanskṛit. Beyond some notices by Lassen, and one or two important essays by Prof. Weber (which have appeared in an English dress in this *Journal*), the student has had little to help him, except that practical and laborious work of Sir M. Monier-Williams entitled *Indian Epic Poetry*. Since then, the oracles have been dumb. There have been no epoch-making essays on the subject published in any of the *Journals* of the various Oriental Societies for the past twenty years. We have had entertaining articles from the facile pen of the late Dr. Rajêndra Lâla Mitra, on "Beef in Ancient India," and Krishṇa's seaside picnic, and Dr. Muir (another departed scholar) has also translated extracts from the larger of the two poems; but nothing has been added to our information regarding the epics, as forming a stage in the history and development of Indian Literature, nor are we wiser than our literary forerunners of a generation ago as to how much of these great masses of verse forms the original poems, and how much forms accretive additions.

Two books which have been lying on my table for some months go far to wipe away this reproach from Sanskṛit scholarship, — *Zur Geschichte und Kritik des Mahâbhârata*, by **Adolf Holtzmann**, and *Das Râmâyaṇa, Geschichte und Inhalt*, by **Hermann Jacobi**. I propose to deal with the latter[1] work at present.

To begin with general remarks. The book is a pleasant one to read, — well printed and well-indexed. The language is clear and forcible, and the author moves about amidst the amazing perplexities of his subject with a sureness of tread that evinces (as we might expect in any work emanating from Prof. Jacobi's pen) the most complete familiarity with all his surroundings. Such a confidence on the part of the author breeds confidence in the reader, and one rises from a perusal of the work with an assurance that, though the last word on the subject of the great Râma-epic has not been said, a great addition has been made to the world's knowledge on the subject.

To give a complete detailed account of its contents would take up too much space. It must suffice to glance rapidly at the principal headings, and to dwell at length on one or two topics which seem to me to be of greater import-

[2] The meaningless word *taḷam* may be best translated by *x*.

[1] *Das Râmâyaṇa, Geschichte und Inhalt, nebst Concordanz der Gedrückten Recensionen*, von Hermann Jacobi. Bonn, Friederich Cohen, 1893. Price, Marks 15. Pp. vii., 256.

ance. I begin, *more Hibernico*, with the end. There are a number of useful indexes which can only be mentioned, and a valuable concordance of the Bombay and Bengal recensions of the poem. This is preceded by an analysis of the poem according to the former recension, with a special index of its own, which must, in future, be a handbook indispensable to every student of the text. Hitherto our *vade-mecum* has been Sir M. Monier-Williams' little work, but Prof. Jacobi's index at once places a new instrument in our hands. Certainly, this analysis is the most practically useful portion of the book, and would well deserve separate publication. It is immediately preceded by the main part of the work, — the text, if I may use the expression, to which all the rest forms an appendix.

This text is divided into three parts, dealing, respectively, with the general question of the recensions of the poem, the various additions and interpolations which have increased the bulk of the original text, and the place of the *Râmâyaṇa* in Indian literature.

Dr. Jacobi commences by describing **the three well-known recensions of the Râmâyaṇa, the Bombay or Commentators' (C), the Bengal (Gorresio's) (B), and the newly discovered West-Indian (A).** The *Râmâyaṇa*, as he points out, must originally, and for many generations, have been sung by bards before it was first reduced to writing, and this fact fully accounts for the discrepancies between the different recensions, which are nearly all just those which would result from slips of memory, *e. g.*, passages omitted or repeated, or alterations in the order of the lines. Amongst the three recensions, however, **C bears marks of being the nearest representative of the text as originally composed,** but all are, necessarily, of a considerable antiquity. The author illustrates his arguments by the episode of the parting of Hanumat and Sîtâ in Laṅkâ (which is repeated no less than three times in different places in C and A, and twice in B), and by a comparison of the texts of the various quotations from the *Râmâyaṇa* in the works of later Sanskṛit authors.

That the text, as we now find it in all the recensions, contains many later **additions**, has long been admitted, — amongst these, the chief being the first and last *kâṇḍas*. The original poem certainly commenced with the second and ended with the sixth. Prof. Jacobi in the second part of his book endeavours to formulate some test for distinguishing these added portions. The tests of metre, peculiarities of phraseology, and grammatical irregularities give us little assistance and only confirm judgments already arrived at regarding the later origin of passages like the Episode of Viśvâmitra, and the Râvaṇeis of the 7th book. Internal evidence is, however, more valuable, and much can be learned from inconsistencies or contradictions in the text itself. By these tests Prof. Jacobi is able to shew that passages, such as the episode of the burning of Lankâ by Hanumat, the description of the four quarters of the world put into Sugrîva's mouth in the fourth book, portion of the discussion as to whether Vibhîshaṇa should be killed as a spy, and other important passages in the sixth book, and, finally nearly the whole of the first book do not form portions of the poem as originally composed. By an ingenious process of reasoning he is enabled to give what, in his opinion, was the original introduction of the poem, consisting of only of some sixteen *ślôkas*.

The third and most interesting part of the work deals with **the place of the Râmâyaṇa in Indian Literature.** The author's theory of the growth of the poem is clearly put, and, though in one important point I am unable to agree with him, his general conclusions demand complete assent. He first wipes away the theory of a *tendentiöse Umarbeitung*, a deliberate re-casting of the whole poem to suit the theories of the Brâhmaṇs. The growth of the poem was eminently natural. It was from the first the property of singers, rhapsodists, *kuśîlavas*, who wandered from village to village and court to court, reciting and singing the national epic. These men had, like all of their class, little reverence for the text of their poem, and lengthened out this touching episode, added that, inserted didactic passages, or comic or burlesque scenes, as they found their hearers appreciate them. This is what occurs down to the present day with the modern successors of these *kuśîlavas*, who wander through Northern India, singing the folk-epics which are now popular. These additions soon became integral parts of the poem, and were handed down from father to son and from one bard to another, each generation making its own contributions and alterations to suit the tastes of its audience. At length the *Râmâyaṇa* so enlarged was fixed into a corpus, and what shape it then took may be gathered from the table of contents in the first canto of the first book, in which the subjects described in the first and seventh books are not mentioned. Then came the later additions of these two books, and the insertion of the second table of contents in the third canto which refers to them. In all this there is no editing or retouching. The older parts are not manipulated to agree with the newer ones. There are nothing but additions, and often these additions are so clumsily made

that the marks of junction are clearly visible.[2] Râma, the national hero, was gradually raised by later rhapsodists to the dignity of a tribal god, but he is nowhere consistently identified with Vishṇu, except in the latest added first and seventh books. In the five original ones he is only so identified in a few isolated passages, which are plainly later additions.

Who was Vâlmîki?[3] What part did he take in the production of the original poem? The *Râmâyaṇa* itself (I. 5, 3) helps us to answer this question.

Ikshvâkûṇâṁ idaṁ têshâṁ vaṁśê râjñâṁ mahât-manâm |
mahad utpannam âkhyânaṁ Râmâyaṇam iti śrutam ||

Here we are told that the *Râmâyana* was a national poem born in the family, and celebrating the prowess, of the Ikshvâkuides. The history of the family hero, Râma, must have formed the subject of the legends sung by bards, *sûta*, at the court of these princes, and they must have been collected and fused by a prominent poet, the Brâhmaṇ Vâlmîki, into one complete epic, which, if not the first of its kind in India, was at least the first destined to live to after ages, and which rightfully claimed to be the *âdikâvyam*. This must have occurred in Oudh, the land of Kôsala, which was the kingdom of the Ikshvâkuides; and, as we learn from references in the later added first and last books, must have spread from thence to the courts of princes related in some way or other to the main line of the descendants of Ikshvâku. Finally, the *Râmâyaṇa* became the folk-epic of the eastern, as the *Mahâbhârata* was that of the western half of Northern India.

Space forbids my describing the arguments which Prof. Jacobi advances to prove that the *Râmâyaṇa* had become a practically completed poem, while still the *Mahâbhârata* was in a state of flux; how it is an older work than the greater part of that unwieldy encyclopœdia, as we now have it; and how it formed the model both in language and metre for all subsequent Indian epic poems. The *Mahâbhârata*, originally a national epic of the Kauravas, became appropriated by their hereditary enemies, the Pâṇḍavas, and was altered to suit their side of the story. This editing took place in the land of Pañchâla, which reverenced the Pâṇḍavas, and which adjoined Kôsala, the original home of the *Râmâyaṇa*.

The chapters on the alleged Buddhist influence and Greek influence on the *Râmâyaṇa* are of great interest. Prof. Jacobi combats the view put forward by Prof. Weber in his treatise on the *Râmâyaṇa*, that the original of the poem was a Buddhist legend contained in the Pâḷi *Dasaratha Jâtaka*, and, it must be admitted, has proved his contention; for knowledge has made giant strides since Prof. Weber's well-known essay was published more than twenty years ago. Attention may be drawn to the suggestion that by Laṅkâ, Vâlmîki did not mean Ceylon, but a fabulous country of which he had no real knowledge. Nowhere during the period of classical Sanskṛit is Laṅkâ identified with Siṁhala-dvîpa. Curiously enough, in old Hindî poetry Serendib, Laṅkâ, and Siṁhala-dvîpa are often considered as altogether different countries. Laṅkâ in South India means an island, and the well-known Laṅkâ cigars are made of tobacco grown, not in Ceylon, but on the islands of the Gôdâvarî delta.[4]

Prof. Jacobi's researches have, it will be seen, reduced the original *Râmâyaṇa* to a poem of moderate compass, and one of the incidental results has been to eliminate from it the names of foreign nations, the Yavanas, the Pahlavas, the Śakas, the Tushâras, and the like. So also all the so-called traces of Greek influence have disappeared, or are become so faint, that it is impossible to say that the legends which have hitherto formed the groundwork of that theory are not those which are the common property of all nations.

These investigations lead up to the solution of the important question of the age of the poem. It is a noteworthy fact that, though it contains numerous references to the various kingdoms of Eastern Hindûstân, and though Râma is represented as passing over the very place where the great city subsequently stood, no mention is made of Pâṭalîputra. The state of society described is also a patriarchal one. There is no mention of the great empire founded by Aśôka; the kingdoms were small, even Kôsala could be traversed in a two or three days' journey. Each petty state is occupied with its own palace

[2] Thus, in several cases, when a passage is inserted, its conclusion is made evident by the repetition of the line immediately preceding the insertion, — as a sort of framework to help the memory of the reciter.

[3] Prof. Jacobi mentions two places as sites of the traditional hermitage of Vâlmîki, the banks of the Yamunâ, near the confluence with the Ganges, and a hill in the district of Bândâ. It is necessary to point out that these are quite distinct places. Prof. Jacobi's language leaves the matter in doubt. The District of Gayâ is full of Râma-legends. It contains the hermitage of Ṛishya Śṛiṅga, in the sub-division of Nawâdâ. The village of Bârat is said to be the site of Vâlmîki's hermitage, and a mile from it is a cave called Sîtâmaḍhî, in which Sîtâ is said to have lived during her exile, and to have borne Lava and Kuśa.

[4] So also at the other extremity of India, in Kaśmîr *lâṅk* means an island. [In the Further East, it is an exceedingly common custom to attach classical names to quite impossible places. — ED.]

intrigues. No high state-craft, no imperial rule over Northern India, is anywhere alluded to. The capital of Kôsala was called Ayôdhyâ, though the Buddhists, the Jains, the Greeks and Patañjali called it Sâkêta. The seventh book tells us how Ayôdhyâ became deserted after the death of Râma, and how Râma's son, Lava, fixed his capital at Śrâvastî. Moreover, in the Buddha's time, Prasênajit, the king of Kôsala, lived in that city. All these and other facts lead Prof. Jacobi to consider that Vâlmîki lived during the period of the prosperity of the Ikshvâkuides, and that the oldest portions of the poem were composed before the 5th century, and probably, in the 6th or 8th century before Christ.

It is here that I am compelled to part company with Professor Jacobi. I do so with much diffidence, but I am glad to see that I am not alone in my schism, for M. Barth has lately made the same objections to his theory, and has anticipated all my arguments.[5] I by no means deny that a *Râmâyaṇa* was current in India eight centuries before our era. I am prepared to go further, and to admit, with Holtzmann, that much of Indian Epic poetry is *ur-alt*, and dates from times preceding the Aryan migration into the Pañjâb, but it seems to me most improbable that the *Râmâyaṇa* of the centuries preceding the Buddha in any way resembled in form the poem that we know at the present day. Professor Jacobi himself maintains that, both before and after its redaction by Vâlmîki, the Râma legend was the property of wandering bards, whether *sûtas* or *kuśîlavas*. This is borne out by many independent circumstances; and we are all agreed that the foundation of the poem was, as even so late a work as the *Harivaṁśa* calls them, a number of "ancient ballads" (*gâthâs*).[6] A ballad, ancient or not, is, of necessity, in the language of the people to whom it is sung. A warlike population would prove a bad audience to a rhapsodist reciting in an unknown tongue, be his subject ever so admired, or his hero ever so revered. It hence follows that, if the *Râmâyaṇa* of Vâlmîki was composed in the 8th century before Christ, the language of Northern India at that time must have been Sanskṛit. Let us admit this for the sake of argument, though, personally, I am not one of those who believe that the vernacular of India in the 8th century before Christ was the same as the language of the *Râmâyaṇa*. But then what follows? For centuries afterwards, according to Prof. Jacobi, the *Râmâyaṇa* continued to be handed down by word of mouth, and must finally have been recited by bards to people whose language was not Sanskṛit but a Prâkṛit, and to kings the language of whose courts was Pâḷi. Such recitations are inconceivable. No bard would rehearse a folk-legend in a language not "understanded of the people." For this reason, I believe, that the proto-epic, the "ancient ballads," which were still remembered when the *Harivaṁśa* was written, must at one time have worn a Prâkṛit dress, and that it was not re-edited or republished in the 'polished,' *Saṁskṛita*, language till the adaptation of Sanskṛit to profane literature, somewhere about the first century of our era. Whether Vâlmîki was the original compiler of the cycle in Prâkṛit or the translator into Sanskṛit, I do not pretend to decide; but I maintain that it is infinitely more probable that there was such a cycle of Prâkṛit poetry, and such a translation, than that the *Râmâyaṇa* was a folk-epic, popular amid the courts and people, and yet sung by bards in an unknown tongue to an audience which did not speak it. Every analogy, too, points to the same conclusion, as M. Barth justly maintains. All the popular literature of India, excepting the sacred literature of the Brahmanical schools, commenced with Prâkṛit and ended with Sanskṛit. The inscriptions shew Sanskṛit gradually superseding the older Prâkṛit; such also was the history of lyric poetry, and the fable-literature and the Prâkṛit of the dramas teach us the same lesson.[7] Nor need this conversion of a folk-literature into a literature of the learned surprise us. Most probably, for centuries after the conversion, the old vernacular ballads lingered on, gradually thrown into the shade by the increasing use of Sanskṛit for profane purposes among the educated surroundings of the courts, and superseded amongst the masses by other cycles in the people's tongue. These cycles were some of them, no doubt, preserved by the Râjput bards, and others remained the property of itinerant singers, and were forgotten in their turn and succeeded by others, such as the Epic of Aḷhâ, the Adventures of Hîr and Râñjhâ, the huge Lôrik Cycle, and the like, which at the present day form the stock in trade of the modern representatives (mostly low-caste men) of the *ku-śîlavas*.

Prof. Jacobi next deals with the peculiar Sanskṛit found in the epic poetry. He considers that Pâṇini did not refer to it in his *Grammar*, because he did not choose to do so. Apparently the position of the epic singers,— the *ku-śîlavas* — was so little respected, that their language was not deemed worthy of note. A simpler explanation, to my mind, is that in Pâṇini's time Epic Sanskṛit did not exist. It is difficult to imagine the pecu-

[5] *Bulletin des Religions de L'Inde*, pp. 288 and ff.

[6] See Weber, *On the Râmâyaṇa*, p. 77.

[7] Barth, *l. c.*, p. 290. Prof. Jacobi, I must admit, combats this.

liarities of so important a work, as the *Râmâyaṇa* not being noticed by Pâṇini, if it existed when he wrote his *Grammar*.

Prof. Jacobi looks upon Epic Sanskṛit as the vulgar form of Sanskṛit spoken by the unlearned, in contrast with the Pâṇinean language spoken by the *śishṭa* or educated. To this I cannot, for reasons already given, accede. Prof. Jacobi quotes the well-known passage in the *Sundarakâṇḍa* in which Hanumat discusses in his own mind as to the language in which he should address Sîtâ. He considers whether he should use *vâchaṁ mânushîṁ saṁskṛitâṁ*, or whether, *dvijâtir iva*, he should use *vâcaṁ saṁskṛitâṁ* (I quote the text given by Prof Jacobi, the Bengal recension differs considerably). Hanumat considers that if he speaks the polished language like a Brâhman, Sîtâ will take him for Râvaṇa and will be frightened. He therefore determines to address her in the polished language of ordinary men and women. Prof. Jacobi considers that this polished language of ordinary men must mean Epic Sanskṛit, while the language of the Brâhmaṇs means the Pâṇinean Sanskṛit of the schools. But, surely, the difference between these two phases of the same language (they are hardly even differences of dialect) is too slight to justify a supposition that the use of one would frighten Sîtâ and the other not. A conversation of considerable length would have to take place between the two before Sîtâ could discover that Hanumat was talking not in Epic, but in Classical, Sanskṛit. A far more probable explanation would be that the polished language of ordinary men and women was the Prâkṛit of the gentle folk, the fairly educated Kshattriyas and well-to-do persons round the court, while the Brâhmanical language was the Sanskṛit of the schools, known to the twice-born classes, much as Latin was known in the middle ages. Prof. Jacobi says that the *Râmâyaṇa* must have been written in its present language long before the time of the Aśôka inscriptions, because Sanskṛit was not then a living tongue. I say that, for the very same reason, it cannot have been composed before that date, for, if it had, no illiterate, low-caste, *ku-śîlava* bards would have carried it down through the Prâkṛit-period of the life of the Indian languages, in a Sanskṛit dress.

But, it may be said :—"the author has, to a certain extent, accounted for the difference between Epic and Classical Sanskṛit; let his critic find a better explanation." I admit the necessity laid upon me, and I find the clue in the history of Indian Epigraphy. Epic Sanskṛit shews traces not of Sanskṛit scholars drawing up to themselves, so to speak, the folk songs in the vernacular, and translating them into the polished language; but the rise of the singers of these folk-songs to a classical level So, in the inscriptions, we are able to trace the steady progress of vernacular composition, commencing with an almost pure Prâkṛit and gradually approximating itself through centuries of attempts, through the various phases of monumental Prâkṛit, through the *gâthâ* dialect, to the almost correct Sanskṛit of the latest epigraphs. At one stage, at least, of that progress the language was stereotyped by some cause or other in the language of the *gâthâs*. What can be more natural than to assume a similar history for the epic poems? These folk-songs more and more nearly approached Sanskṛit in their language, till they, too, were stereotyped by some great poet, some master, say Vâlmîki, the Brâhmaṇa who had lived an impure life amongst hunters and their kin, and since then the form of speech used by him has been adopted as the model for all subsequent works of a similar nature. I admit that all this is mere hypothesis. All I can say is, that I know nothing against it, and that it at least fits in with established facts, as well as, the theory of Prof. Jacobi.

I must pass over the interesting chapter, in which the author shews the existence of many of the most advanced rhetorical ornaments in the *Râmâyaṇa*, with the remark that, while Prof. Jacobi maintains that their existence proves the antiquity of these ornaments, it may equally be taken to prove the modern date of the poem. I would also willingly linger over his concluding chapter, in which he analyzes the Râma Saga, and discusses in his own luminous style the connexion between the three Râmas (Râma Chandra, Râma Halabhṛit, and Paraśu Râma) and Indra-Parjanya, as well as the later identification of Râma with Vishṇu. But I have already exceeded my allotted space with what are, perhaps, heterodox theories, and this chapter is worthy of an article to itself. I must be content with referring the reader to the book, and with again recording my obligation to the author of an essay of great interest, dealing with a work which is not only intrinsically of high poetical merit, and illumining many dark corners of antiquity, but which is noteworthy as being the foundation of the one Indian religion which, since the Buddha's time, successfully taught man's duty to his neighbours. In a future communication, I hope to be able to describe, for the benefit of readers of the *Indian Antiquary*, Prof. Holtzmann's interesting essay on the great companion epic of the *Râmâyaṇa*, the *Mahâbhârata*.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

Howrah, 22nd August 1893.

A NOTICE OF THE 'UMDATU'T-TAWARIKH.

BY THE LATE E. REHATSEK.

THE author of this work, **Lâlâ Sôhan Lâl Sûrî**, — having been a **vakîl at the Court of the Mahârâjâ Rañjît Siṅgh**, through twenty-seven years of that monarch's reign, and through the entire period during which his successors occupied the throne of the Pañjâb, till the deportation of his last son, Mahârâjâ Dalîp Siṅgh, by the British Government in 1849, — took advantage of his exceptional opportunities to compile a MS. of some 7,000 pages, relating to the events of the very stirring times in which he lived. A lithographed Persian edition of the said MS. having been placed at my disposal by the Editor of this *Journal*, I shall now proceed to give a notice of the work, which consists of five large volumes. The whole work, in contradistinction to the *Zafarnâma* of Rañjît Siṅgh, noticed *ante*, in Vols. XVI. and XVII., is written in prose, excepting only a few verses occasionally interspersed, and a brief monotheistic address with which it begins. Owing to the minute detail in which the events mentioned in it are recorded, there is no doubt that **the work is one of first rate importance to the student of Pañjâbî and Anglo-Indian History.**

Vol. I., from Gurû Nânak, V. St. 1526, = *A. D.* 1469, *to Aḥmad Shâh Durrânî, St.* 1828, = *A. D.* 1771.

After a few reflections on historiography, accounts of three modern vernacular works are given, the last being in allusion to the **'Umdatu't-tawârîkh** and its author. We are first told that in the reign of Aurangzêb, one Lâlâ Subhân Râi, an inhabitant of Batâlâ, composed an elegant and wonderful book, entitled *Khulâṣatu't-tawârîkh*, which contained accounts of the great Râjâs, beginning with Judishtar and ending with Râjâ Pirthîrâj, known also as Râjâ Pithaur of the time of Aurangzêb, in A. H. 1116.[1] This is followed by the '*Ibratnâma*,[2] written by Mîr Qâsim Lâhôrî, on the wars of the sons of Bahâdur Shâh. Lastly, we are informed that our author, Sôhan Lâl Sûrî the *vakîl*, son of Gaṇpat Râi, who had spent much time in the study of Persian and Arabic, as well as in the pursuit of various sciences, produced an historical work, commencing with the events of A. H. 1017,[3] which he completed in *V. St.* 1870 = A. D. 1823.[4]

Then follows **a brief account of the Gurûs.** The first, Bâbâ-Nânakjî, was born at Talvaṇḍî in *St.* 1526,[5] corresponding to A. H. 880, during the reign of the Sulṭân Bahlôl Lôdhî. He began to manifest signs of divine inspiration and to work miracles at the early age of twelve, his preaching attracting adherents from every part of the country. He afterwards composed the *Janam Sâkhî*, written in the Gurmukhî character, "listening to the explanations whereof puts all hearers into ecstacy!"[6] He died during the reign of Salîm Shâh Sûr at the age of seventy years.[7] Although he had an intelligent son, Lakhmî Dâs by name, he refrained from appointing him his successor, but selected on his deathbed a faithful disciple, called Lahnâ, whom he surnamed Angad, to be Gurû after him. Angad occupied the position for thirteen years, and then died. He placed on the *masnad* Amar Dâs, a faithful disciple, who died after having been the spiritual guide of the people for twenty-two years. Amar Dâs appointed Râm Dâs to succeed him, and Râm Dâs held the position of Gurû for seven years. He was succeeded by

1 Began 6th May 1704. [See Elliot, *Hist. of India*, where some very hard words are used towards this well-known work in the opening pages of Vol. viii. The date given above varies from Elliot's. — ED.]

2 [But see Elliot, *op. cit.*, Vol. viii. p. 237 ff. — ED.]

3 Began 17th April 1608.

4 [But see *post*, p. 60 ff. — ED.]

5 *Zafarnâma, St.* 1525 [A. D. 1468].

6 [This extraordinary statement may be valuable, if it relates the general educated Sikh belief of the last generation. But it is of course entirely wrong. See Trumpp, *Adi Granth*, p. ii. ff.: and the title of Sardâr 'Atar Siṅgh's *Sakhee Book*, Benares, 1873. — ED.]

7 *Zafarnâma, St.* 1596 [A. D. 1539].

his son Gurû Arjun, who departed this life after an incumbency of twenty-five years. His son, Har Gôbind, followed him, and occupied the position thirty-eight years, and was also succeeded by his son, Har Râi, who was Gurû for seventeen years. After him Har Kishn, his younger son, was Gurû for three years, when "the bird of his soul departed from the cage of the body."[8] After him Têgh Bahâdur, the younger son of Gurû Har Gôbind, directed the Sect of the Sikhs for fifteen years, until at last "he fell by order of the Inscrutable One into captivity" and was slain at Shâhjahânâbâd in A. H. 1051,[9] at the behest of the Emperor 'Âlamgîr. Thus ended the series of Gurûs, the first of whom was Nânak.[10]

After the above summary account comes a very detailed one of each Gurû separately, extending to many pages and interlarded with miraculous events. The orthodox series of the ten Gurûs ought to end with Gurû Gôbind, but in the work of Sôhan Lâl the biographies of many more, not generally reputed to have been such, are also given, as follows:—Gurû Gôbind Siṅgh Jîv, Gurû Śrîchand and Gurû Lakhmî Dâs Jîv in one chapter, followed by Gurû Râm Râijî, Gurû Miharbân Jîv, and again a Gurû Gôbind.[11]

Then follow various chapters on political events, which may be summarised as follows. Reign of Bahâdur Shâh and his death at Lâhôr. The contests between his three sons. Reign of Muḥammad Farrukhsiyâr. Incursion of the Shâhzâda Muḥammad Mu'izu'd-dîn to Akbarâbâd (Âgrâ), his encounter with Muḥammad Farrukhsiyâr, and his defeat and flight in the direction of Shâhjahânâbâd (Dehlî). The revolt of Gurû Banda, and departure of 'Abdu's-ṣamad Khâṅ. Decline of the power of Farrukhsiyâr. Reign of Raf'iu'd-darjât, son of the Shâhzâda Raf'iu'sh-shân. Reign of Raf'iu'd-daula, the elder brother of Raf'iu'd-darjât. Reign of Raushan Akhtar, son of Shâhjahân, better known as Muḥammad Shâh. Arrival of Nâdir Shâh, his doings in the Pañjâb, and his departure to the East. Arrival of Nâdir Shâh in Lâhôr and Muḥammad Shâh's attempt to collect troops to meet him. Conclusion of treaty and the departure of Nâdir Shâh with Muḥammad Shâh to Shâjahânâbâd after friendly intercourse. Affairs of the Ṣûbahdâr Nawâb Khâṅ Bahâdur, and various events occurring at that time.

Affairs of Munî Siṅgh and Jârû Siṅgh, with an account of the first rise of the Sikhs under the government of Khâṅ Bahâdur, and his death in *St.* 1801 (A. H. 1156). Affairs of the Sardâr Jassâ Siṅgh Âhlûwâlîâ, his subjugation of the Dôâb and the country across the Satluj, and his departure Eastwards. The demise of Khâṅ Bahâdur, and the usurpation by Yahiya Khâṅ of the Ṣûbahdârship of Lâhôr. His subsequent capture by Shâh Nawâz Khâṅ and final escape in *St.* 1802 to Shâhjahânâbâd. The despatch by Shâh Nawâz Khâṅ of his *vakîl* Ṣâbir Shâh to Aḥmad Shâh[12] to invite him to invade India, and the arrival of Aḥmad Shâh. Death of Nâdir Shâh and the murder of his children. The assumption by 'Alî Qulî Khâṅ of the title of Sulṭân, under the style of 'Alî Shâh. The succession of Sulṭân Ibrâhîm, and the gradual usurpation of power by Shâh Rukh and Sayyid Muḥammad. The first invasion of the Pañjâb by Aḥmad Shâh, and the flight of Shâh Nawâz Khâṅ in the direction of Multân. Departure of Aḥmad Shâh from Lâhôr towards Hindustân, and the war between Aḥmad Shâh Hindî and Aḥmad Shâh Vilâyatî in Sarhind, ending in the defeat of Aḥmad Shâh Vilâyatî at the hands of Mîr Mu'ainu'l-mulk, better known as Mîr Manû. Departure of Aḥmad Shâh Hindî for the Pañjâb on account of the demise of Muḥammad Shâh, and the appointment by him of Mîr Mu'ainu'l-mulk to be Ṣubahdâr of Lâhôr, and Aḥmad Shâh Hindî's march in the direction of Dehlî.

[8] The account of the *Zafarnâma* is different, not only concerning this Gurû, but also concerning Têgh Bahâdur.

[9] Began 12th April 1641.

[10] [The writer of the notice has become confused here, and his statements must be taken *cum grano.* — ED.]

[11] [Is not *jîv*, however, the Pañjâbî word *jîû*, life? If so, Gurû Gôbind Siṅgh comes into his right place in the text. — ED.]

[12] Aḥmad Shâh Durrânî, otherwise called Abdâlî, is meant, on whose reign, see *ante*, Vol. XVI., and *post*, p. 72.

The first hostilities of the Sikhs, under the Sardârs Jassâ Siṅgh, Harî Siṅgh and Karôṛ Siṅgh, during the sway of **Mîr Mu'ainu'l-mulk,** their prevalence over him and their conquest of some portions of the Pañjâb. Arrival of Aḥmad Shâh for the second time in the Pañjâb, and the departure of Kûrâ Mall towards Multân for the purpose of encountering Shâh Nawâz Khâṅ. Increase of the dominion of the Sikhs, who slay some Musalmân nobles, whilst Mîr Mu'ainu'l-mulk "chooses to sit in the corner of retirement." Contest between Kûrâ Mall and Shâh Nawâz Khâṅ, who is slain in Multân. Despatch by Aḥmad Shâh of Bârâ Khâṅ as a *vakîl* to Mîr Mu'ainu'l-mulk. Arrival of Kûrâ Mall in Lâhôr after conquering Shâh Nawâz Khâṅ at Multân. Invasion by Ahmad Shâh of the Pañjâb for the third time, his siege of Lâhôr, and death of Kûrâ Mall. Entry of Aḥmad Shâh into Lâhôr, *St.* 1809, and the oppression of the people by the Afghâns. Allegiance of Mîr Mu'ainu'l-mulk to Aḥmad Shâh after the death of Kûrâ Mall. Marriage of Aḥmad Shâh to a daughter of Mîr Mu'ainu'l-mulk, and his departure after levying immense sums of money.

The crossing of the Satluj by the Sardâr Jassâ Siṅgh and other Sikhs and their depredations. The despatch by Mîr Mu'ainu'l-mulk of Ṣidaq Khâṅ with Adîna Bêg Khâṅ in that direction. The death by cholera of Mîr Mu'ainu'l-mulk in *St.* 1810 [A. H. 1165], and the appointment by his widow of the Nawâb Bhikhârî Khâṅ to be Ṣûbahdâr of Lâhôr.

The fourth invasion of the Pañjâb by Aḥmad Shâh in *St.* 1813 and the preparations of the Sikhs to meet him. His plunder of Mathurâ and Bindrâban, and appointment of his son Tîmûr Shâh to be Ṣûbahdar of Lâhôr in *St.* 1814. His subsequent enforced departure into Afghânistân in *St.* 1815. The arrival of the southern Sardârs at Lâhôr under the command of Adîna Bêg. The petition of Najîb Khâṅ to Aḥmad Shâh, which became the occasion of his fifth invasion of India. The conquests of the Sikhs in the Jâlandhar Dôâb under the **Sardâr Jassâ Siṅgh, and coinage of money in the Sardâr's name.** The arrival of Aḥmad Shâh at Lâhôr, and his appointment of Ḥâjî Karîmdâd Khâṅ and Amîr Khâṅ to the charge of the town, and his departure to Hindustân. The troubles excited by the Sikhs and the burning of the outskirts of Lâhôr in *St.* 1816. Arrival of [the Marâṭhâ Generalissimo][13] Bhâo Râi at Akbarâbâd, and his coalition with Sûraj Mall Jâṭ. The removal of Shâh Jahân II. from the throne and installation of Mîrzâ Jahândar Shâh in his stead. The defeat of the Marâṭhâs at Pâṇîpaṭ after a war of about three months' duration and the departure of Ahmad Shâh homewards. The depredations of the Sikhs after the departure of Aḥmad Shâh and his subsequent return for the sixth time to the Pañjâb, to avenge the injuries inflicted upon his officials, and his return to Afghânistân in *St.* 1818.

This is followed by a general **coalition and rising of the Sikhs,** who beleaguer Gurû 'Âqil Dâs at Jhaṇḍiâlâ on account of his allegiance to Aḥmad Shâh. As soon as Aḥmad Shâh obtains information of the state of affairs, he quickly crosses the Aṭak and other rivers with the intention of surprising them. The Sikhs, however, obtain news of his approach, immediately abandon the siege, and fly to inaccessible localities in the mountains; whereon Aḥmad Shâh marches to Lâhôr, despatching some troops in pursuit of the fugitives, of whom they succeed in exterminating a great many after overtaking them at Gûjarwâl.

Samvat 1820. — The Sardâr Jassâ Siṅgh Âhlûwâlîâ causes confusion across the Satluj, and has a fight with Bhîkhan Khâṅ, Aḥmad Shâh's Thânadâr at Mâlêr(-kôṭlâ), and with Zain Khâṅ, Thânadâr at Sarhind. Bhîkhan Khâṅ applies at Lâhôr to Aḥmad Shâh for aid against the Sikhs.

Samvat 1821. — The Sikhs now cause confusion in the Jâlandhar Dôâb, devastate for the second time the country across the Satluj, and ruin Sarhind after slaying Zain Khâṅ and Bhîkhan Khâṅ.

The Sardâr Jahân Khâṅ, who was ordered to attack the Sikhs, is disgracefully defeated by them. Aḥmad Shâh now invades the Pañjâb for the eighth time, Kâbulî Mall accompanying

[13] See *ante*, p. 271, Vol. XVI.

him, in the direction of Sarhind. Kâbulî Mall attempts to enter **Lâhôr, but the Sikhs occupy it in St. 1822,** and he marches to the hills of Jammûṅ and other parts.

The first volume terminates with an account of Aḥmad Shâh's last invasion of India, in consequence of his being informed that the Sikhs had again ousted his officials from their posts and committed depredations. After having, in his turn, committed others and installed new governors, he returns to Afghânistân, where he dies A. H. 1186.[14]

Vol. II., an account of the Sardârs Chaṛt Siṅgh and Mahâṅ Siṅgh, and a detailed account of Mahârâjâ Rañjît Siṅgh, up to St. 1887 = *A. D.* 1830.

This volume begins with an account of **Chaṛt Siṅgh,** the grandfather of Rañjît Siṅgh, who appears as a great freebooter and leader of depredators in ravaging the country. His head-quarters were at Gujrânwâlâ in the *zila'* of Râmnagar, which he fortified, because of the habit of the Sikh chiefs of fighting among themselves for predominance, and uniting only to combat Aḥmad Shâh when he invaded the Pañjâb, relapsing into domestic hostilities as soon as the foreigner ceased to assail them. Besides his contests with Sikh chiefs and Musalmân officials, it is recorded of Chaṛt Siṅgh that he was bold enough to enter Lâhôr in *St.* 1822, and to take away a very large cannon, which, after being dragged about the country, found at last a resting place at Gujrânwâlâ. He died in *St.* 1827, and was succeeded by his eldest son, **Mahâṅ Siṅgh,** who was as predatory as himself, and happened to be engaged in beleaguering Sayyidnagar, when the news was brought him that a son, **Rañjît Siṅgh,** had been born to him on Monday, the 2nd of the month Sangarandmanghar,[15] *St.* 1837. After this joyous event, Mahâṅ Siṅgh continued the extension of his power, took possession of Sayyidnagar, ravaged the hills of Jammûṅ, imprisoned certain rebellious Sikhs, sent troops to aid Râjâ Sansâr Chand, took possession of the fort of Kâṅgṛâ, and again ravaged Jammûṅ. He then fell sick, but, nevertheless, carried on hostilities against the Bhaṅgî Misal, laid siege to the fort of Sôdhrâ, till at last he was, on account of disease, compelled to retire with all his artillery and ammunition to Gujrânwâlâ, where he died on the 5th of Baisâkh, *St.* 1847. His body, attended by all the Sardârs of the surrounding country, was cremated according to the Sikh fashion, and his son was during the same year installed on his throne. Contentions immediately arose between the two Dîwâns, Lakhu Mall and Dal Siṅgh, which, however, soon subsided, and the reign of Rañjît Siṅgh, on the whole, began auspiciously. He married in *St.* 1852, but shortly afterwards Shâh Zamân attacked Lâhôr for the first time. About this time Chait Siṅgh rebelled at Râmnagar, but was met by Rañjît Siṅgh and slain. Rañjît Siṅgh also had a fight with Shâh Zamân, when the latter attacked Lâhôr for the second time in *St.* 1855, and in the following year Rañjît Siṅgh **obtained permanent possession of Lâhôr.** In *St.* 1857 **Khaṛk Siṅgh,** the first-born son of Rañjît Siṅgh, was born.

In those days Rañjît Siṅgh was constantly moving about in order to extend his power. He besieged and took Akâlgaṛh, marched to Fatehâbâd, where he made alliance with Fateh Siṅgh Âhlûwâlîâ. He then crossed the Râvî, conquered the fort Chandîôt, and made his first appearance before Multân in *St.* 1860 for the purpose of receiving *naẓarânâ*. He took possession of Amṛitsar in *St.* 1861, where, after a while, **Jaswant Siṅgh Hulkar arrived to crave his aid against the English,** but was informed that it would by no means be expedient to wage war against them. Rañjît Siṅgh then marched to the Kâṅgṛâ Hills; also again to Multân, and across the Satluj in *St.* 1863. He conquered Pathânkôṭ and Siâlkôṭ in *St.* 1864, after which he returned to his capital at Lâhôr and received envoys from Shâhjahânâbâd (Dehlî). He next conquered the fort of Shekhûpura, marched to Qaṣûr, crossed the Satluj, and had a friendly interview with **Metcalfe Ṣâhib** in *St.* 1864, = A. H. 1223. Meanwhile Munshî Bishn Siṅgh had

[14] A. H. 1184 according to the *Târîkh Sulâṭnî*. See *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 302.

[15] [*Sic* in the MS. of Mr. Rehatsek. He means that Rañjît Siṅgh was born on the 2nd Mâgh. *Saṅgrând* is the Pañjâbî form of *saṅkrânt*, and *maṅghar* of *mâgh*. — ED.]

been despatched to Shâhjahânâbâd, whence he brought the information that **Elphinstone Ṣâhib,** "remarkable for courtesy," had told him that the Ṣâhibs of the "Company Bahâdur" would be highly pleased if Rañjît Siṅgh were to visit those parts with a small escort, and establish harmony between them.

Rañjît Siṅgh next crossed the Biyâs, visiting Fîrôzpûr, Farîdkôṭ and other localities for the purpose of making arrangements to levy *naẓarâna* from the Sardârs, departing in *St.* 1864 from Farîdkôṭ to Chhôtâ Ambâlâ to celebrate the Dîwâlî festival on the banks of the Jamnâ. After levying *naẓarâna* in Paṭiâlâ, Nâbhâ, etc., he returned to Lâhôr, where he found Metcalfe Ṣâhib, and a cordial meeting took place between them. Amṛitsar was the residence of the English Envoy, and Rañjît Siṅgh witnessed the disturbance between the Akâlî troops and the Envoy's escort there during the Muḥarram, A. H. 1224. All further discord was, however, avoided and the Envoy pacified by the "consummate tact of Rañjît Siṅgh." **Metcalfe Ṣâhib** departed afterwards to Hindustân, upon **concluding a treaty with the Mahârâjâ,** to be maintained by **Colonel Lônî,**[16] the commandant of the fort of Ludhiânâ, which the English had been allowed to erect. The contents of this treaty were as follows: — (1) Armed Sikh troops are not to cross the Satluj for waging war. (2) Any forts across that river, which were in possession of the Sikh government before the arrival of the English, are to remain so, their garrisons being maintained and dues levied as heretofore. (3) The estates across the Satluj in possession of Râjâs are to be enjoyed by them without let or hindrance. (4) This treaty is to be considered annulled if any one of these points be transgressed. One copy of this document in English was to be in possession of Metcalfe Ṣâhib, and another to be in the custody of the Sikh government. It was written by the hand of Faqîr 'Azîzu'ddîn in *St.* 1865, on the 18th Baisâkh; A. H. 1224 in Rabîu'l-awwal; the 25th April, A. D. 1809.

The events above alluded to give in very brief outline the contents of this volume; but they **are there recorded in the most minute detail,** and the book would accordingly be of great value to the student of the earlier part of Rañjît Siṅgh's career and of the history of the Pañjâb at this time. To attempt to note here, even in outline, the various and complicated stories related would, however, only confuse the reader and be of no practical value. It is to be noticed that allusions to the English and to the foreign military adventurers in Rañjît Siṅgh's service are few and far between.

Appendix to Volumes I. and II.

This contains a succinct account of the Sikhs from the days of Gurû Nânak and his nine successors, of their condition after the death of Banda Bairâgî, and of the formation of their six chief Misals, and shews how they finally merged into one body under the Lion of the Pañjâb. It really **consists of a great number of short biographies,** commencing with those of the Gurûs, and giving many details at great length. Some of the events recorded in this appendix occurred as late as A. D. 1825.

Vol. III. Part I., a diary kept in St. 1888 (*A. D.* 1831).

News arrived that **Burnes Ṣâhib,** *vaqîl* of the English, had arrived at Bahâwalpur, and the Dîwân Ajûdhia Parshâd was ordered to meet and to entertain him. Letters from **Captain Wade Ṣâhib** also arrived with the information that the Governor-General intended to pay a visit to the hills, and he was, in fact, at Shâhjahânâbâd in order to proceed to Simla. Preparations were, therefore, made to entertain him. Under Rañjît Siṅgh's orders the Sardâr Harî Siṅgh Nalwâ, Faqîr 'Azîzu'd-dîn, Gulâb Siṅgh Karnêl [Colonel], and the Dîwân Môtî Râm collected 265 soldiers with gold-embroidered uniforms, 4 *chôbdârs*, 5 horses with costly saddles and other things suitable for presentation, and went to Ludhiânâ, where they offered the gifts to Captain Wade, who accepted them, and in turn presented Faqîr

16 [*Sic* in the text, but Ochterlony is meant, as the name invariably appears as Lony Akhtar whenever it occurs again. — ED.]

'Azîzu'd-dîn with pearls, bracelets, jewellery, two shawls, two elephants with golden howdahs, a tent, carpet-spreaders, and a torch-bearer. When the "Lord Ṣâhib[17]" arrived at **Karnâl**, he purchased some ground from the cultivators, and caused a **cantonment** for white soldiers to be built. Meanwhile **Captain Wade**, who is never mentioned in the text except as the "**Kapṭân Ṣâhib**," lived at the court of Rañjît Siṅgh, till the 25th of Jêth, *St.* 1888. On his departure he was presented by the Mahârâjâ with many valuable gifts, and among them was a diamond ring which the Mahârâjâ took off his own finger and threw to the Captain Ṣâhib. His companion, **Murray Ṣâhib**, likewise obtained gifts. Captain Wade had post horses laid to Simla, which he reached in four days from Ludhiânâ.[18] Rañjît Siṅgh entrusted him with letters both to the Commander-in-Chief and to the Governor-General [*Lâṭ Ṣâhibân jaṅgi wa mulkî*], and he promised to do his utmost towards the maintenance of harmony between these high personages and Rañjît Siṅgh. Afterwards Burnes Ṣâhib[19] arrived in an official capacity at Lâhôr, and met with a honourable reception. Captain Wade also returned and was entertained with various amusements, and given presents, as well as a "Doctor Ṣâhib" [? Murray], who appears to have accompanied him.

As the long expected interview with the **Governor-General**[20] was now approaching, and he had already reached Amṛitsar, Rañjît Siṅgh issued orders to provide his own army with all the necessaries, by which probably new uniforms and accoutrements are meant, so as to make a good appearance in the reviews. The neighbourhood of **Rûpaṛ**, where the meeting was to take place, was beautified, and costly tents had to be constructed and erected for the accommodation of the Governor-General. At last Rañjît Siṅgh himself started, continuing to march till he alighted at a distance of three *kôs* from **Rûpaṛ**. There the Jarnêl [General] Ṣâhib Bahâdur, brother of the Commander-in-Chief, and other English gentlemen, waited upon Rañjît Siṅgh to enquire after his health, and a deputation for the same purpose was sent to the Governor-General, with presents, such as horses, dresses, and the sum of Rs. 11,000 in a bag of *kimkhâb*. Sardâr Fateh Siṅgh Âhlûwâliâ and Sardârs Nihâl Siṅgh and 'Aṭar Singh Kâliâṅwâlâ introduced the English gentlemen who visited Rañjît Siṅgh. They took off their hats as soon as they reached the brink of the carpet, and Rañjît Siṅgh received them with great courtesy, causing five of them to take seats on chairs on one side, while he himself sat on the other with Râjâ Hîrâ Siṅgh and Sardâr Nihâl Siṅgh. The Ṣâhibs on behalf of the Governor-General presented Rañjît Siṅgh with the sum of Rs. 15,000, which they deposited in front of him in eleven bags of *kimkhâb*. Then a conversation ensued, Rañjît Siṅgh asking his guests to cover their heads, but they replied that it was as a mark of civility to keep the head uncovered. He asked whether all Ṣâhibs were the same in understanding and knowledge. They replied that all were equal, but that their attainments depended upon their intellect and discernment, to which opinion he fully assented, saying that not even the fingers of a hand were equal. He further asked how long it took to drill a regiment, and they replied that it took six months. To his question concerning the occupations of the Governor-General they replied that he was always engaged in writing. To his remark that he had marched in six days from his capital to Rûpaṛ, the Ṣâhibs replied, that, as in long journeys, if quickly made, a loss of camels, elephants and horses was incurred, they themselves travelled only a few *kôs* per diem, except in cases of necessity. Rañjît Siṅgh answered that his own troops marched twenty *kôs* at a time, and that he had from the beginning of his reign always been fond of long stages. To his question whether they were personally able to hit a target with a cannon ball, they replied, that this was the business of soldiers and artillerists. The conversation turned even upon wine (*sharâb*), which the Mahârâjâ said was very good in

[17] The name of the Governor-General is never given. He is usually called *Lâṭ-mulkî*, "Lord of the country," whilst the Commander-in-Chief is given the title of *Lâṭ-jaṅgî*, "war-lord."

[18] Captain Wade is often mentioned by the author and praised in every way, chiefly because he entertained a high opinion of the author's work, although he had not read it, but only manifested a wish to do so.

[19] *I. e.*, Alexander Burnes, called Bârnas Sahib in the text, and later on Iskandar Birnas. See *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 268.

[20] Lord William Bentinck, whose name is not even once given in the whole work.

Lâhôr, and that at the proposed banquet he would make the Ṣâhibs taste some. He also informed them that he possessed a well drilled troop of female soldiers, but they replied that they had been shewn a "Zanâna Regiment" able to perform all the military exercises belonging to the Nawâb of Lakhnau.

The Governor-General established himself on the other side of the river with his elephants, camels, troops, etc., and Rañjît Siṅgh paid him a visit, the road being lined with European soldiers on the one side and with Pûrbhiâs on the other. He was received by the Governor-General himself with due ceremony, and given a seat in the tent in the midst of a number of his own Sardârs, whilst on the other side about fifty Ṣâhibs took up positions. Captain Wade and Prinsep Ṣâhib acted as interpreters, and after the first compliments and presents had been exchanged, Rañjît Siṅgh mentioned one by one the name of each of his Sardârs, thus introducing them to the Governor-General, who, mindful of oriental usages, had provided a number of singing women and musicians in the adjoining tents to amuse the company. After a while Rañjît Siṅgh called for his horses, whose feats he exhibited to the Governor-General, and, presenting one of them to him, took his departure.

When the Governor-General paid his return visit, he passed through lines of troops dressed in *kimkhâb* and was met by Rañjît Siṅgh on the bridge with all his Sardârs, whence they all proceeded together to the great tent of the Mahârâjâ, salutes being fired all the while. The names of all the Sardârs present are given, and of about sixty Englishmen, which it will, no doubt, some day exercise the ingenuity of scholars and historians to decipher. Prinsep Ṣâhib, who was asked by Rañjît Siṅgh to state the position and employment of each of the English gentlemen present, introduced them in turn. The Governor-General then reviewed the Sikh troops, and was finally asked to have a look at the women, dressed in uniforms, who had been assembled in a tent. After this he departed to his own camp. On the 14th of Kârṭik, Rañjît Siṅgh witnessed a review and manœuvres of the European troops, on which occasion all the Sardârs, who accompanied him, appeared dressed in coats of mail. Subsequently, the Governor-General paid a visit to the Sikh camp for a similar purpose, and manifested his pleasure at beholding the spectacle. A musical entertainment was also arranged in a costly and brilliantly illuminated tent, which was attended by the Governor-General and his suite, including his wife and several other English ladies. The next evening Rañjît Siṅgh was present at a similar entertainment in the English camp. After some more banquets and reviews, Rañjît Siṅgh took his leave and departed on the 18th of Kârṭik to Amṛitsar, whence he proceeded to Lâhôr. Then various hunting parties, given to various English gentlemen, but chiefly to the often mentioned Captain Wade, are described, and also Rañjît Siṅgh's interviews with Burnes. The volume abruptly terminates here.

Vol. III. Part II., a diary kept in St. 1889 *to St.* 1892 (*A. D.* 1832-1835).

This part commences with orders to various Sardârs for the proper celebration of the Hôlî festival, and the description of a hunting expedition of Rañjît Siṅgh, who afterwards made excursions to various parts of the country, and had interviews with his vassals. Next follows a description of his wedding with "Gul Bêgam." Many pages deal with the visits of Captain Wade, of whom Rañjît Siṅgh appears to have been very fond. Letters are also noted from Alexander Burnes, who writes that, after travelling through Afghânistân and sojourning in Hirât, he had reached Mashhad. Courteous replies are sent to him, the Mahârâjâ entertaining even at that time misgivings as to the approach of the Russians; but as to his own dominions, he appears by this time to have attained such authority in them, that all transactions with his feudatories are of an amicable character. He is, nevertheless, constantly marching about and paying them visits, and hunting in various parts of the Pañjâb and Kashmîr. It happened that, about this time, the Mahârâjâ fell sick, and, becoming very weak, summoned the author of this work one day to his presence, asking him of what use his science was, and to shew it by curing him. The author then informed Rañjît Siṅgh, that pûjâ to the planet Saturn would be useful, and was asked to arrange the matter. He obtained the appropriate incantation from an astrologer of Basôlî,

which was carefully recorded. Bhâî Ṣâhib Bhâî Gôbindrâmjî duly performed the *pûjâ* in strict accordance therewith, and the Mahârâjâ forthwith recovered his health!

This part of Volume III. contains **accounts of the celebration of festivals**, the distribution of alms, the various movements and errands of Sardârs, of the French officer **Allard** and of **Avitabile** and **Ventura** the Italians, which are recorded just as they happened to occur. The presents sent to the King of England, those given to the Governor-General, to Mr. Metcalfe, to Captain Wade, to Mr. Clark, and to the wife of the Governor-General, are all enumerated in detail. Also a "Padre,"[21] whose name is not given, was honourably received by Rañjît Siṅgh, who, being about to undertake a hunting expedition, invited the Padre to accompany him, or, if he preferred to stay in Lâhôr, to pay visits to various localities worth seeing there. The Padre, however, preferred the chase and so he, Shahâmat 'Alî Munshî, and Captain Wade accompanied by Rañjît Siṅgh, went out together pig-sticking! News arrived that the Governor-General was to depart to Europe, and that Metcalfe Ṣâhib would occupy his position in Calcutta as his Lieutenant. Captain Wade sent a book on military drill to Rañjît Siṅgh in English, but no one could be found able to translate it, Ventura Ṣâhib asserting that there was no one in the Pañjâb capable of doing so. Later on, Rañjît Siṅgh issued a *parwâna* to Ventura Ṣâhib, ordering the author of this work, Lâlâ Sôhan Lâl, to translate the book under his supervision, but Ventura being undecided and Rañjît Siṅgh not pressing the matter, it fell into abeyance. The English gentlemen of Fîrôzpûr requested the Mahârâjâ to grant leave to Ventura to celebrate their new year's festival with them, and so he issued a *parwâna* to that effect, and sent him away with gifts.

Mikshan Ṣâhib (Mackeson) paid a visit to Rañjît Siṅgh, and was well entertained. Certain Ṣâhibs having recently arrived from Europe, Rañjît Siṅgh asked Captain Wade for instructions as to how they should be received, and he wrote in reply that they were only travellers who had come to see the country, and that the same hospitality should be dispensed to them as had formerly been shewn to **Jâkman**,[22] which was accordingly done. Two gentlemen of this party, namely, **Baron von Hügel** and **Wîn Ṣâhib** (de Vismes), were introduced in audience to Rañjît Siṅgh by Mikshan Ṣâhib, and were received with honour and questioned by the Mahârâjâ with the following extraordinary result: —

Q. — Are you servants of the "Company Bahâdur" or not?

A. — We are servants of our own king.

Q. — What is his name?

A. — He is called Jarmanî.[23]

Q. — What was your position in the service of your king?

A. — We were colonels of cavalry.

Q. — What was your pay?

A. — Two thousand rupees.

Q. — You must teach us your military drill.

A. — We intend shortly to return to our country, and some time would be required to impart the required instruction.

Q. — Why have you brought so many skins of animals?

A. — We desire to shew them to our king as specimens of the beasts of this country.

Q. — What relations are subsisting between your king and the "Company Bahâdur"?

A. — Formerly a war was carried on between them, but it is at present three years [*sic*] since they have been at peace with each other.

[21] Probably a Bishop. [22] Jaquemont the French botanist. [23] King of Prussia is meant.

Q. — The people say that even in the night when you are asleep, you keep muskets leaning against your breasts; explain the meaning of this.

A. — We are very fond of hunting, and when during the night some wild beast comes in sight, we immediately rise and shoot it.

Q. — What is your opinion of the governor of Kashmîr?

A. — He keeps the country in good order.

Q. — The people say that he is robbing my government.

A. — Then he should be removed.

After this conversation the foreigners took leave, but were afterwards hospitably entertained on several occasions, and given presents.

On another occasion the same gentlemen met Rañjît Siṅgh at Shâh Bilâwal, and he ordered **Râjâ Suchêt Siṅgh** to cause the cuirass-wearing cavalry to manœuvre, who shewed much dexterity in shooting with guns at targets, which fact the Ṣâhibs promised to bring to the notice of their king. They asked about the number of the cavalry, and were told that both the infantry and cavalry[24] amounted to about 5,000 men. To the enquiry of Rañjît Siṅgh, whether the king of France or the king of England was the more powerful, the Ṣâhibs replied that the dominions of England were extending day by day. Then the Ṣâhibs asked what the use of wearing cuirasses might be. And Râjâ Suchêt Siṅgh explained that a cuirass cannot be damaged by a sword, giving three or four blows with his own sword then and there on a soldier's cuirass, which had no effect on his body. The Ṣâhibs, who were much pleased with what they had seen, were asked whether in their opinion the cavalry or the infantry were the best, when Baron von Hügel stated that he belonged himself to the cavalry service and highly approved of that arm, whilst de Vismes said that as he belonged to the infantry he considered it to be the better, but that in case of need both branches of the service would be useful.

Vol. III. Part III., a diary kept in St. 1893 (*A. D.* 1836).

This part commences with a mention of the alms and charities bestowed during the month *Chait St.* 1893, and records interviews between Rañjît Siṅgh and a number of his Sardârs and officers, and his journeys to various parts of the country. An interview between the Governor-General and Rañjît Siṅgh near the Satluj is also described. On this occasion they both paid a visit together to the fort of the Bhaṅgîs, and the English gentlemen admired the fruit on the trees along the road, which had been gilt and silvered! The wedding of the **Kaṅwar Nau Nihâl Siṅgh** was also celebrated about that time at Aṭârî, the Governor-General being present at the festivities, which were on a magnificent scale and were afterwards continued in Lâhôr, to which place Rañjît Siṅgh journeyed in company with his Lordship.

Vol. III. Part IV., a diary kept in St. 1894 and *St.* 1895 (*A. D.* 1837-38).

In *St.* 1894 Rañjît Siṅgh paid visits to the camp of the Governor-General, and witnessed the manœuvres of the English troops and the practice of the artillery. Afterwards the Governor-General paid him return visits, was entertained at banquets, and saw the displays which take place in the **celebration of the Hôlî festival**. The Governor-General was much pleased with Nau Nihâl Siṅgh, and congratulated Rañjît Siṅgh for having chosen him as his successor. His Lordship also promised to report to London the hospitable treatment he had met with.

Considering that the names of many English officials — of course, excepting that of the anonymous, but oft recurring and beloved, Captain of Lûdhiânâ (Wade) — are mentioned, it is surprising that neither the author nor Rañjît Siṅgh himself appears to have known the names of the highest functionaries, and when another Lâṭ Ṣâhib is expected to pay a visit to the Pañjâb, Rañjît Siṅgh is made to say:—

"I shall have had the pleasure of meeting three Lâṭ Ṣâhibs; the first was the Lât Ṣâhib

[24] On the spot.

Rûpaṛwâlâ, the second the Jaṅgî Lâṭ Ṣâhib, who was present at the wedding of the Kaṅwarjî, and the third will be the Lâṭ Ṣâhib Mulkî, who is now going to honour us with his presence."

As the last mentioned Lord Ṣâhib was gradually approaching the Pañjâb, due preparations were made for his reception, and among other things not less than 300 elephants were got ready for his camp. But Captain Wade[25] sent a letter to Rañjît Siṅgh, that the Lâṭ Ṣâhib, being much distressed by the heat, would first spend two months in Simla, and would then be glad to meet the Mahârâjâ. After this a letter arrived from Râî Gôbind Dâs, reporting that the Lâṭ Ṣâhib had left all his baggage at Mêṛaṭh, and had sent back "the *shâhzâdas*" to Calcutta, and that he was travelling to Simla alone, to which Rañjît Siṅgh sent a reply to the effect that he desired to know how much of the Lât Ṣâhib's baggage had been left behind and how much had been taken with him, and he further wanted a detailed account of how many "European *shâhzâdas*" had been sent back to Calcutta, and who they were![26] Having invited Mackeson Ṣâhib to a hunting party, which lasted for some time, Rañjît Siṅgh asked him many questions about the Lâṭ Ṣâhib and other matters. The Mahârâjâ was, however, somewhat displeased when it was reported to him that Mackeson was in the habit of writing down all the occurrences of the day in the evening daily, and eating his dinner only after he had done so. The Mahârâjâ observed that the Ṣâhibs had had a free run all over the country during the last 25 years, and ought to know all about it. Nevertheless, most cordial relations continued and Mackeson remained for some time.

There were no internal troubles, and when on a certain occasion the Afghâns sallied out from the fort of 'Alî Masjid, they were repulsed by the cavalry of Allard, which thus earned the praises of Rañjît Siṅgh. News from Kâbul arrived that a Russian envoy had proposed to **Dôst Muḥammad Khâṅ** to let his son go to Russia for the purpose of strengthening the bonds of friendship. To this the Amîr had replied that he was on good terms with the English who were his neighbours, whereas Russia was a distant country. On hearing this story, Burnes Ṣâhib[27] was reported to have expressed his astonishment that European Sardârs[28] could talk one way at night, and another in the morning. Lord Auckland sent a letter to Burnes Ṣâhib to inform Dôst Muḥammad Khâṅ that if he entertained loyal intentions towards the English, who were allies of the Sikh government, and if he desired to retain their amity, he ought to send away the Russian envoys. Some time afterward the Mahârâjâ asked Mackeson Ṣâhib concerning this matter, and was informed that Dôst Muḥammad Khâṅ had given only elusive replies to Burnes. Later on Wade informed Rañjît Siṅgh that letters from Burnes had arrived reporting treacherous intentions on the part of Dôst Muḥammad Khâṅ, that the Lât Ṣâhib had recalled him, and that he was now on his way from Kâbul to India. Rañjît Siṅgh at once sent orders to Avitabile Ṣâhib that on the arrival of Burnes Ṣâhib in Pêshâwar, he was to present him with the sum of 500 rupees and 31 dishes of sweetmeats, by way of welcome.

One day, after having received some English gentlemen, Rañjît Siṅgh fainted on account of the heat and the warm clothes he was wearing, but Bhâî Gôbind Râm opened his mouth and poured into it a medicine composed of rubies, musk, and rosewater, whereon the Mahârâjâ recovered consciousness and allowed himself to be divested of his clothes! He gave strict orders not to reveal to any one what had taken place, ordered the sacred *Granth* to be read to him, to which he listened for some time, and performed the ceremony of *suchita*, which consists of washing the hands, head and feet. Before the day had closed, he was well enough to ride out and to divert himself with hunting. Not long afterwards information was brought that Burnes had arrived, and had been hospitably entertained in the camp of Avitabile. On

[25] Wade is said in this work to have allowed only such Europeans as he approved of to visit the Court of Rañjît Siṅgh, and to have further issued instructions as to how they were to be treated. He appears to have been consulted on many occasions and to have thus played an important part in the history of the Pañjâb at this period.

[26] [This quaint statement probably means that the Governor-General left his family at Mêṛath and went on to Simla alone. — ED.]

[27] Who was at that time in Kâbul.

[28] [Meaning apparently the Russian envoys. — ED.]

his arrival at Lâhôr, Burnes and several other officers were received by **Rañjit Siṅgh, who questioned Burnes** on various subjects as follows :—

Q. — You have no doubt exerted yourself in Kâbul for the best?

A. — Although I imparted salutary advice to Dôst Muḥammad Khâñ with reference to his attitude towards the British and the Sikh governments, telling him that they would support his own if he kept on good terms with them, he disregarded me, saying that his government depended on predestination, and that he must carry it on according to his fate, and there was no profit whatever in the amity of the said two powers.

Q. — If, by the vicissitudes of time, and his own ill luck, Dôst Muḥammad Khâñ fails to heed your advice, his reign will soon come to end, and his country be trodden under foot by cavalry, as will be demonstrated by the said two governments as soon as the rainy season ceases. It is reported that the Qâjârwâlâ[29] has abandoned the siege of Hirât and has departed.

A. — It is not likely that he has done so.

Q. — Are there any troops of the Shâh of Russia with the Qâjârwâlâ to aid him in the contest ?

A. — It is quite certain that there are none, although the Russians agree with him and encourage him.

Q. — What is the strength of the army of the Qâjârwâlâ ?

A. — It amounts to about 60,000 cavalry and infantry.

Q. — What troops has Dôst Muḥammad Khâñ ?

A. — He has 12,000 cavalry and infantry, but his army is in a bad condition, unfit for war, and would be unable to offer resistance, if hostilities break out.

Q. — What sum is contained in the treasury of Dôst Muḥammad Khâñ ?

A. — There is not one *dâm* in the treasury, and the revenues are spent daily as they come in.

Q. — What is the amount of his artillery ?

A. — He possesses 35 pieces of cannon, and carries four *ghubâras* in his suite.

Q. — What kind of man is Harlan ?[30]

A. — He is an ungrateful scoundrel, and will be brought to judgment by his own misdeeds.

Q. — How is Pêshâwar governed, and what is the condition of the people ?

A. — Pêshâwar has been well governed by Avitabile, and the people are grateful for his administration. Allard and Court maintain the troops in prime order. They have so improved the fort of Fatehgaṛh that there is no other like it in the country, and there is no change in the loyalty and devotedness of Avitabile.

Q. — It has been reported that Avitabile has committed great defalcations in the revenues of Pêshâwar ?

A. — The Ṣâhibs know nothing about such reports.

Q. — What kind of places are Khaibar and 'Alî Masjid ?

A. — Khaibar is like a gate with a padlock on it, but the people of Khaibar are greedy of money, and will do anything for ready cash, so that the real key to the padlock is money, on the payment of which the gate becomes passable, either way, with ease.

In a subsequent conversation on the same subject, Burnes again spoke of the weakness of Dôst Muḥammad Khâñ, and of the wise resolution of the British authorities to set up **Shâh**

[29] [The Shâh of Persia. — ED.]

[30] [For the doings of Dr. Harlan, see Cunningham's *Sikhs*, p. 212 ff. — ED.]

Shujâ'a as his rival, and to take him with them in the impending contest with their army from Shikârpûr to Qandahâr.

Once certain English officers tried to persuade Rañjît Siṅgh not to trust the foreigners in his service, because they would be of no avail in time of need: but he strenuously took their part, saying that Allard, Ventura, Court, Avitabile and other high officials had loyally served him during many years, had organised his army, and had so justly carried on the civil administration of his country that the people were grateful for it; whereas in former times, when Pêshâwar had been governed by his own Sardârs, there were perpetual contentions with the landholders; moreover, under the Europeans' administration not a trace of brigandage remained in the country formerly so insecure. He said that, for these reasons, he trusted his foreign officers, and had no doubt they would jeopardise their lives for him if need be. The English gentlemen rejoined that all this was quite true, but that the Mahârâjâ ought, for all that, to put no trust in foreigners.

In course of time it appeared that the English intended to begin the proposed war with Dôst Muhammad Khâṅ by the invasion of Afghânistân, and were concentrating troops to that effect, some arriving from Bombay, by way of Sind; but Rañjît Siṅgh, although on cordial terms with the English and sympathising with them, kept himself neutral.

Vol. III. Part V., a diary from 17th Bhâdôṅ, St. 1895, *to* 15*th Hâṛ, St.* 1896 (1838 *and* 1839 *A. D.*)

While Rañjît Siṅgh was sojourning at Râmbâgh the news arrived that one of his ladies, **Mâî Chandâṅ** by name, had, on the 3rd of Bhâdôṅ, given birth to a son, afterwards **Dalîp Siṅgh**, and the Mahârâjâ rejoiced greatly.

Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, arrived at Fîrôzpûr, and several interviews took place with the usual ceremonies between him and Rañjît Siṅgh. Long descriptions of the etiquette observed, and the persons present, are given, as well as of the reviews of the Sikh and English troops. Afterwards the Governor-General paid a visit to Amṛitsar and to Lâhôr. The account of this visit is given in the detail usual with this writer.

Rañjît Siṅgh had, on two or three occasions, suffered from weakness and fainting fits, and on the 10th of Hâṛ, he became so seriously indisposed that his *ḥakîms*, who had before relieved him somehow, despaired of their ability to cure him by their strengthening and exhilarating drugs. He spent a restless night, sleeping alternately inside and outside his tent, and when the morning dawned, his physicians held a consultation, during which Bhâî Gôbind Râm said that the disease was alternately violent and gentle, but 'Azîzu'd-dîn replied that it was beyond the power of the intellect to fathom it! The critical state of Rañjît Siṅgh was brought to the notice of the **Sardâr Ajît Siṅgh,** who hastened to the presence of the Mahârâjâ without eating his food, and orders were issued to send troops to guard the twelve gates of Lâhôr, and to prevent any armed men from entering it. The courtiers remained all the next night watching at the bedside of the patient, and after feeling his pulse on the morning of the 12th, the physicians declared that it was much stronger, and that he would recover his health. Alms on an extensive scale and gifts to the temple of Amṛitsar were disbursed by Rañjît Siṅgh, who also performed his devotions, but knew full well that his end was near at hand. After a time the intervals of consciousness became gradually shorter, and the *hakîms* found at last that pulsation had ceased. On this Bhâî Gôbind Râm said to the dying Mahârâjâ in a loud voice that Râjâ Suchêt Siṅgh was present, and requested him to cast a glance at him, but **Rañjît Siṅgh merely opened his eyes and closed them again for ever!** When Rañjît Siṅgh was dead great lamentations ensued, and on the 16th of Hâṛ the **Kaṅwaṛjî Khaṛk Siṅgh** had his corpse bathed in Ganges water, dressed in perfumed saffron coloured garments, and adorned with bracelets, anklets and a diamond ring. All the preparations having been duly made, the corpse was burned on a funeral pyre constructed of sandal-wood saturated with oil. The concourse of people was great, but no disturbances occurred.

Vol. IV., a diary from 17th Hâr, St. 1896, *to Kârtik, St.* 1902 (1839 *to* 1845 *A. D.*)[31]

Khaṛk Siṅgh announced his accession to the throne by sending letters to Râjâ Gulâb Siṅgh, to Sardâr 'Aṭar Siṅgh, to the governor of Kashmîr, etc., and, among English officials, to the Lât Ṣâhib (Governor-General), to Colonel Wade, to Clark Ṣâhib and to Lawrence Ṣâhib, informing them of his intention to follow the example of his father, and of his anxiety to remain on friendly terms with the British government.

A somewhat confused account is given of a conspiracy, which seems originally to have had for its object the deposition of the *wazîr* Chait Siṅgh, but ended in his murder, the perpetrator of which is not named in this work. Khaṛk Siṅgh is represented as retiring and Kaṅwar Shêr Siṅgh as performing various supreme functions, such as corresponding with and receiving English officials, transacting business with the Sardârs, etc. He even desired to meet the Governor-General when he crossed the Satluj, but his Lordship sent word that being in bad health, and unable to bear the roar of artillery, which the salvoes of the interview would entail, he desired to reserve the pleasure of meeting him till his arrival in Lâhôr. The Kaṅwar was, however, consoled in his disappointment by receiving visits from various English officers. Meanwhile, the Mahârâjâ Khaṛk Siṅgh fell a prey to fever and died, the beginning, progress and treatment of his malady with medicines and incantations by holy men being narrated at great length. Kaṅwar Shêr Siṅgh was then called to Lâhôr, and took his share in the lamentations and funeral ceremonies. He also condoled with Rânî Chand Kaur, the relict of Khaṛk Siṅgh, paying her visits of ceremony, but trying, nevertheless, to get her out of the way by advising her to visit the Ganges and other places, but she demurred and remained in Lâhôr; and so far from effacing herself, assumed the reigns of government as soon as Shêr Siṅgh departed to Batâlâ, the council over which she presided being composed of four members:— Sardâr 'Aṭar Siṅgh Sindhâṅwâlîâ, Jam'adâr Khushḥâl Siṅgh, Sardâr Lahnâ Siṅgh Majîthîâ, and the "Râjâ Ṣâhib."[32]

After this event the Râjâjî[33] demanded leave to retire to Jammuṅ, which the Rânî reluctantly granted. As he departed, he despatched letters to Shêr Siṅgh, informing him of what had taken place, and to the Generals and Colonels of the army, inviting them to pay allegiance to Shêr Siṅgh, as soon as he might arrive in Lâhôr. Shêr Sîṅgh obtained possession of the town at once, but the garrison of the citadel offered resistance and surrendered only after a siege of three days. After this proclamations were issued to the population, advising the inhabitants to be in dread of no further hostilities, and to resume their usual occupations.

Shêr Siṅgh now began to reign openly, and narratives are given of his interviews with his own officials, as well as of those with English gentlemen, and of the celebrations of various festivals, Hôlî, Dasahrâ, etc. An account is given how certain Sikh officers meditated treachery by alleging that they had put their sovereign under obligations in placing him on the throne, and that instead of fulfilling the obligations he had kept the Rânî, who was their real mistress, in durance vile. They, therefore, asserted that she ought to be liberated and the Mahârâjâ removed. The matter was, however, settled by Shêr Siṅgh's party, who suborned four of the Rânî's maids to poison her in a draught of rosewater and musk. The poison soon took effect and she expired despite the efforts of the *ḥakîms* to save her life. The four girls were punished by having their hands cut off, and died in a short time. The Rânî was the mother of the Kaṅwar Nau Nihâl Siṅgh, and so the Mahârâjâ, Shêr Siṅgh, paid him a visit of condolence, and assured to him the secure possession of his *jâgîrs* and other property. The Sardâr Ajît Siṅgh Sindhâṅwâlîâ returned to Lâhôr, and Shêr Siṅgh went on to transact all kinds of business with his own subjects, and had many friendly interviews with British officials till the 19th of Sha'bân 1259, when the Sardâr Ajît Sindhâṅwâlîâ made his appearance with a number of

[31] There is a gap of four months in this volume. [32] Name not given. [Dhyân Siṅgh.—ED.]

[33] Dhyân Siṅgh, the *wazîr* during the previous government, is always thus designated in the text.

retainers fully armed in the garden of Shâh Balâwal,[34] where the Mahârâjâ was sitting in public assembly. The Mahârâjâ complimented the Sardâr on his fine equipments, and desired to examine his gun. But, in handing to him, the Sardâr turned the muzzle of it suddenly towards him, and shot him dead. A general confusion ensued, and many who had attended the *darbâr* took to their heels; but the Sardâr, not satisfied with having murdered the Mahârâjâ, went to the garden of Têj Siṅgh, where he found the Mahârâjâ's little son **Partâb Siṅgh** and killed him with a sword.

The Râjâ Sâḥib (Dhyân Siṅgh) had taken refuge in the citadel, where also many of the scum of the people had collected, and the tradesmen of the city were so frightened that they conveyed their goods in all haste to their domiciles and closed their shops. The Khâlsâ troops soon arrived, entering by the Dehlî gate, Ventura Ṣâhib with his regiment also putting in an appearance. The Sikh soldiers plundered the town, and took the citadel, climbing into it with scaling ladders, and plundering all the apartments of. the palace, so that in a few days afterwards the *bâzâr* was full of goods for sale. Great lamentation afterwards ensued among the inhabitants of Lâhôr when **Hîrâ Siṅgh** arrived with the corpse of his father, Dhyân Siṅgh, who had been slain in the citadel, and placed it upon the funeral pyre. **Ajît Siṅgh**, who had witnessed the prowess of his enemies in the citadel, was so dismayed that he betook himself to the northern wall, intending to let himself down by a rope, but it broke, and his fall attracted the attention of the sentry. Several men at once ran up, slew him, and, after dragging about his corpse, threw it into the moat.[35]

After tranquillity had been restored, heralds were sent round Lâhôr to proclaim a general amnesty, and to announce to the people that **Dalîp Siṅgh** had been raised to the throne, with Hîrâ Siṅgh as his *wazîr*. The same information was also despatched abroad. The whole Court now considered it proper that Dalîp Siṅgh's formal installation should take place on a propitious day and hour, according to the indication of the stars, and so astrologers were consulted, and they fixed on the 22nd of Mâgh as the proper day. On that day he was accordingly dressed in new garments, made to perform the required ceremonies, and seated on the throne. Bhâî Râm Siṅgh with Bhâî Gôbind Râm marked his forehead with the *qushqas*, after which the officials of high dignity, and after them the *daftarîs*, *munshîs* and *vakîls*, and lastly the cavalry and infantry officers according to their various grades presented *nazarânas*. After the ceremony various shows took place.

On the 10th of Chait, *St.* 1901, while Hîrâ Siṅgh was holding a *darbâr*, the officers of the infantry sent him a message, that, if he desired to retain his position undisturbed, he must comply with the following demands :—He must set at liberty **Jawâhir Siṅgh**[36] whom he had imprisoned. He must remove the surveillance he had established over the house of Miṣr Bikram. He must raise the siege of Gauriâṅwâlâ.

Hîrâ Siṅgh, who was astonished at these demands, held a consultation with **Paṇḍit Jallâ** and his other councillors, and the conclusion arrived at was that, as the times had changed and perils were at hand, it would be necessary to comply with the requirements of the disloyal faction. It also transpired that the officers of infantry had offered their allegiance to **Râjâ Suchêt Siṅgh**, and had invited him to come to Lâhôr, and that the Mahârânî Chandâṅ seconded their views. Râjâ Suchêt Siṅgh soon arrived in the vicinity of Lâhôr, whilst Hîrâ Siṅgh, on his part, endeavoured to satisfy the infantry officers by complying with all their demands. Surprised at the quick arrival of his uncle, Suchêt Siṅgh, and aware of his aspirations, Hîrâ Siṅgh induced the Khâlsâ troops to surround his camp, and to slay the Râjâ with his whole escort.

A long, but confused, account is given of the dissensions and contests which ensued

[34] At Shâhdara near Lâhôr.

[35] This event is narrated differently in the *Ẓafarnâma* which see, *ante*, Vol. XVII., with the remark of the Editor thereon in footnote 81.

[36] Brother of the Mahârânî Chandâṅ.

among the Sikh factions until Jawâhir Siṅgh, the maternal uncle of Dalîp Siṅgh, succeeded in usurping the supreme power. The Paṇḍit Jallâ, as the counsellor of Hîrâ Siṅgh, had, of course, incurred the displeasure of the Rânî Chandân, Dalîp Siṅgh's mother, and she intrigued with the troops to insist on his removal; but instead of yielding to this demand, Hîrâ Siṅgh fled with him from Lâhôr, but, being overtaken by the troops, they were both slain. After the death of Hîrâ Siṅgh, Jawâhir Siṅgh was proclaimed *wazîr* with much ceremony, and received *nazarânas*. Prince **Pêshôrâ Siṅgh**, another son of the Mahârâjâ Rañjît Siṅgh, now aspired to supreme power, and took possession of the fort of Aṭak, but Jawâhir Siṅgh had him slain there. In consequence of this event a deputation of Sikh officers waited upon the Mahârânî, categorically demanding her presence with Jawâhir Siṅgh near the troops. The people of the town were much frightened by this bold demand, but the Mahârânî obeyed the summons, and when Jawâhir Siṅgh had arrived with her in front of the Sikh lines he trembled for fear, and was confused. Great excitement was manifested by the troops at the mere sight of Jawâhir Siṅgh, which made the Mabârânî address the officers, saying that her brother was guilty of the prince's death, but that he ought to be pardoned, as he had thrown himself upon their mercy. She appealed to the sacred writings and promised large bribes, but without avail. They ordered Dalîp Siṅgh's elephant-driver to make the animal kneel down, upon which Dalîp Siṅgh was removed from the howdah and Jawâhir Siṅgh forthwith shot dead with a carbine. To the maledictions which the Mahârânî then heaped upon the Khâlsâ troops, they merely replied that now she had some idea of the distress felt by the mother of Pêshôrâ Siṅgh. The spot being unsuitable for cremation, she desired to convey the corpse of her brother to Lâhôr, so that the *satî* of his wives could take place, but the troops demurred, saying that they might easily be brought from the citadel. At last, however, the Mahârânî took the corpse to the Bâgh Badâmî, while she went to the citadel, where she caused the *satîs* to be dressed and adorned with jewellery. She started back with the procession of the mourning women, but was not allowed to go farther than the Ghariâlî Gate, while the *satîs* continued their walk and reached the funeral pyre. So she was obliged to mount to the octagonal tower of the Gate and witness the proceedings thence. The Khâlsâ troops insulted the *satîs*, telling them that other widows were weeping because their husbands had been slaughtered like sheep, and violently tore off all the ornaments from their bodies, before they allowed them to immolate themselves.

After this the Mahârânî assembled such of the troops as still sided with her, and declared that she would henceforth herself assume the reins of government, and carry on the administration with the aid of **Dîwân Dînânâth**. Nevertheless, she seated **Râjâ Lâl Siṅgh** on the throne in a *darbâr* she had assembled, and enjoined all present to obey him.

This volume ends with the remark that **the original account of the war** of the Sikhs with the Ṣâhibs of high dignity (*i. e.*, the English) from the beginning of Kârṭik *St.* 1902 to the 11th of Phâgun *St.* 1902, **had been lent by the author to Sir Herbert Edwardes Bahâdur, and had never been returned.**

This unfortunate incident has prevented the preservation of a probably uniquely valuable account of those memorable events.

Vol. V., a diary from 2nd Phâgun St. 1902 *to 7th Chait* 1907 (1845 to 1849 *A. D.*)

On Friday the 11th of Phâgun, about evening, the Lâṭ Ṣâhibs arrived with the Mahârâjâ Dalîp Siṅgh Bahâdur and sent him into the citadel of Lâhôr. Then Lawrence Ṣâhib arrived with a European regiment, encamped at the Bâdshâhî Masjid, and placed watchmen at three gates of the citadel. On the 14th Râjâ Lâl Siṅgh and Sardâr Têj Siṅgh arrived with their regiments and amicable intercourse between them took place. These events are recorded in the minutest detail in the text.

Lâl Siṅgh was removed from the position of Dîwân by the British Government and imprisoned, and an assurance was given to the Mahârânî that her government would be supported. She

was given a council of four high officials to assist her. These were Têj Siṅgh, Shêr Siṅgh, the Dîwân Dînânâth and Khalîfa Nûru'd-dîn. Arrangements were afterwards made, at the request of the Mahârânî and her council, for the retention of the English troops in Lâhôr, for 7 years 9 months and 15 days, by which time the Mahârâjâ Dalîp Siṅgh would attain his majority. Later on the Governor-General arrived in Lâhôr and had several interviews with Dalîp Siṅgh and his mother the Mahârânî. He admonished the councillors and high officials to maintain order and peace in the country, and then he took his departure.

On the 3rd of Bhâdôṅ, *St.* 1901, four Ṣâhibs paid a visit to **Râjâ Têj Siṅgh** in his *havêlî*, and informed him that at the third watch all the Sardârs were to present themselves in the citadel of Lâhôr, and that the Mahârâjâ Dalîp Siṅgh was to go to the Shâla Bâgh for diversion and hunting. All the Sardârs accordingly assembled, and after some consultation with them the Rânî was sent to Shêkhupura with their approbation. From that place, afterwards she was conveyed to Fîrôzpûr with a strong escort, because she had again begun to plot against the government.

In *St.* 1905 the Lâṭ Ṣâhib paid a short visit to Lâhôr. The names of English officers, John and George Lawrence, Nicholson, Edwardes, and others, who quelled sundry disturbances and maintained order in the country, are often mentioned, and their doings are narrated in great detail. In *St.* 1906 the Amṛitsar District was disarmed. At Aṭârî Edwardes Ṣâhib and John Lawrence Ṣâhib made their appearance about midnight, and, taking **Mâî Lachmî**, also called Sarkâr Lachmî, from her bed, imprisoned her, and shortly afterwards the same fate overtook her sons at Adînanagar. Their names were Chhatr Siṅgh, Shêr Siṅgh, Gulâb Siṅgh, Antâr Siṅgh, Têj Singh, Bishṇ Siṅgh, and Nâhar Siṅgh Aṭârîwâlâ. Mahtâb Siṅgh with his brother Surt Siṅgh Majîthiâ and others were also taken into custody in various localities, but no statements are made as to the transgressions for which they had been thus dealt with.

On the 15th of Mâgh, the Lâṭ Ṣâhib arrived in Lâhôr and the city was illuminated. On the 24th he paid a visit to the citadel, where he saw the **Dîwâṇ Mûlrâj**, Shêr Siṅgh and other prisoners, each of whom he questioned about his affairs, and about the wars of former times. He had an interview also with Dalîp Siṅgh. He made arrangements for the removal of the prisoners and for the departure of Dalîp Siṅgh, with the Dîwân Ajudhiâ Parshâd and Ẓaharu'd-dîn and Miâṅ Kîmâṅ, to Farrukhâbâd. On the 4th of Pôh, the Lâṭ Ṣâhib, Lawrence Ṣâhib and Edwardes Ṣâhib departed towards Multân, after the removal of the prisoners. On the 9th of the same month Dalîp Siṅgh departed with Dîwân Ajudhiâ Parshâd, Ẓaharu'd-dîn, and Kîmâṅ, the servant of Jawâhir Siṅgh, from the Tôshakhâna of Miṣr Bêlî Râm towards Fîrôzpûr. On the 11th of Mâgh, six Sikh soldiers killed a European lady near the cantonments of Mêwâ Siṅgh, and were executed. The Lâṭ Ṣâhib Jaṅgî (Commander-in-chief) came to Lâhôr to pay a visit to the Mahârâjâ Gulâb Siṅgh, and left on Monday the 14th of Chait. On the 24th the wedding of Edwardes Ṣâhib took place in the house of John Lawrence Ṣâhib, after which he departed with his bride to Amṛitsar, *St.* 1907. **The death of Lâlâ Sôhan Lâl Sûrî**, author of this work took place in the month of Pôh, *St.* 1910.

Here the *'Umdatu't-tawârîkh* terminates abruptly. Readers of the *Indian Antiquary* will find notices of four other vernacular books bearing on the same events in previous volumes, namely:—

(1) The Last Years of Shâh Shujâ'a, Vol. XV.

(2) Reign of Aḥmad Shâh Durrânî, Vol. XVI.

(3) The Ẓafarnâma of Rañjît Siṅgh, Vols. XVI. and XVII.

(4) The Gulâbnâma, Vol. XIX.

THE 'REFUGE-FORMULA' OF THE LAMAS.

BY L. A. WADDELL, M.B., M.R.A.S.

The **'Refuge-formula'** of the **Lâmas**, which I here translate, well illustrates the very depraved form of Buddhism professed by them; for here we find that the original Triple Refuge-formula (Skr. *Triśaraṇa*; Paḷi *Śaraṇagamana*) in the Triratana, *i. e.*, the Buddha, the Word, and the Assembly — has been extended, so as to include within its pale the vast host of deities, demons and deified saints of Tibet, as well as many of the Indian Mahâyâna and Yôgâchârya saints. The version here translated is that used by the Karmapa and Nyingmapa sects of Lâmas in Sikhim, but it is practically the same as that in general use in Tibet, except among the reformed Lâmas — the Gelukpas —, who address a less extensive circle of saints and demons. It is extracted from the manual of worship entitled the *s*Kyabs-*h*gro,[1] commonly pronounced **Kyam-ḍô**, which literally means 'the going for protection or refuge.' The text is as follows:—

"We — all beings — through the intercession of the Lâma,[2] go for refuge to the Buddha!

"We go for refuge to the Buddha's Doctrine (*Dharma*)!

"We go for refuge to The Assembly of the Lâmas (*Saṅgha*)![3]

"We go for refuge to **the Host of the Gods**, and their retinue of **Tutelaries** (*Yidam*) and **Fairies** (*m*Khah-*h*gro, Skr. *Khêchara* or 'sky-goers'), — the defenders of the religion, who people the sky!

"We go for refuge to the victorious Lâmas, who have descended from heaven, the holders of wisdom and the *Tantras*.

"We go for refuge to the Buddhas of the ten directions!

"We go for refuge to the all-good Father-Mother, the **Dharmakâya Samantabhadra**, Yab-Yum Sprul-*s*ku Kün-tu *b*zang-po (the primordial Buddha-God of the Northern Buddhists)!

"We go for refuge to the incarnate mild and angry loving one, the **Sambhôgakâya Śantikhrôda-prasaraka** (Long*s*-*s*ku zhi-khrorab-*h*byam)!

"We go for refuge to the **Nirmâṇakâya Mahâvajradhâra** incarnation of Śâkya-Muni (Sprul-*s*ku-*r*do-*r*je *h*chhang-chhen)!

"We go for refuge to the diamond-souled Guide, **Vajrasattva** (*s*Tön-pa-*r*do-*r*je-sem*s*-pa)!

"We go for refuge to the Jina, the victorious **Śâkya-Muni** (*r*Gyal-wa or Sha-kya thub-pa)!

"We go for refuge to the most pleasing **Vajra** incarnation (Sprul-*s*ku-*d*gah-rab-*r*do-*r*je)!

"We go for refuge to the fierce holder of the thunderbolt, **Vajrapâṇi** (Phyag-na-*r*do-*r*je-*g*tum-po)!

"We go for refuge to the converted dazzling Goddess-Mother, **Mârîchi-dêvî** (Yum-*h*gyur Lha-mo-*h*öd zer-chan-ma)!

"We go for refuge to the learned teacher **Âchârya Mañjuśrî** (*s*Lob-*d*pön-*h*jam-*d*pal-*b*shes-*b*snyen)!

"We go for refuge to the great **Paṇḍita Śrî Siṅha** (*Pan-chhen-Shri-Siṅgha*)!

"We go for refuge to the **Jina Lakshmi (?) Sudâ** (*r*gyal-wa-*g*Yang-na su-da)!

"We go for refuge to the great **Paṇḍita Bhîmala Mitra**.

"We go for refuge to the incarnate lotus-born **Dharmakâya Padma Sambhava** (*s*Prul-*s*ku Padma *h*byung-*g*na*s*)!

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1 The Tibetan words are transliterated according to the system of Csoma De Körös.

2 It is a Lamaist axiom that no layman can address the Buddhas, except through the medium of a Lâma.

3 The Gelukpa text begins:—*b*Dag-sog*s* nam-*m*kah dang *m*ñyam*s*-pahi sem*s*-chan thams-chad *b*la-ma la *s*kyabs su *m*chhio. Sang*s*-*r*gya*s*-kyi *s*kaybs su *m*chhio. Chho*s*-kyi *s*kyab*s* su *m*chhis. *d*Ge-*h*dun-gyi skyab*s* su *m*chhio.

"We go for refuge to (his wife) the Fairy of the ocean of foreknowledge (*m*Khah-*h*gro ye-she*s* *m*tsho-*r*gyal)!

"We go for refuge to the religious king, **Dharmarâja Ṭhi-Song-de-tsan**[4] (Chhö*s*-*r*gyal-khri-srong-*l*de-*b*tsan)!

"We go for refuge to the noble Apocalypse-finder **Myang-ban** (Myang-ban-ting-*h*dsin *b*zang-po)!

"We go for refuge to the Teacher's disciple, the victorious **Sthavira Dang-ma** (*g*nas-*b*rtan-*l*dang-ma-lhun-*r*gyal)!

"We go for refuge to the reverend sister, the powerful lioness Lady, **Siṁhêśvarâ** (*l*che-*b*tsun-seng-ge-*d*bang-phyug)!

"We go for refuge to the incarnate **Jina Zhang-tön** (*s*Prul-*s*ku *r*gyal-wa-zhang-*r*tön)!

"We go for refuge to the **Gûrû** clever above thousands (*m*Khas-pa nyid-*h*bum)!

"We go for refuge to the religious lord, **Dharmanâtha Gûrû Jo-ber** (Chhos-*b*dag gu-ru jo-*h*ber)!

"We go for refuge to the illusive lion **Gyâba** (Khrul-zhig-seng-ge-*r*gyab-ba)!

"We go for refuge to the great devotee, the clearer of the misty moon (Grub-chhen-zla-wa-mün-sel)!

"We go for refuge to the Sage **Kumârâja** (Rig-*h*dsin ku-ma-ra-dsa)!

"We go for refuge to the Prince of the scentless rays, **Bhîmâla Bhaśkara**[5] (*r*Gyal-*s*ras-ḍri-med-*h*öd-zer)!

"We go for refuge to the incarnate noble 'Banner of Victory' (*s*Prul-*s*ku *d*pal-*h*byor-*r*gyal-*m*tshan)!

"We go for refuge to the omniscient and renowned **Chandrakîrtti** (Kun-*m*khyen-zla-wa-grag*s*-pa)!

"We go for refuge to the three incarnate kind brothers (Drin-chhen *s*prul-*s*ku *m*chhed-*g*sum)!

"We go for refuge to the **Bôdhisattva**, the noble occean (Byang-sems *d*pal-*h*byor *r*gya-*m*tsho)!

"We go for refuge to the incarnate sage, the holder of the religious *vajra* (*S*prul-*s*ku-rig*s* *h*dsin chhös-*r*dor)!

"We go for refuge to the entirely accomplished and renowned speaker (yong*s*-*h*dsin-ngag-*d*bang grag*s*-pa)!

"We go for refuge to the great teacher, **Mahâgurû Dharmarâja** (*b*La-chhen-chhö*s*-kyi-*r*gyal-po)!

"We go for refuge to the revelation-finder, **Thig-po-ling** (*g*Ter-*b*tön zhig-po *g*ling-pa)!

"We go for refuge to the religious king of accomplished knowledge[6] (Chhös-*r*gyal-yon-ten-phun-tshog*s*)!

"We go for refuge to the banner of obtained wisdom (*m*Kha*s*-grub *b*lo-grö*s* *r*gyal-*m*tshan)!

"We go for refuge to the peerless useful *vajra* (tshung*s* — med-*g*zham-phan-*r*do-*r*je)!

"We go for refuge to the radical (Skr. *mûla*) **Lâma Aśôka** (*m*nyan-med-*r*tsa-wahi-*b*la-ma[7])!

"We go for refuge to the Lâma of the *Mulá Tantra* of the three times (*r*tsa-*b*rgyud-dü*s*-*g*sum *b*la-ma)!

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[4] The king of Tibet who patronized the founding of Lamaism.

[5] The Tibetan term *h*od-zer may also be Sanskritized as Piṅgâla, Rasmi Pâda, or Gou.

[6] The first Bhôtiya king of Sikkim, *circ.* 1650 A. D.

[7] This may be a reference to the great Emperor Aśôka, or his Confessor Upagupta, the Fourth Patriarch of the Early Buddhist Church in India; or it may be only the title of a *lâma*. Several of the foregoing titles, which I have translated, may also be proper names.

"We go for refuge to the Sage, the accomplished soul (Sem*s*-*d*pah phun-tshog*s* rig-*h*dsin)!

"We go for refuge to the religion-loving king, the holder of the doctrines[8] (Chhös-*r*gyal byam-pa *b*stan-*h*dsin)!

"We go for refuge to the reverend abbott, **the Sky Vajra** (*m*Khas-*b*tsün nam-*m*khah-*r*do-*r*je)!

"We go for refuge to noble the jewelled-souled **Pal-zang** (Sems-*dp*ah-rin-chhen *dp*al-*b*zang)!

"We go for refuge to the assembly of mild and angry tutelary deities (Yi-dam)!

"We go for refuge to the holy doctrine of the great end, **Mahânta** (*r*dsog*s*-pa chhen-po)!

"We go for refuge to the male and female saints of the country!

"We go for refuge to the Fairies, the (demoniacal) Defenders of Religion and the Guardians (*m*Khah-*h*gro chhô*s*-*s*kyong *b*srung*s*-ma)!

"O! Lâma! Bless us, as you have been blessed. Bless us with the blessings of the *Tantras!* :—

"We beg you to bless us with **Om,** which is the (secret of the) Body! We beg you to purify our sins and pollutions of the body. We beg you to increase our happiness without any sickness of the body. We beg you to give us the real undying gift of bodily life!

"We beg you to bless us with **Ah,** which is the (secret of) Speech! We beg you to purify the sins and pollution of our speech. We beg you to give us the power of speech. We beg you to confer on us the gift of perfect and victorious speech!

"We beg you to bless us with **Huṁ** (pronounced '*hung*'), which is the (secret of the) Heart (or thought or mind)! We beg you to purify the pollution and sins of our minds. We beg you to give us good understanding. We beg you to give us the real gift of a pure heart. We beg you to empower us with the four powers (of the heart)!

"We pray you to give us the gifts of the true Body, Speech, and Mind.[9]

Om! Ah! Huṁ!

"O! Give us such blessing as will clear away the sins and pollution of bad deeds!

"We beg you to soften the evils of bad causes!

"We beg you to bless us with the prosperity of our body (*i. e.* health)!

"Bless us with mental guidance!

"Bless us with Buddhahood soon!

"Bless us by cutting us off from (worldly) illusions!

"Bless us by putting us in the right path!

"Bless us by causing us to understand all things (religious)!

"Bless us to be useful to each other with kindliness!

"Bless us with the ability of doing good and delivering the animal beings (from misery)!

"Bless us to know ourselves thoroughly!

"Bless us to be mild from the depths of our heart!

"Bless us to be brave as yourself!

"Bless us with the *Tântras*, as you yourself are blessed!

"Now! we, the innumerable animal beings, conceiving that (through the efficacy of the above *dharâṇis* and prayers) we have become pure in thought, like the Buddha himself, and that we are working for the welfare of the other animal beings,— and therefore having now acquired

[8] The sixth Bhôtiya king of Sikkim, *circ.* 1770-90 A. D.

[9] These refer to the mystic *yôga*, or union of 'the three secrets.'

the qualities of the host of the Gods, and the roots of the *Tantras*, the Zhi-wa, *r*Gyas-pa, *db*Ang and Phrim-las, — pray that all the other animal beings be possessed of happiness, and be freed from misery ! Let us — all animals — be freed from lust, anger, and attachment to worldly affairs, and let us perfectly understand the true nature of the Religion !

"Now ! O ! Father-Mother (Yab-yum) the **Dharmakâya Samantabhadra** (Chhös-*s*ku kün-*b*zang) ! O incarnate mild and angry loving one, **Sambhôgakâya Santikhrôda-prasaraka** (Longs-*s*ku-zhi-khro-rab-*h*byams) ! O incarnate sages of the skull-rosary, **Nirmâṇa Kaya Kapala** (sprul-*s*ku-rig*s*-*h*dsin-thöd-*h*phreng-*b*stsal) ! And **Mulatântra Lâma** (Tsa-*r*gyüd-*o*La-ma) ! I now beg you all to depart !

"O ! Ghosts of heroes (*d*Pa-*h*o) ! Witches (*Dâkk*) ! Demoniacal defenders of the Faith (Chhös-*s*kyong*s*) ! Holy Guardians of the Commandments (Dam-chan-*b*kah-i-*b*srungma) ! And all you that we invited to this place ! I beg you all now to depart ! !

"O ! Most powerful king of the angry deities (Khro-wo-hi *r*gyal-po *s*tob-po-chhe) ! O ! Powerful **Îsvara** and host of the country's guardian Gods (*m*thu-*s*tob*s* *d*bang-phyug yul-*h*khor-srung) ! And all you others that we invited to this place, with all your retinues, I beg you all now to depart ! ! !

May Glory Come ! *Tashi-Shok !*

Virtue ! *Ge-o !*

Sarbamaṅgalaṁ !"

CORRUPTIONS OF PORTUGUESE NAMES IN SALSETTE AND BASSEIN.

BY GEO. FR. D'PENHA.

In an article[1] entitled "Corruptions of Portuguese Names in Salsette and Bassein," Mr. C. E. G. Crawford gives a very interesting list of names, compiled from the Criminal Returns of Magistrates exercising jurisdiction in the Salsette and Bassein Ṭâlukâs of the Ṭhâṇâ District. The fact that the names are taken from Criminal Returns is sufficient evidence that the list is not exhaustive. The following names, which have come within my hearing, in Salsette, will not, therefore, I trust, be deemed uninteresting.

I give them, irrespective of their appearance or not in Mr. Crawford's list. As in Mr. Crawford's list the Portuguese name comes first, in Italics, and the corruptions after it. The list also includes local names.

Aleixo — Âlês, Âlêś, Âlêśia, Âlêśu.
Andre — Andrêl, Andriâ, Andrû.
Amaro — Âmâr.
Anjelo — Ânjêl, Ânjiâ, Ânjû.
Anjelina — Ânjêlin, Ânjûṭi.
Anna — Annî, Anniâ, Annû, Annûli.
Antlonia — Antliâ, Antlôn, Antôniâ, Antûk.
Antonio — Antiâ, Antôni, Antôniâ, Antû.
Appolinario — Âplôn, Îpû.
Athoguias — Tôgi.
Augustinho — Âgûstinh, Gûstiâ, Gûstin.
Avellino — Âulû, Âvêliâ, Âvêlin.
Baptista — Bâutis.
Barbosa — Barbôz.
Bernardo — Barnân, Bêrnâd,
Bertoldo — Bartôl, Batû.
Boaventura — Intûr, Intûriâ, Vintûr, Vintûriâ.
Borges — Bôrjî.
Botelho — Bûtêl.
Caetano — Kaitân, Kaitû.
Cardoz — Kardôs.
Carlos — Kârlû.
Carolina — Kârôlin, Kâlû.
Catharina — Katrin, Katû, Katûli.
Cecilia — Sisil, Sijil.
Celestino — Sêlêstin.
Clara — Kalâr, Kalârin, Klârin.
Clement — Kalmênt.
Colaço — Kôlâs.
Constancio — Kôstâṅs.

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[1] See *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 442.

Cornelius — Kôrnêl.
Correia — Kûrê, Kûrêl.
Coutinho — Kôṅtiṅh, Kôtin.
Custodio — Kistôz.
D'Abreo — Âbrêu, Dâbrêu.
D'Albuquerque — Âlbûkêr, Âlbûkêrk.
D'Almeida — Âlmêd, Dâlmêd.
D'Andrades — Andrâd.
D'Athaide — Tavid.
DaCunha — Kûṅh.
Daniel — Danêl, Danûli, Dinû.
DaSilva — Sîl.
DeBrito — Brît.
DeCarvalho — Karwâl.
DeConceiçao — Kônsâoṅ, Kônsêsâoṅ.
DeMello — Damêl.
DeMenezes — Minêz.
DeMonte — Mônt.
DePenha — Pên, Pêṅh, Pêṅhâ.
DeSa — Dasâ.
DeSouza — Sôz.
Dias — Dîs.
Dioginho — Dêgiṅh.
Diogo — Dêgiâ, Dêgû, Dêgûṭ, Dêgûṭiâ.
Dominga — Dûmû.
Domingos — Dûmâ, Dûmbriâ, Dûmbrû, Dûmiâ, Dûmiṅg, Dûmiṅgiâ, Dûmûliâ, Ḍûmûṭ.
DosRemedios — Ramêd.
Dyonisius — Dêunis.
Elias — Êlliâ, Êlliz, Êlśûṭ.
Eulalia — Êulû.
Eusebius — Êbjêb.
Falcão — Falkâoṅ.
Feleciano — Fêliâ, Fêliz, Fêlśiâ, Fêlśiân, Fêlû.
Fernandes — Farnân.
Filipe — Filip, Filipiâ.
Fonsecca — Fanchêk, Fôṅśêk.
Francisco — Farâṅśiâ, Frâṅsis, Farśî, Farsû.
Gabriel — Gabrêl, Gabrêlin, Gabriâ, Gabrû, Gabûṭ, Gabûṭiâ.
Gaspar — Gaspâr, Gaspûri.
Gomes — Gôm.
Gonsalves — Ghôṅsâl.
Henriques — Êrik, Hênrik.
Hilario — Îlâr.
Ignacio — Înâs, Înâśiâ, Înâsiṅh, Înâśû.
Izabella — Zabêl, Zablû, Zabû.
Jacintho — Jaśû, Zaśin, Zaśûṭ.
Jeronimo — Jêrêmiṅ, Jêrôniṅ, Zûran.
Joana — Jânû, Zânâ, Zanâ.
João — Jâmbût, Jâmṭû, Jâniṅ, Jâo.
Joaquim — Jôki.
Jose — Jhijûṭ, Jhijûtiâ, Zûjê, Zûjiâ, Zûjin, Zûzê.
Lopes — Lôb.
Lourenço — Lôrêṅs, Lôrśiâ.
Luis — Lûjâ, Lûjût, Lûshâ, Lûsû, Lûśû.
Luisa — Lûjâ, Lûzû.
Magdalena — Madliân, Madlû, Madû.
Manoel — Manâ, Maniâ, Manû, Manûli, Manûliâ, Manût, Manvêl.
Maria — Marî, Mârî, Marû, Marûli.
Mariano — Mariân.
Martha — Mârtû.
Martinho — Martin.
Matheus or *Mathias* — Matês, Matiâ, Matis, Matûli.
Matilda — Mâtil, Matûli.
Mendez — Mêndis.
Minguel — Mâṅgû, Miṅgêl, Miṅgliâ, Miṅgliṅh, Miṅglû, Miṅgûṭ, Miṅgûṭiâ.
Monica — Makû, Mankiâ, Mankin, Mankût.
Murzello — Mûrjêl, Mûrzêl.
Nathalia — Nâtâl, Natû, Nâtûl, Nâtûliṅh.
Netto — Nêt.
Nicolau — Niklâo, Niklû, Nikûl, Nikûṭ, Nikûṭiâ.
Nunes — Nûn.
Pascoal — Pâkâliâ, Pâkiâ, Pâkôl, Pâkôṭi, Pâkôṭiâ, Pâkû, Pâkûṭ, Pâskiâ, Pâskôl, Pâskôliâ, Pâskôlin, Pâskû.
Paulo — Pâul, Pâuliâ, Pâulû.
Pedrinho — Pêdriṅh.
Pedro — Pêdria, Pêdrû, Pîṭû.
Pereira — Pirêl, Pirêr.
Quiteria — Kitêr.
Rebello — Rabêl.
Ritha — Ritiṅh, Ritû, Ritûli.
Rodrigues — Rûdrig, Rûdrik.
Romania — Rûmân, Rûmû.
Rosa — Rôjâ, Rôjin, Rôjûli, Rôjût, Rôzû.
Rosario — Rûzâr.
Salvador — Sâlû, 'Sâlûṭ, 'Sâlûṭi.
Santiago — Santiâ.
Sebastião — Bastiâo, Bastû, Bastûli.
Simão — 'Simâoṅ.
Sylvester — Siliâ, 'Silû, 'Silûṭ.
Thereza — Têrêz, Têrêziṅh, Têrû.
Thomas — Tômâs, Tômêṅ, Tômiâṅ, Tômûṅ.
Vicente — Îsênt, Vîsênt, Vîsêntiṅh.
Xavier — 'Savêr.

FOLKTALES OF HINDUSTAN.

BY WILLIAM CROOKE, C. S.

No. 9. — How the Bhuiyâ Boy became a Râjâ.[1]

Once upon a time there was a Bhuiyâ boy, who was left an orphan when he was very young. The villagers used to give him food, and, at last, when he grew up, he was sent to graze the cattle in the jungle. At night he used to sleep on a platform,[2] which he put up under a banyan tree.

The Lord Paramêsar pitied his case, and sent a fairy[3] from his heavenly court to bring the boy the finest food. But he was afraid to look at her, and, whenever she came, he used to shut his eyes in terror.

After a few days he told an old man of his tribe about the fairy's visits. The old man said:—"This food is sent by Paramêsar. If you don't eat it, he will be displeased. But if you wish to stop the visits of the fairy, when she next comes, cut off a piece of the cloth which covers her breast."

So, when the fairy came next night and asked the Bhuiyâ to eat, he pulled out the curved knife, with which he used to peel bamboos,[4] and cut off a piece of her sheet. Then she ceased to visit him.

One day the village people said to their barber:—"It is time that boy's head was shaved." So the barber went to where the boy was staying in the jungle. Now the barber is the craftiest of men. As they say—"a barber among men, a crow among birds."[5] When the barber was shaving the lad's head, he saw the fragment of the fairy's robe, and thought to himself: "Such cloth is not found even in Râjâs' palaces."

"Where did you get this?" he asked.

"My maternal uncle gave it to me,[6]" he answered.

The barber went to the Râjâ, and told him what a lovely piece of cloth the cowboy had. The Râjâ sent for him, and said:—

"You must get me a bale[7] of this cloth." "I will get it if you give me three hundred rupees," said the boy: and the Râjâ gave him the money. Out of this the boy bought a horse for two hundred rupees, and spent the rest on clothes. Then he rode off in search of the cloth.

By and by he came near a city, and halted at a tank to bathe and water his horse. Some sepoys of the Râjâ of that city saw him, and said:—

"This must be some great Râjâ. Our Râjâ has a daughter for whom he cannot find a fitting match. If he were to marry her to this Râjâ, his burden of care would be removed."

So they told their Râjâ, and he sent for the Bhuiyâ.

"Who are you?" he asked.

"I am a Râjâ's son."

"If another Râjâ offered you his daughter to wife, would you accept her?"

"How can I marry without asking my brothers and parents?"

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[1] A folktale told by Khirpattî, Bhuiyâ of Harwariyâ Barâp, Pândo Chatân, Mirzapur District: recorded by Paṇḍit Râmgharîb Chaubê.

[2] *Machân.* [3] *Parî.* [4] *Bâṇkâ*, a knife shaped something like a sickle.

[5] *Admin mêṅ nauâ:*
Panchhin mêṅ kawwâ.
The cunning of the barber is proverbial: see Tawney, *Katha Sarit Sâgara*, I. 288.

[6] The close connection between maternal uncle and nephew is possibly a relic of the matriarchate. [7] *Thân.*

"If you refuse to marry her, I will kill you."

"In that case I must consent."

So they were married, and all the ceremonies were finished in a single day.

"I have some urgent business," said the Bhuiya, "but I will come back by and by and take my wife home."

So the Bhuiyâ rode off, and by and by reached the palace of Balwantî Rânî[8] which was in the depths of the Jhâṛkhaṇḍ[9] forest. This had seven gates, one within the other. The first was guarded by a demon,[10] whose upper lips stretched to heaven and the lower to Pâtâla. The Bhuiyâ saw him and thought to himself:—

"This monster's mouth will engulph me and my horse. I had better make friends with him."

So he went up to him, and said:—

"I salute you, O maternal uncle!"

The demon said:—

"I have had no food for twelve years, and when prey comes, it is hard that it should turn out to be my sister's son. However, sit down, and tell me what you want."

The Bhuiyâ answered:—

"I am come to enquire about the health of Balwantî Rânî."

"Do not ask about her," replied the demon. "She sleeps for twelve years and remains awake for twelve years. Just now she is asleep, and all her warders are dying of hunger. When she wakes, she will give us all food."

"How can I manage to see her, Uncle?" asked the Bhuiyâ.

"This is very difficult," he answered. "She has seven guards. The first is I myself, whom you see. Next is a tiger guard: then a leopard guard, then a bear guard. Next come guards of demons and witches. You cannot see the Rânî unless you escape from all of these."

"Happen what may, I must see her, and you must tell me how to evade the guards."

Said the demon:—

"Take a he-goat for the tiger and the leopard: some *bêr* fruit for the bear:[11] some parched rice for the demon and witches. They are very hungry, and if you feed them they may let you in. But beware on your return, as they will all attack you."

The Bhuiyâ took these things with him, and as he passed in none of the guards noticed him. Then he came into a chamber where Balwantî Rânî lay asleep on a couch of gold. Under her bed was a betel box.[12] The Bhuiyâ took a packet of betel, chewed it, and with the red spittle he made a mark on the cloth which covered her breast. Then he went back. All the guards rushed at him, but he threw rice before the demons and witches, a he-goat before the tigers and leopards, a handful of *bêr* fruit before the bears, and so he escaped to where his uncle the demon was on watch. Then he mounted his horse, and, saluting the demon, rode away. In the morning Balwantî Rânî woke, and washed her hands and face. But when she saw the mark on the robe she was wrath. First she went to the demon watch, and beat him soundly, and all the guards she beat with her magic wand. Then she set out in search of the man who had dared to mark her robe. She mounted on her flying couch,[13] and after many

8 The powerful queen.

9 The jungle of brambles. Sanskrit *Jhâṭakhaṇḍa*. Locally it is said to be at Vaidyanâth in the Shâhâbâd District.

10 *Deo*.

11 This is the fruit of the *Zizyphus jujuba*, of which bears are very fond.

12 *Pândân*.

13 *Urân khaṭôlnâ*.

days reached the tank where the Bhuiyâ had met the sepoys of the Râjâ. There he was bathing and watering his horse. Balwantî Rânî said to the Bhuiyâ:—

"Why did you run away after marking my robe? Now I must live with you all your life." So the Bhuiyâ married the Rânî then and there. That night, while all the world slept, Balwantî Rânî built a palace much grander than that of the Râjâ. Next morning the Bhuiyâ saw the palace and told her to stay there while he went to visit his father-in-law, the Râjâ. He received him kindly, and that night he stayed with his wife, the Râjâ's daughter.

When they were alone together the girl said to him:—

"If my father asks to you to accept a present take nothing but the basket in which cowdung is collected for the palace. It has magic powers, and all my father's prosperity depends on it."

Next day the Râjâ offered many valuable presents to his son-in-law, but he said: "I will have nothing but the cowdung basket." The Râjâ was much grieved.

"Take anything but this worthless basket," he said; "otherwise my subjects will make a jest of me."

But the Bhuiyâ would have nothing except the basket, and at last the Râjâ had to give it to him, and he took it and his wife to the palace which Balwantî Rânî had built. Then they all came back to the Bhuiyâ's native village, and that night his two wives built a palace even more splendid than the last.

Three days after the old barber arrived. When he shaved the Bhuiyâ's head, he recognized him, and then he went and pared the nails of the two Rânîs. After this he went back to his Râjâ, and said: "The Bhuiyâ, to whom you gave the money to buy the cloth, has come back rolling in wealth, and he has two beautiful women, who are fit only for Your Majesty."

The Râjâ asked his advice how to get hold of them.

"Send for him," said the barber, "and demand your cloth. He cannot produce it, and he will have to give the women instead."

The Râjâ sent for him and asked:—

"Where is the cloth you promised to bring?"

The Bhuiyâ answered:—

"Wait till to-morrow."

When he went home, Balwantî Rânî saw him in distress and asked the reason. He told her how he was in the Râjâ's power.

"Don't fret," said she, "I am the fairy whose breast cloth you cut. I will bring you four bales of the cloth to-morrow."

Next day the Bhuiyâ gave the cloth to the Râjâ.

The barber then gave him counsel.

"Tell the Bhuiyâ to bring you four baskets of ripe mangoes. They are out of season, and he will fail to do so, and will be obliged to give up the women."

Again the Bhuiyâ was perplexed and again Balwantî Rânî relieved him of his difficulty, for by her magical power she planted a garden that night, and in the morning the trees were laden with ripe mangoes. These the Bhuiyâ gave to the Râjâ.

"All our plans have failed," said the barber. "Now you must call him and tell him to bring you news of your parents in the world of the dead."

The Râjâ gave the order and the Bhuiyâ was much distressed. Balwantî Rânî saw him in grief, and when she heard the story said:—

"Go to the Râjâ and say that, in order that you may be able to go to the land of the dead you must have a house filled with fuel. In this you must be burnt and your spirit can go to Yâmarâj."[14]

This was done, and meanwhile Balwantî Rânî had made an underground passage from this place to her own house, and when the fuel was lit the Bhuiyâ escaped to his home, where he lived six months, starving himself, and living in the dark, and letting his hair and beard grow. When six months passed, he came out and said to the Râja, "Yâmarâj is a bad place. Look at my condition after being there six months, and only think what your parents must be, who have been there twelve years!"

So the Râjâ determined to go and visit his parents himself, and he had a house filled with fuel and lighted. But he was burnt to death, and the Bhuiyâ took possession of all the Râjâ had, and ruled his kingdom for many years with justice and wisdom.

Notes.

The Bhuiyâs are a Dravidian tribe residing along the Vindhya-Kaimûr ranges and in Chutiâ Nâgpûr. There is a good account of them in Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 139 ff. This story was told by one of the most primitive members of the tribe, who, when I met him, was engaged in making catechu in the heart of the jungle. The story is curious, but obviously bears traces of Hindu influence. Thus, the *parî* or fairy comes from Paramêśvara, here equivalent to Indra, at whose heavenly court (*Indrâsan*) the fairies assemble. The robbery of a portion of her robe is one of "Robbery from fairy land" cycle, and the cloth is thus equivalent to the Oldenburg Cup or the Luck of Edenhall (Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, 149, sqq.)

The prejudice against taking fairy food, or food brought from the other world, is common in folklore. We have it in the pommegranate of Proserpine, and in numerous other instances. (Hartland, *loc cit*, 43, sqq).

The Bhuiyâ's search for the fairy robe is on the same lines as the Argonautic Expedition, which the comparative mythologists take to mean the search for the lost sunlight, that has been absorbed by the darkness. (Cox, *Introduction to Mythology and Folklore*, 260, sqq).

The palace of Balwantî Rânî is guarded like the garden of the Hesperides: or as the water of life is watched by lions in the *Arabian Nights* Story of Prince Aḥmad and the Fairy Paribânû.

The Rânî has her flying couch, which appears constantly in the *Katha Sarit Sâgara* (I. 259, 278, 386, etc.), and is also found in the flying horse of the *Arabian Nights* (Lady Burton's Edition, II. 496, etc.); and her magic wand is like Aaron's rod, and is found in various forms all through Indian folklore (Temple, *Wideawake Stories*, 418). The magic rubbish-basket is a new form of the inexhaustible pot (Temple, *loc cit*, 423: Tawney, *Katha Sarit Sâgara*, II. 2), which in European folklore becomes a purse, hat, &c. (Jacob's *Folklore Congress Reports*, 1891, p. 93).

The story then diverges into the Cycle of "Hero Tasks" (Tawney, *loc cit*, I. 195, 361; II. 632).

No. 10. — *The Story of Prince Danda and the Princess.*[1]

There was once a king, who had an only son, and on the day that the prince was born the king's mare also had a foal. So the king shut up the mare and foal in a room, and supplied them with food and water through a pipe from outside, and once a day a groom used to come in and tend them both.

The king called his son Dandâ and arranged his betrothal (*mangnî*), but unfortunately he did so while the prince was still a child. When the prince grew up, he became acquainted with the son of the *wazîr*, but they were not great friends. The prince was very fond of amusing himself with the pellet bow (*gulêl*), and became an excellent shot. In his garden was a well, and

[14] The kingdom of Yâma, king of death.

[1] A folktale told by Mahtâbô, an old Muhammadan woman of Mirzâpûr: recorded by E. David, a Native Christian

there he used to go and hide behind the trees, and when the women came to draw water he used to break their water jars with his pellet bow, and laugh when their clothes where drenched. The women complained to his mother, and she ordered that they should be supplied with iron jars from the royal treasury. These he tried to break but failed. The *wazîr's* son came to him and said : "Why are you so low-sprited ?" He said: "I used to amuse myself with breaking the women's water jars, and now, since they have got iron vessels, my pleasure is gone." The *wazîr's* son said : "Don't be downhearted. I will make you pellets of flint (*chaqmáq*), and with these you can break the iron jars." So he made flint pellets for the prince.

One day a very pretty girl came to draw water. The prince broke her water jar, and her clothes were soaked. She called out, "Rogue! Look at your nose." He put his hand to his face and said: "Why, my nose is all right." "Well, if it is," said she, "the king of Russia is coming to betroth his son to your promised bride." When he heard this, the prince went at once to his mother and asked her: "Have I been betrothed"? She said: "Who told you, and why are you asking ?" "I won't tell you, " said he; "only tell me if I am betrothed or not." She said: "Yes." "Are there any signs of betrothal ?" he enquired. She produced a ring and a handkerchief and gave them to him. "Where am I betrothed ?" he asked. "To the daughter of the king of Persia (*Fârs*)," she said. "Is there anything else you have to tell me ?" he asked. Then she told him of the mare and of the foal which was born when he was born. Dandâ went to the stable, brought out the young horse, mounted it, and started for the land of Persia. He had to pass through a jungle, and on the road a *faqîr* named Anganû, saw him and motioned to him to stop. He pulled in his horse with difficulty, and Anganû said: "Where are you going, my son ?" Dandâ replied: "The king of Russia has bespoken my betrothed bride for his son. May God (*Rabb*) bring about our marriage !" The *faqîr* answered: "I am ready to help you. I will escort you to the king of Persia."

So they both started—the prince on horseback, and the *faqîr* on foot; but no matter how hard the prince pressed his horse, Anganû was always in front of him : and on the day his bride was to be betrothed to the son of the king of Russia they reached the palace of the king of Persia and halted in a grove close by.

The wife of the gardener, seeing them, asked who they were. "I am the betrothed of the princess of this land," said Dandâ. The gardener's wife went to her and said : "He to whom you were first betrothed has come." Hearing this the princess desired to see Dandâ: and going secretly with the gardener's wife looked at him, and began to weep because the king of Russia wanted her for his son. She went to her mother and said: "I have seen the prince to whom I was originally betrothed, and I desire to marry him." Her mother was much distressed, and sending for the king told him the whole story. He was greatly grieved and said: "If I refuse the match, the king of Russia will kill me and carry off my daughter by force."

The king of Russia heard what was going on. So he sent and had a picture of the prince painted, and hanging it up in the place where the marriage was fixed to take place, issued an order : "If this youth come to the marriage house, cut his throat and fling his corpse away." When the time of the marriage came, Dandâ said to Anganû: "I wish to see the wedding." Anganû warned him, but Dandâ persisted. At last Anganû said : "Well, you may be present. But stand aside and look on, and do not go into the midst of the company." Dandâ came, but there was a great crowd, and where he stood he could see nothing. So he forced his way in the middle of the guests. When the servants compared him with the picture, they dragged him out and pitched him into a well.

When much time passed and Dandâ did not return, Anganû was sure that he had forced his way in and had been killed. Just then the gardener's wife came and told Anganû that the servants of the king of Russia had killed Dandâ. Anganû said: "Come and shew me the well into which they have thrown him." She shewed him the place. Anganû took up a stone, and, breathing spells over it, threw it into the well, on which Dandâ revived, and came out of the well, for he was not quite dead, and some life remained in him.

Anganû then sent the gardener's wife to the princess to say: "Your first husband has sent for you." She went to her mother and said: "I want to go into the garden this evening with some of my companions." When she came there Anganû instructed Dandâ: "When you meet the princess tell her to play hide and seek (*chipnê kâ khêl*) with her companions." When she hid from them she came to Dandâ, who took her to Anganû. Anganû had borrowed a magic elephant from one of the Jinn and directed Dandâ to mount it with the princess, and then to touch its right ear, when it would take them to the mountain where they were to remain for three days. "But, take care," said he "not to dismount till the third day." But Dandâ said: "The companions of the princess, who are locked up in the garden will die of hunger. I will release them before I take away the princess." So he took the key from her and let out the girls. When they saw him they caught him and said: "Shew us the princess. If you refuse we will take you to the king."

When Anganû saw that Dandâ was caught he went there, and, untying a necklace made of cloves of gold from his neck, he flung the beads before them, and as the girls ran to seek them Dandâ escaped, mounted the elephant, touched its right ear and carried the princess off to the mountain.

When the girls saw that the princess was being carried off they raised a cry, and the king of Russia heard them. So he sent his army to arrest Dandâ and the princess. But Anganû took up some potsherds and threw them into the air. When one of these fell on a man, his head was broken: and demons (*deo*) rising out of the ground began to devour the corpses of the Russian troops. They began calling out: "We are dead men;" and again they said: "Anganû Miyâṅ is dead." When Dandâ heard that Anganû was dead, he said to the princess: "I must go and see if this is true or not." So he touched the left ear of the elephant, which immediately descended to the ground. When he dismounted the troops of the king of Russia fell on Dandâ and killed him. When Anganû saw he was dead, he put his corpse on the elephant and carried him off to the mountain, and said to the princess: "I warned him not to dismount for three days. Why did you let him go?" Then he prayed to Khudâ: "Revive this youth for half an hour, so that I may give him something to eat." Khudâ heard his prayers, and brought Dandâ to life for half an hour. Anganû fed Dandâ and the princess with his own hand. Meanwhile two *faqîrs* came up and asked for alms. The princess said to Dandâ: "You have gone through much trouble for my sake: and now you must die. I will die too, and we will be buried in one grave. If you allow me, I will give all the jewels I am wearing to these *faqîrs*." Dandâ said: "Give them, if you please." So she gave them to the *faqîrs*, and they seeing the purity of her heart prayed: "O Khudâ! measure their life to the space of a hundred years!" Khudâ heard their prayers and measured their lives to one hundred years each. So Dandâ, the princess and Anganû came to the palace of Dandâ, and there was great delight at Dandâ's return, and the pair lived in great love and happiness for a hundred years, and their eldest son, who was wise and beautiful, ascended the throne of his father.

Notes.

We have the flying elephant in many of these stories. Thus Svêtarasmi is turned into an elephant and can fly through the air (Tawney, *Katha Sarit Sâgara*, I. 328), and later on in the same book (II. 540) we read of two air-going elephants, Kanchanagiri and Kanchanasêkhara. It is the flying horse of the *Arabian Nights*, which Sir R. Burton (Lady Burton, *Arabian Nights*, II. 138) thinks may have originated with the Hindu tale of a wooden Garuda built by a youth for the purpose of a vehicle. This is Chaucer's —

"Wondrous steed of brass
On which the Tartar king did ride."

For various other miraculous vehicles in Indian folklore see Temple, *Wideawake Stories*, 425 sq. For scrambling for gifts among servants see an instance in *Arabian Nights*, V. 357.[2]

[2] [It is to be noted that this tale opens precisely as do the *Adventures of Râjâ Rasâlû*; see my *Legends of the Panjab*, Vol. I. p. 1 ff. — ED.]

NOTES AND QUERIES.

COUNTING-OUT RHYMES IN BURMA.

I.

Sî-bông
Þông ông,
Dô-gô hmên!
Wus-sên!
Kè-bông; pyê!
Made-of lines
Three houses,
Intended for-us!
Off-you-go.
Save-yourself; run!

II.

Þàn nî!
Þàn nyet!
Þàn-nyet kè!
Hmwè, yû!
Laik pê-dò (ông)!
Palm juice!
Palm sugar!
Palm sugar lumps!
Bend-over, take!
Now follow!

These are used in a game played by boys all over Burma with some variations.

In Mandalay squares (or "houses") are marked off by lines, made in the dust or on the ground, in three separate places at some distance apart. The boys are then arranged in a row at some distance from the nearest square and counted out by the first rhyme until two are left, when the last boy is counted out by the second rhyme. They all then make for the "houses," the last boy trying to catch one of the others before he gets into a "house."

In Rangoon the boys stand in a circle and are counted out indifferently by either rhyme, and the last boy has merely to try and catch one of the others.

R. C. TEMPLE.

BOOK-NOTICES.

PROF. ZACHARIÆ'S ANEKARTHASAMGRAHA.[1]

Prof. Zachariæ has been a well-known authority on Indian Lexicography, since the publication of his *Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie* in 1883, and I am glad to welcome the important work, whose title heads this article, from his competent pen.

Prof. Bühler's life of Hêmachandra has been before the public for some years, and it is hence unnecessary for me to do more than to remind my readers that the *Anêkârthasaṁgraha*, or Dictionary of Homonyms, is one of his most important works. It is the chief of its class, occupying much the same position in reference to it, that the *Amarakôsha* occupies among the *êkârthakôshas*, or Dictionaries of Synonyms. Put more popularly, an *anêkârthakôsha* is a dictionary of words of more than one meaning, while an *êkârthakôsha* is a dictionary, in which different words of the same meaning, synonyms, are grouped together. The work of Hêmachandra has been published more than once, but Prof. Zachariæ's is the first really scientific edition, with a properly edited commentary. It is remarkably free from misprints. The commentary is the more valuable because its author, Mahêndrasûri was a pupil of Hêmachandra, and composed it soon after his teacher's death in the last quarter of the 12th century.

Dr. Zachariæ has not been able to print Mahêndra's commentary in its entirety, except for the first *kâṇḍa* of the text, but the pith has been preserved, and only those portions omitted which furnish information readily obtainable elsewhere. A special feature is the large number (some 7,000) of examples taken from classical authors illustrating the meanings of words given in the text. These examples have been retained by the editor, except such as have been quoted in Böhtlingk's dictionaries. The way in which they have been treated by the editor illustrates the care and thoroughness with which he has carried out his work. A large number of the examples have been traced to their sources and identified. This must have been a work of immense labour.

The work has been excellently printed in Bombay by the Education Society's Press, and the learned world owes a debt not only to the editor for a most useful work, but to the liberality of the Imperial Academy of Vienna, and of the Secretary of State for India, which made its publication possible.

P. S. — Since the above was written, I have received a pamphlet by the same author, entitled '*Epilegomena zu der Ausgabe des Anêkârthasaṁgraha.*' It consists principally of critical notes on the text, and on the examples given by Mahêndra in his commentary: and also contains a useful index of the authors quoted by him. I commend it warmly to students of the original work.

G. A. G.

[1] Sources of Sanskrit Lexicography. Edited by order of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of Vienna. Volume I. The *Anêkârthasaṁgraha* of Hêmachandra. With extracts from the Commentary of Mahêndra. Edited by Th. Zachariæ. Vienna. Alfred Holder. Bombay: Education Society's Press. 1893. pp. xviii. and 132 and 206.

THE DEVIL WORSHIP OF THE TULUVAS.

FROM THE PAPERS OF THE LATE A. C. BURNELL.

(*Continued from p. 49.*)

BURNELL MSS. — No. IV. PART II. — (*continued*).

THE STORY OF KOTI AND CHANNAYYA — (*continued*).

On hearing this, the Ballâḷ caused letters to be written to those who lived in remote countries; and to the people of the town, he caused a proclamation to be made by the beat of a bell-metal drum, that there should assemble in the town every male who had a tuft of hair on his head; everyone of the tribe called **Kolkârs** with a stick in his hand; every hunter having a pistol; the bowmen of the tribe called **Mugêrs**; two hundred men of Êḍambûr and three hundred of **Koḍa Pâḍi**. Accordingly all the people assembled. The two brothers living in Ekkadka Erryaṅgaḍa were then sent for. When they came into the Ballâḷ's verandah, the Ballâḷ ordered them to accompany him to a hunt.

"We have got a sufficient number of men, but we have no hunting dogs; and a chase without dogs is quite useless," said the two brothers.

So it was necessary to write a letter to one **Kaṇḍa Buḷeṛi, living in a spot called Karmi Sâle in the town of Ijjya on the ghâṭs.** On enquiry the Ballâḷ found that their writer was a clerk named **Nârâyaṇa Raṅgoji**, and he sent a man to call the clerk, who was thus obliged to come to the Ballâḷ. Another man was sent to Buddyanta's land to bring some leaves of a young palm-tree. The Ballâḷ caused the leaves to be exposed to the morning sun, and to be taken out of the sunshine in the evening, and by that time, the clerk Nârâyaṇa Raṅgoji had come to the Ballâḷ's verandah. He asked the Ballâḷ why he had been sent for.

"You are now to write a letter," said the Ballâḷ.

The clerk sat on a three-legged stool, and the bundle of palm-leaves the Ballâḷ caused to be placed before him. The clerk took a leaf from the bundle, and cut off both its ends and preserved only the middle part. He caused oil and turmeric to be applied to it, and asked Ballâḷ what he should write.

The latter dictated thus: — "To him who lives in the town of Ijjya on the *ghâṭs*. Whereas the Ballâḷ of Êḍambûr intends to go hunting in all the great forests, you are required to bring with you about twenty or twenty-four dogs, including twelve of those always kept bound and twelve of those always kept loose. Without the least delay, you should start as soon as you see this letter, in whatever dress you may be at the time, and even if in the middle of your dinner."

After the letter was written, the Ballâḷ enquired of the people of his household who was to be the bearer of the letter, and was told that there was one **Bagga**. He was paid all the expenses of his journey and of his family during his absence. The letter was tied to the skirts of his garment, and he was advised not to stop at any place, either on account of a storm or on account of the noon-day heat. On hearing the order he set out from the Ballâḷ's verandah, and, passing the low countries, he came to the spot Karmi Sâle in the town of Ijjya on the *ghâṭs*. He approached the house of **Mallo**, and standing at the gate called out:— "Mallo! Mallo!"

Hearing the call, the latter came out and said: — "Who is it that calls me?"

"It is I and no one else. I, the messenger sent by the Ballâḷ of Êḍambûr," said Bagga, and gave the letter which had been tied to the skirts of his garment to Mallo.

Mallo opened the letter, extended the leaf to its full length, and read it, and it was to the following effect, namely, that, as soon as he saw the letter, he should start in the dress he was in at the time and from the middle of his dinner, taking with him about twenty or twenty-four dogs. After reading the letter, he went in and called out to a dog named **Kâḷu** by its name,

and caused rice of a very black sort to be served to it. In the same manner he called out to another dog named Taṇḍu, and caused broken rice and bran to be served to it. Next, he called out to a dog named Boḷḷu, and caused green rice to be served to it. The last time he called out to the dog named Kâju, and caused rice of a coarse kind to be served to it. Then holding all the dogs in a leash, he set out from his house, following the man sent to him. He descended from the *ghâṭs* into the lower country, and came to the Ballâḷ's house. He caused his dogs to be tied to a pillar, and bowed low before the Ballâḷ. The Ballâḷ asked him to sit down, and then sent a man to the two heroes, asking them to come home to his verandah. They sent word that they would bathe, and thus wash away the oil they had rubbed on their bodies, and, taking a little rice water, would come to his verandah. After a little while, they arrived at the Ballâḷ's house.

"Now must we go a-hunting," said the Ballâḷ.

The people of the whole town went to the chase, and the Ballâḷ's son-in-law, Rukku Ballâḷ, rode on a white horse. After meditating for some time what forest they should enter, they at last surrounded the forest called Saṅka in the east. They threw stones on the bushes and held the dogs in the slips. They entered the forest, but although they hunted a long time, they were not able to find either deer or wild hog. They then resolved to enter the forest over-grown with the plants called *sîmulla*. They surrounded it, as they had done the first, threw stones on the bushes, and held the dogs in the slips. The deer, the hare and the wild hog did not come out of the bushes. Thus the chase proved quite useless. Now they resolved to hunt from the place called Anekallâvu to Tuppe Kallâvu, and surrounded the latter place. All the most prominent places were occupied by the best hunters. They threw stones on the bushes, and in a pit as deep as the height of a man they found the king of pigs, a little smaller than an elephant and bigger than a horse. It suddenly sprang out of the pit and grunted aloud, and went straight to where Kôṭi Baidya was standing. Its grunt, when its hair was standing on end, was like the roar of thunder. Its tusks, when it ground them, shone bright as lightning. Kôṭi was now in a strait. He could not fly from the beast without bringing a stain upon his heroism, and he could not fight with it without risking his life. In this strait he prayed to the Bhûta Brahmara of Kemmuḷe, craving his help. He set an arrow to his bow and discharged it with such great force that it entered the body of the pig through the mouth and came out from it through the anus. The cries of the beast were heard in the three worlds and its groans resounded through the four worlds. Channayya Baidya heard the cries, and came running to Kôṭi, to see whether his brother had killed the beast, or whether the beast had killed his brother. Kôṭi asked him why he came running so fast.

"I thought the pig had overpowered you and so came here," said the younger brother.

"Is it possible that the pig could defeat me? No, it was I that killed the pig," said Kôṭi.

"Where is that pig?" said Channayya.

"O, my dear young brother! look; here it is," said Kôṭi. Then the younger brother threw off all the leaves which were on the body of the pig, and having examined it, placed his hand on his nose[1] and said to Kôṭi:—"My elder brother, we must revive this dead pig so that by its means we may revenge ourselves on the Ballâḷ of Pañje."

"Is it possible that the dead pig should come to life again?" said Kôṭi.

"If the dead pig cannot revive, do you think that we can ever avenge ourselves on him of Pañje?" asked the younger brother. "If there is a Bhûta named Brahmara of Kemmuḷe, he will certainly help us. He will certainly become our charioteer."

Saying this, he took some water in a pure goblet and by means of a brush of the sacred grass, sprinkled the water on the body of the dead pig from the head to the tail. The pig

[1] As a mark of great surprise.

revived in all its freshness and vigour, and at once stood up. It then took its way to Pañje, the two brothers following it. When it came to the rice-field called Bâki Balisemâra in Pañje, the elder brother discharged a long arrow at it. The groans of the pig were heard by the thousand people of Pañje. At one call, they assembled near the pig. One thousand men of Pañje, three hundred of Koḷapâḍi, and one thousand of Kokke Yâṇi. They resolved not to give up the pig that lay within their boundaries and to carry home the whole of the pig, even at the cost of their lives. Then the thousand men of Pañje brought a white creeper, which is the strongest of all the creepers, and, twining it round one of the tusks of the pig, they dragged it along with songs.

At this moment Channayya Baidya said to Kôṭi:— "The pig lies within the boundaries of Êḍambûr, and Êḍambûr belongs to you: why then do you make delay? Will you fight with the thousand men of Pañje? Or will you give up the pig?"

After hearing these words, did he tarry long? He at once held the pig by its tusk, and Channayya drew out the arrow from its body and punished the thousand men of Pañje. Kôṭi dragged away the pig, Channayya slew the thousand men of Pañje and they lay dead on the field, as lies the *suggi* crop. Those who fled to the East he pursued up to the sea of pure water. He severely reproached those who fled to the West, and completely overpowered them. He pursued those who fled to the North as far as the Ganges! And those who fled Southward, he drove into the sea. Then the brothers, dragging the pig along with them, went on. On one side was the village of Pañje and on another was that of Êḍambûr, and between them was a big rock named Mañjoḷu. They placed the pig on the rock, and sent a man to the Ballâḷ of Pañje to ask him to come to them for the purpose of cutting the pig to pieces and distributing it to the people. The messenger went to the Ballâḷ and begged of him to come.

The Ballâḷ said to the messenger:—"Let the heroes, who killed the pig, cut it to pieces and distribute the pieces to the people."

The two brothers accordingly cut the pig to pieces and distributed them to the people, saying:—"This day, we have given you the flesh of a pig: tomorrow, we shall give you the flesh of a lion. Therefore, those who are assembled here to-day must assemble again tomorrow. Tomorrow, too, we intend to distribute flesh."

They then told the people that they would return to their own country. They resolved to rub oil on their bodies and bathe, in order to wash away the sin of having killed a pig.

"What substances are required to wash away the oil?" asked the elder of his younger brother.

"We want black gram, pods of green gram, the juice of some plants growing in the wet and dry fields, and some acid substances," replied the younger brother.

"Who is the man best fitted to rub the oil on our bodies?" asked Kôṭi.

"There is one Muṭṭi Sîrda, the son of a man of that profession, who, by rubbing half a *sêr* of oil on the body, can squeeze one *sêr* of oil out of it," said Channayya.

Muṭṭi Sîrda was sent for, and was asked to name the different kinds of oil that he required. He said:—"O, heroes! gingely-seed, oil, cocoanut-oil and castor oil are required."

All preparations were made for their bathing. One hundred pots of hot water and one hundred pots of cold water were made ready by order of the brothers. Then Muṭṭi Sîrda began to rub the oil on their heads and bodies. He rubbed *ghî* and oil on their heads. He poured the oil called *kîr* into their ears. He rubbed the oil called *bindu* on their joints, and on their nails he rubbed boiled oil.

Meanwhile the Ballâḷ of Êḍambûr received a letter from Sâyina, the contents of which were as follows:— "Send me the head and some flesh of the pig; and when you send me the head and the flesh, send me any curry that you may have made of its flesh; and when

you send me that, send me some of its eye-brows; and when you send me the eye-brows, send me the heroes that killed the pig, prepared for battle; and when you have sent me the heroes, do you put off the dress of a male, and put on the disguise of a female, supply the want of breasts by cocoanut shells, put on a bodice, dress yourself in a woman's garment, put plenty of bracelets on your hands, apply collyrium to your eyes, and tie your hair in a knot. I shall come to the verandah of the Ballâḷ of Êḍambûr to speak about your marriage." When he read the letter, the Ballâḷ became greatly dispirited, and sent the letter to the two brothers. They opened the letter and read it, and found it to be very discourteous.

"We will come to the battle," said they to the messenger and they burnt both ends of the palm-leaf and tied it to the neck of the man that had brought it; and, having done this, they caused him to be driven out of the house. They then sent word to the Ballâḷ that, if he had no courage, he might remain in an under-ground cellar, till they should come to his assistance, and that they would come after they had washed away the oil which they had rubbed on their bodies, and had taken a little rice-water. They bathed and washed away the oil. They took a little rice-water, and they made preparations for going out to battle with all the weapons of war. They each put a necklace on his body; they ornamented their waists with girdles; they put golden necklaces on their bodies; they tied turbans of the color of parrots and pigeons on their heads; they mounted a palankin; they armed themselves with their dagger, equal to that of Râma's. Thus did they completely arm themselves and set out for the Ballâḷ's verandah. The Ballâḷ saw them coming, and came and sat on his seat, and they bowed low before him.

When they had saluted him, the Ballâḷ said:—"O heroes! I am now assured that if I rely on you for help, I shall lose the whole of my kingdom. Therefore, O heroes, shew me all your skill and bravery, that I may ascertain whether you are men who can save my kingdom, or who will only ruin it."

"In the upper-story of your mansion there is a *mura* of sessamum seed. Please order that to be given to us," said the brothers.

"O heroes, is that a thing that you will fail to get from me?" said the Ballâḷ. He ordered the *muḍi* to be opened. The elder brother, Kôṭi, then shewed the dexterity of his hand; when he had shewed it, the seed flew up in the air in powder as fine as red turmeric.

Then the Ballâḷ said:—"I have thus seen your skill, and now I want to see the skill of your brother, Channayya."

"O my lord," said Channaya, "your swinging cot has four iron chains. Please order one of them to be given to me."

"Can iron be cut by a weapon of iron?" said the Ballâḷ.

"If iron cannot be cut by iron, will one man be able to slay another?" said Channayya.

"If this be so, will the chain be refused to you?" said the Ballâḷ, and he ordered one of the chains to be given to Channayya.

When the latter shewed his skill, all the four chains fell in pieces.

"You are heroes that will be able to protect my kingdom," said the Ballâḷ.

Then the five hundred men of Êḍambûr, and the three hundred of Koḷapâḍi, together with the Ballâḷ's son-in-law, **Rukku Ballâḷ**, who rode on a white horse and held a white umbrella, went forth to the battle field. The battle was to be fought in two fields, one in which seven *sêrs* of rice, and the other in which seventy *sêrs* of rice, could be sown, and Channayya was to command the field of seven *sêrs*. The Ballâḷ's son-in-law, Rukku Ballâḷ, stood at a place which was separated from the battle field by three rice fields, in each of which thirty *sêrs* of rice could be sown.

Before going out to the battle, Channayya said to Kôṭi:—"When, my brother, shall we again see each other's faces?"

They talked a great deal to each other, and clapped their hands on their shoulders with joy. Then they advanced with their faces towards the battle field. Channayya went to the field of seven *sêrs*, and Kôṭi to the field of seventy *sêrs*. Channayya began the battle in the field of seven *sêrs*. He slew a great number of the enemy, who fell down dead, like bundles of the *suggi* crop, and completely routed the enemy, and thus ended the battle in that quarter. Then he came to the field of seventy *sêrs*, where the battle lasted seven nights and eight days, during which they tasted neither food nor drink.

"Come back, my brother, I will proceed with the battle," said Channayya.

Kôṭi answered:—"O my brother! listen to me; you will not be able to stand the attack of the enemy. Wheel-fireworks are showered on our heads; quoits are hurled at our necks; our breasts receive sword cuts; and from behind are discharged showers of arrows. I know that it is your habit to do everything with the greatest circumspection — fight with the greatest caution."

While Channayya was bravely fighting, Kôṭi sat down to chew betel, when Chandagiḍi shot an arrow at him from behind. The arrow struck him in the lower part of the leg.

He cried out:—"O my brother, the cur of Pañje has bitten me from behind. If it had been a dog of high breed it would have met me in front. Therefore I will not look at the arrow with my eyes, and will not touch it with my hands."

So saying he kicked the arrow back with his leg. The arrow struck Chandagiḍi in the breast and he fled from his body to Kailâsa, and he was then borne to the Ballâḷ's verandah. The Ballâḷ sent a man to bring some medicine from a physician named Barmu, living in the village of Sañje Mañje.

Kôṭi cut the whole of the enemy to pieces, and brought the battle to an end. Having thus terminated the war, he left the field of seventy *sêrs*, and on his way home he saw a man in the field Bâkibalatimâra in Pañje put in chains by the Ballâḷ of that place on account of arrears of rent of one muḍi due by him to the ancestors of the Ballâḷ.

The man gazed eagerly at Kôṭi and cried out, "O! If my chains had been broken, I would have wrested the dagger from the hands of Kôṭi."

"You are to die by this means. Meet your death at his (Kôṭi's) hands," said the Ballâḷ.

Then the man advanced straight on Kôti, stood before him and said:—"Who is Kôti? who is Kôṭi? Will you give me the dagger yourself or shall I take it from your hands by force?"

Kôṭi replied:—"If you had come to the field of seven *sêrs*, your fate would have been quite different; but it is a pity that you came to the field of seventy *sêrs*. You need not wrest the dagger from me. I will give it to you of my own free will."

Then giving the dagger, Kôṭi said:—"This, my only dagger, belongs to Brahmara of Kemmuḷe. If you take this with you, you can pass only one field, and when you have passed that, you will not live to pass a second. And if in any way you should succeed in passing two fields, be assured you will not live to pass a third."

With these words he gave the dagger to his antagonist. Kôṭi then went to the foot of a banyan-tree, where there was a gentle breeze, and spreading out his dirty blanket sat down on it. While his antagonist was passing the third field, the Ballâḷ's son-in-law, Rukku Ballâl, saw Kôṭi sitting down. The potter[3] was walking with the dagger in his hands. Rukku Ballâḷ secured his horse in a shady place, and cut off the head of the potter named Padâmpu. Then, taking the dagger from his hands, he returned home. On the way he asked Kôṭi, who was sitting down to enjoy the cool breeze, to come along with him to the Ballâḷ's verandah.

"I cannot walk, my lord! Pour some water into my mouth, and let me go to heaven," said Kôṭi.

[3] *I. e.*, the antagonist.

Then Rukku Ballâḷ went to the verandah and informed the Ballâḷ that Kôti was unable to walk. The Ballâḷ sent him his palankin and Kôṭi was borne to the verandah in the palankin.

"O great dero! You are he that saved the whole of my kingdom," said the Ballâḷ.

"That is well," said Kôṭi; "but, my lord, pour some water into my mouth that I may go to heaven. I will leave this body and go to Kailâsa."

A tender cocoanut of the red kind the Ballâḷ ordered to be brought.

"O Kôṭi, you were a hero that was able to save my kingdom, and now the time of its downfall approaches," said the Ballâḷ.

Kôti said:— "O my lord! We shall continue to assist you as much as we did in our life-time in the day of battle. Only plant our dagger in the battle-field and we shall fight, on your behalf, as spirits, in the same manner as we did as men. In life we never gave up your cause; therefore, after death, be assured, we shall not fail to assist you."

"O Kôṭi Baidya, up to this time I could have counted on must elephants in Êḍambûr; but this day one must elephant is going away, O Kôṭi," said the Ballâḷ, weeping bitterly, as he poured water into Kôṭi's mouth that he might go to heaven. Then Kôṭi left his body and went to Kailâsa.

A mango and a jack-tree, growing on each side of a river, the Ballâḷ ordered to be cut He prepared a funeral pile in a corner of the burial ground, and caused the body to be burnt with all the proper ceremonies.

When Kôṭi advanced towards the throne of Brahmâ, Brahmâ said:—"Do not enter into the *guḍi*. Do not come into the yard. In your life-time, you and your brother were always together; why, then, have you come alone? Unless you come together, you cannot enter the yard."

Hearing these words, Kôṭi came back to the world. The younger brother came to the side of a deep well and looked down into it, and saw his face reflected in the water.

"My brother fell in the battle; what then is the use of my living?" said Channayya to himself.

So saying, he struck his leg against a rock and thus committed suicide. The news reached the Ballâḷ that Channayya had committed suicide in the house of the physician Barmu of the village Sañje Mañje.

On hearing the news, the Ballâḷ cried out:—"O God! O God! O my unlucky fortune! I had congratulated myself that, although I lost one must elephant, I had yet another. Now I have lost both. The time of the downfall of my kingdom has approached."

He caused a mango and a jack-tree, growing one on each side of a river, to be cut. He caused a funeral pile to be raised in a corner of the burial ground, and had the body burnt. Then the two brothers went in the form of spirits to the throne of Brahmâ, who said:—

"Do not approach the *guḍi*. Do not come into the yard. You must purify yourselves before you come to me."

Hearing the order, they came, in the shape of aërial beings, to the Ballâḷ's mansion, and threw the handle of their dagger on the ground, and asked the Ballâḷ to purify them. On the ninth day of their death, the Ballâḷ caused the ashes of their dead bodies to be collected, and on the tenth, he had the ceremony of *sâlya* performed. He planted three posts on the burial ground, and covered them with cloths of different colors. Thus he caused all the funeral rites to be performed, in as grand a manner as would have been done for a royal Ballâḷ. Having thus purified themselves, they again approached Brahmâ's throne, but he forbade them to advance, saying:—

"Do not touch my *guḍi*. Do not come into the yard. You must bathe in the holy Ganges before you come here."

They told Brahmâ that they would bathe in the Ganges. They drank the waters of sixteen holy places in order to wash away their sins, and the waters of twenty-four others to earn merit. Having thus washed away all their sins, they came for the third time to the throne of Brahmâ. Then they came into the yard and they entered the *guḍi*. **They stood on the right hand of Brahmâ, and became members of Brahmâ's council, and were ever afterwards in the world as much honored as Brahmâ himself.**

BURNELL MSS. — No. 5.

THE ACTS OF JÂRÂNTÂYA.

Original in the Malayâḷam character recorded by a Tântrî (Tuḷu Brâhmaṇ) for Dr. Burnell: translation according to Burnell's MSS. Original, text and translation, occupies leaf 123 and part of 124 in Burnell's MSS.

Translation.

On a Tuesday at noon, the hero **Jârântâya** came to the Atrêl ferry, riding on a white horse and holding a **white umbrella,** and ordered the ferry-man **Kanya** to bring the ferry-boat.

The ferry-man replied:— "The boat does not belong to me. I am not to get my fare, and the boat has been kept by one **Bermane Koṭe Bâle** for crossing the river on Tuesdays and Sundays."

"It is no matter that the boat is kept by him for crossing the river, I will give you the proper fare. Bring the boat to this side," said Jârântâya.

As soon as he said this, the ferry-man brought the boat.

"Tender cocoanuts and cocoanut leaves are very dear in **Kûḷûr** and **Mulki.** So I am going to a village where there are tender cocoanuts and milk," said Jârântâya.

He got into the boat and the boat moved on. It came to the middle of the river. It whirled round and round. Jârântâya murdered the ferry-man Kanya, and proceeding further, he entered the bodies of Koṭe Bâle Bermane, a weeping child and a lowing calf.

Wondering at what had happened, Koṭe Bâle Bermane sent for **Bermana Maiyya,** who looked into his *praśna*-book, and found that **a Bhûta, named Jârântâya, had arrived in the village from the south.** A she-buffaloe and its calf were offered to the Bhûta Jârântâya.

A guard was placed over the Bhûta's *guḍi,* and Jârântâya was known by three names: Jârântâya of the Sthâna, Jârântâya of the Koṭṭige, and Jârântâya of the Châvaḍi. A flag in honor of Vishṇu, with the figure of Garuḍa on it, was raised, and a feast began. The yard became full of people, and the *guḍi* full of lamps. Thus the Bhûta Jârântâya became established in that place.

BURNELL MSS. — No. 6.

THE ACTS OF KODAMAṆATÂYA.

Original in the Malayâḷam character recorded by a Tântrî (Tuḷu Brâhmaṇ) for Dr. Burnell: translation according to Burnell's MSS. Original, text and translation, occupies leaves 124 and 125 inclusive in Burnell's MSS.

Translation.

Dugganṇa Kâver of Ekkâr and Timmântikâri of Tibêra were noted for their skill in cock-fighting and their knowledge of bullocks.

In the month of Bêse, following that of Paggu, they passed the village called Ekkarparâra, taking with them two hundred and thirty spurs, four or eight cocks, and about thirty or fifty men.

They came to the temple of the god Irvail, and gave some offerings to the god. On the next day they came to the low countries, and took their meals. They ascended the *ghâts*, and bought a fine cock. They also bought a bullock, which took their fancy, and proceeded on their way, taking with them the bullock and the cock. They then erected a post under a white *aśvattha* tree, and tied the cock and the bullock to it. After this they went into the house of one Bîru of Naḍḍyoḍi, as she had invited them to dinner. In the village Naḍḍyoḍi they took their dinner, and untying their bag of betel they chewed betel-nut.

The bullock was possessed by the Lord of Charity, Dharmada-arasu, and the cock was possessed by the Bhûta of Periñja.

"O, what is this? What can have happened in the place where we have tied the bullock and the cock? What is the cause of those cries and groans?"

Saying this, Dugganna Kâver of Ekkûr and Timmântikâri of Tibêra came to where they had left the bullock and the cock.

"A Bhûta, equal to God himself, has now come to this village," said they to each other.

They went to the village called Berke of Tâṅgaḍi. They brought with them the bullock and the cock, and built two *guḍis* for the use of the Lord Koḍamaṇatâya. Another *guḍi* was built in the south for the Bhûta of Periñja, and the cock and the bullock were offered there.

Koḍamaṇatâya required that both a *guḍi* and a palace should be built for him. A *pikota*[3] worked by three hundred men fell in pieces. In the east is the village Periñja, and in the west is the hill Deriñja, and the fruit of all the trees lying between the two places fell down. So a *guḍi* and a palace were built for Koḍamaṇatâya.

The Bhûta required that the ceremony of raising the flag in honor of Vishṇu should be performed, and he then became known in that village as a Bhûta, and established himself in that place.

BURNELL MSS. — No. 7.

THE ACTS OF KANAPÂDITÂYA.

Original in the Malayâḷam character recorded by a Ṭântrî (Tuḷu Brâhmaṇ) for Dr. Burnell: translation according to Burnell's MSS. Original, text and translation, occupies leaves 126 to 129 inclusive in Burnell's MSS.

Translation.

The Bhûta descended into the Tuḷu country from the *ghâṭs*. His groans were heard in the four worlds, and his cries in the three worlds.

He saw the Ballâkuḷa of Eṇṇekallu, and the Ballâkuḷa of Sântikallu. He became known as a Bhûta able to give life and also to send distress to mankind.

He came to the Berke of Pañjipâḍi, and saw four children, all born of one mother.

There was a Bhaṭṭa, who was the master of the village Kâmarai, and the Bhûta became known as his family god.

In the summer, a younger and an elder brother quarrelled with one another.

"I will go. You be the elder brother and I will be the younger, and let us both go to the house of the master of Mangâlore," said the Bhûta to the Bhaṭṭa.

Riding on white horses, and having white umbrellas held over them, they passed the Berke of Pañjipâḍi, and ascended the hill called Aḍḍându. They came to a place named Sârabîme in the village Mogêrnâḍ. They came to Paiyyayyi of Pâṇemogêr, and passed the pleasure garden in Baṇṭwâl. They passed a banyan tree on the bank of a river at Aindâḷapaṭṭa

[3] Irrigating apparatus.

in the village **Ambaḍâḍi.** They passed the spot called **Pilipañjer**[4] and **Ulavuṭṭu in Tumbê.** They passed the **temple of the god Vardêśvar** and the *guḍi châvaḍi* and **Majabbidu.** They passed the tank called **Gujjerkedu,** and arrived at **Mangalore.**

The Kartu[5] of Mangalore saw them and asked the Bhaṭṭa:—

"Where did you come from? Where are you going to?"

"In the Berke of Pañjipâḍi, we four children were born of one mother. We quarrelled with one another. Therefore I am going to a country, where my eyes cannot see and my ears cannot hear," said the Bhaṭṭa to the Kartu of Mangalore.

"Do not go to a country, where your eyes cannot see and your ears cannot hear. I will give you a palace in the village **Uḷavûr,**" said the Kartu.

The Bhaṭṭa accepted the palace in Uḷavûr. He repaired it and dwelt in it. At the hour of midnight he wept bitterly, shedding heavy tears, and said:—"Oh! there is no woman in the palace built by me. There is no she-buffaloe and calf in the cow-pen."

"Why are you weeping thus? I will bring a woman to your palace," said Kanapâditâya.

He went to the Berke of Pañjipâḍi. He saw the two persons, Kartus of **Paḷḷi and Kunyarapâḍi,** and cast them into the river **Nêtrâvati,** and, crossing the river at the **Uber (Uppinaṅgaḍi)** ferry and the **Nandâvar** ferry, he came to the **Sañja** ferry, crossed it, and proceeded to the *maṭh* in Tumbe belonging to the **svâmi of Pêjavar.** He went on to the **Sandi** ferry to perform the *sandhyâvandana* ceremony. While he was doing this, he saw a girl of mature age floating up and down the river with the ebb and flow of the tide.

"This girl is not born of men. She must have been sent here by God himself," said he to himself.

He sent a messenger to the palace in Uḷavûr, and the Bhaṭṭa came to the Sañja ferry.

"So you have come, my niece!" said the Bhaṭṭa.

He took his niece by the hand, and led her to his palace in Uḷavûr, wherein there was no woman; and when that year had passed and the next one had come, **the girl was married to the Kartu of Kumbaḷe.** After going to her uncle's palace she was proceeding to Kumbaḷe, whither the Bhûta Kanapâditâya followed her.

At Kumbaḷe he entered a weeping child, and he killed a calf. The Kartu of Kumbaḷe wondered what all this might mean, and he asked a soothsayer.

"A Bhûta has followed your bride, and you should offer sacrifice and food to him," said the soothsayer.

"Mention all the articles that are required for the offering and sacrifice and for the food," said the Kartu.

"Balls made of eleven *sêrs* of rice, sixteen torches, a thousand *sêrs* of fried rice, a thousand *sêrs* of beaten rice, one hundred and twenty tender cocoanuts, twelve bunches of plantains, twelve cakes of palm-sugar, twelve *kuḍtes*[6] of *ghî* are required," said the soothsayer.

Kichhe, the Pombaḍa, came to act the part of the Bhûta, and stood prepared to become possessed. He put on the dress appropriate to the Bhûta, and required, by signs, the articles of food to be brought. One thousand *sêrs* of fried rice were brought. Thrice he threw up three balls of rice! He devoured the sacrifice and the food, and shewed his belly, pointing to it, to the Kartu of Kumbaḷe. He thus shewed him that he was not satisfied!

"I have offered you so much sacrifice and food, yet your belly is not satisfied. Return to the country from whence you came," said the Kartu.

4 *I. e.*, tiger-cage. 5 *I. e.*, master. 6 Half a *sêr*.

"I will go back to the country from whence I came," said the Pombaḍa.

The Bhûta came to **Nâlapirikolasâra**, and demanded that a *guḍi* should be built for him in **Kanapâḍi**, and a *guḍi* was accordingly built for him in Kanapâḍi. He also required that a *bîḍu* should be built for him in **Piryodi.** He became known as the chief Bhûta of Nâlapirikolasâra, and established himself in that place.

BURNELL MSS. — No. 8.

THE ACTS OF MUṆḌIPÂDITÂYA.

Original in the Malayâḷam character, recorded by a Tântrî (Tuḷu Brâhmaṇ) for Dr. Burnell: translation according to Burnell's MSS. Original, text and translation, occupies parts of leaves 129 and 130 of Burnell's MSS.

Translation.

He was known in Kaśî as Kâḷabhairava.

A man named **Vaidyanâtha** descended into the Tuḷu country from the *'ghâṭs*, and the Bhûta followed him. He came to the *sâna guḍi* built by one **Koṭekâr** in **Koṇḍâna.** Taking with him balls of *vibhûti*[7] and the root of the plant *sañjîvana*, he went to the **Koṭebeṭṭu Sâna in Siyêra.** He went to the Siyêra *guttu*.

In the time of one **Ramamiṇḍara** the ceremonies of raising the flag and of the car-festival were celebrated in his honor in the **Kollabeṭṭu Sâna.**

He became known as the umbrella (protector) of the village of **Yerdûr**, and he established himself in that place.

BURNELL MSS. — No. 9.

THE ACTS OF AMAḌAḌI PAÑJARLLI.

Original in the Malayâḷam character, recorded by a Tântrî (Tuḷu Brâhmaṇ) for Dr. Burnell: translation according to Burnell's MSS. Original, text and translation, occupies leaves 130 and 131 of Burnell's MSS.

Translation.

Kochâḷva Ballâḷ of Nandârbeṭṭu, hearing that a feast was being celebrated for **Pañjurḷi** in the *bîḍu* in **Bârardil**, expressed his intention of going to witness the grandeur of the feast. He immediately took his meals and left the *bîḍu* in Nandâr Beṭṭu. He passed the banyan tree in **Maṅgame** and the *kâsana* tree in **Kollabeṭṭu.** He crossed a stream at **Ummanoṭṭu** and the **Baṇṭwâlpêṭâḥ**, and another stream at **Aḍḍanda.** He approached a place called **Sâraśîme in Mogêrnâḍ**, and came to the *bîḍu* in Bârardil.

The Bhûta had already entered the actor, and looked on the face of Kochâḷva and said:— "You are welcome here! I will go to you."

"To a Bhûta, that desires to come to me, I will not say nay. If you will cast aside your present form, and come to me, I will have a woollen couch prepared for you, and cause a silken flag to be raised. I will offer to you a pig made of bell-metal," said Kochâḷva.

The man possessed by the Bhûta gave him a tender cocoanut and some flowers of the areca-nut as his *prasâda*.

Kochâḷva, followed by **Pañjurḷi of the Ambaḍâḍi bîḍu** passed the *bîḍu* in Bârardil and approached Sâraśîme in Mogêrnâḍ. They crossed together the stream at Aḍḍanda, and passed the Baṇṭwâlpêṭaḥ, and came to Nandârbeṭṭu *bîḍu*.

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[7] Ashes used by Śaiva ascetics for smearing their bodies.

The Bhûta saw the Ballâḷ falling, for the Ballâḷ fell down in a swoon. Orders were given for all the people to assemble at once, and all his caste men assembled. The *praśna*-book was referred to, and they found that the cause of the misfortune was Pañjurḷi, who had followed Kochâḷva Ballâḷ. They asked the Bhûta to tell them what he wanted, and he said that he wanted a dagger in his *sâna*. The dagger used by the Ballâḷ of Aiyyandâḷ (was thrown at random and) fell in Mañgilamâr. He caused a *guḍi* to be built for Pañjurḷi in Mañgilamâr, and caused the ceremony of raising the flag to be performed.

The Bhûta demanded a car, and became known as one of the Five Bhûtas of Ambaḍâḍi, serving Brahmâ. Thus was he established in the *sâna* in Mañgilamâr.

BURNELL MSS. — No. 10.

THE ACTS OF PILICHAMUṆḌI.

Original in the Malayâḷam character, recorded by a Tântrî (Tuḷu Brâhmaṇ) for Dr. Burnell: translation according to Burnell's MSS. Original, text and translation, occupies leaves 131 to 135[8] inclusive of Burnell's MSS.

Translation.

A man named Mañju Pañja obtained a piece of land called Tumbejalajanana, and cultivated one crop on it. Depredations committed by thieves became very great, till not even a single tender cocoanut remained on the cocoanut trees. The paddy stored in the yards did not remain, and there was no paddy in the rice-fields. Mañju Pañja told his eldest daughter that he would introduce a Bhûta that would be able to put all the thieves to death, and that he would go to the kingdom of Bâloḷi.

He took his food, and tied a turban on his head, and put on his best dress. He passed Tumbejalajanana and came to the kingdom of Bâloḷi.

Bâloḷi saw him and said to him: — "On what business have you come here, Mañju Pañja?"

"I have obtained a piece of land called Tumbejalajanana, but the ravages of thieves have become too great for me, and I, therefore, ask you to give me a Bhûta that can put the thieves to death," said Mañju Pañja.

"What Bhûta shall I give you?" said Bâloḷi.

"There is the Bhûta Pilichâmuṇḍi worshipped by you. Give him to me," said Mañju Pañja, and he gave three hundred pagodas to Bâloḷi.

When he saw the money, Bâloḷi entirely forgot his Bhûta. He ordered a pañchoḷi betel-leaf to be brought, and the exact figure of the Bhûta to be drawn on it, and he gave it to Mañju Pañja and said: — "Take this Bhûta to Tumbejalajanana and worship it with all your heart."

Mañju Pañja returned to Tumbejalajanana, taking the Bhûta with him, and worshipped it with all his heart. The Bhûta killed the eldest daughter of Mañju Pañja, Mañju Pañja himself and a woman named Gañge at the end of six months, one year and two years.

"We can no longer worship this Bhûta in a house where there are children and relatives," said the inmates of the house, and taking the Bhûta to the foot of a tree producing stone-berries, worshipped it there. The Bhûta required that the *sâna* in Tumbejalajanana should be furnished with a dagger, and established himself in that place.

When he was about to leave it, he lighted a bell-metal lamp and shouted out aloud. He ascended the hill at Aḍḍanda, passed Irandâḷpaṭṭa in Mijâr, and stopped at the village

[8] Leaf 134 is blank and leaf 135 is missing.

Kumpaḍâvumura. He left it and passed **Boḷḷibeṭṭu,** and came to **Perâr,** peopled by one hundred men. He saw the **Bhûta Balâṇḍi** and **Brahmâ of Mâribeṭṭu.**

He demanded that his *sâna* should be furnished with a dagger. The hundred men of **Perâsabeṭṭu** assembled on the hill of **Mâribeṭṭu,** and areca-nuts were heaped up. A *sâna* was built in that place, and the Bhûta became known as the umbrella (protector) of the hundred men.

He left the land of the hundred men, ascended the hill in Aḍḍanda, and came to **Boḷḷimârguttu.** The people wondered what the cause of this unforseen misfortune might be, and referred to the *praśna*-book.

The Bhûta required that a palace should be built for him, and the dagger used by three hundred men (was thrown at random and) fell in the village **Mukkoḍivaḷakuḍa.** The Bhûta caused his *sthâna* to be built in that place, and finally settled himself there.

BURNELL MSS. — No. 11.

THE STORY OF TOḌAKINÂRA.

Original in the Kanarese character: transliteration by Mr. Männer: translation from Burnell's MSS., checked by Mr. Männer. Original, text and translation, occupies leaves 136 to 142 inclusive of Burnell's MSS.

Text.

Toḍakinâra Paḍḍana.

Kîrụ kâñchi woñji, Mêlụ kâñchi woñji, **kâñchikaḍaṅga** daaramane woñji; auḷu udyamedi **Dharmada-arasu.** Ârụ puṭṭuṇi Kekkei udda malligeḍụ naḍapei sampigeḍụ. Yêḷụ warsa nîrenḍụ, gaḍḍa battụnḍụ. Kali kaḷeḍụ śiri waḍyere yêrenderụ darmada rasuḷu. Gaṭṭada miṭṭụ âyere nâḍụḍụ **Bîjanakaroḍu** kelesi mage **Binâḍikâre** uḷḷenderụ chakri dâkuḷu. Eikụ **Udda-boṭṭugu** mâni kaḍapuḍiyerụ gujjari tareda kiru woli tarpuḍiyerụ; muḍâyi dombugu pâḍâyerụ; paḍḍâyi antara dombugu deppâyerụ; kaḍe kaḍi tunḍu malpâyêrụ; kelesi pudarụgụ wôle barepâyerụ; unḍi nuppuḍu tutti kunṭuḍu gaḷi gegụ baroḍu anduḍụ bareyerụ. Wôle woñji mâni keikụ kordu ayagụ sambaḷa kori yerụ. Aye Kâñchikaḍaṅgada aramane buḍiye, kelesi maga illaḍegụ wôle konḍu koriye; aye wôle tûyi gaḷigegụ lakkiye bâḷụ pâḍi bokkaṇa dette, muga sûdi kannaḍi eiṭụ pâḍiye; gunḍu katteri, pareṅgi bâḷụ inâta pâḍḍụ mâni beriye batte, Kâñchikaḍaṅgụda aramanegụ batte Dharma-arasunu tûye, kei muggiye; battinawu yeḍḍe âṇḍụ anduḍụ panḍerụ. Ninakula jalmada bêle benla anderụ. Châvaḍida naḍutu nâḷụ karụda mukkalige ittụnḍụ einụ dîpâyerụ dattu balattụ jagaṇa jôti pottâyerụ, worla ari woñji târâyi ireṭụ dîpâyerụ gellanda ghaṇṭe nôpâyerụ, bori saṅkala uripâyerụ, tânụ arewâsi eitâyerụ mukkaligeḍụ kuḷḷeyerụ, muṭṭuḍu desa pâḍụnḍụ, ârati âṇḍụ. Keḷesi muṭṭa botte paṇṇeḍu bêle maḷte, tareḍḍụ pattinawu kârụ muṭṭa soreyi tiṅgara bêle maḷte. Kelesi muṭṭi dôshogu dâne maḷpoḍu anderụ châkridâkuḷu eikụ arosuḷu yeṇṇeḍụ śudda nîrụḍụ jalaka âwaḍu anderu. Tânụ kaṭṭâyi kere unḍu, auḷu nâḷụ keita kopparige dîpâyerụ, sâra koḍya chanḍi nîrụ kopparigegụ meipâyerụ. Paḍụraḍḍụ kaṭṭa kaṇakụḍu beṅdrụ keipâyerụ; sâra kandelụ benḍrụ arasu tarekụ meipâyerụ, sâra kandelụ chanḍi nîrụ meipâyerụ. Shiri muḍi gaṭyere woḷta paṭṭe âwu anderụ châkridâkuḷu. **Kâwura** kariya paṭṭe, Bôḷûra bolya paṭṭe, sôpu kambati, îremadûre paṭṭe muṅkuda suyilụgụ munnûḍu gâwuḍa pâri paṭṭe, kaṇṇụ nîrụḍụ naneti paṭṭe ugura diteṭụ deṅgidi paṭṭe âwoḍu anderụ arasuḷu; awenụ châkridakulu konḍattụḍụ eiṭụ chanḍi dettụnḍụ. Yeṅkụ eitâwoḍu enderu; eikụ yêḷụ peṭṭige kunṭu konḍatterụ. Yeḷụ peṭṭige baṅgarụ konḍatterụ, kuppiḍitti parimaḷu konḍatterụ, Dharma-arasu maṇiṭụ kuḷḷuderụ kuraḷụgụ padaka yêrụnḍụ naḍuku dâbu dînḍụ kebikụ muttuda chaṅkuḷi yêrụnḍụ bireḷụgụ suryamuttu mudreda uṅgila yêrụnḍụ, ekkiḷụgụ chakra sara pâiụnḍụ, keikụ danḍe dîṭụnḍụ, tareḍḍụ kârụ muṭṭa baṅgârụḍḍụ siṅgârânḍụ. **Arasaḷu Tuḷu rajyada gaṭṭa jappôḍu tuḷụ dâkuḷenụ tâwaḍu anderụ.** Wôḷu joppuni anduḍụ châkridakuḷeḍa kênderụ, jotterụ joppunaga **Baṅgâduḍụ Sômanâtha dêwerụ** balli inderụ. **Shiriḍụ Chikkârya** dêwerụ

balli inderu; âpaga yerute **Settegâre** nalu sawira yeru kondadu **Gandapendâra** bardina malleddu japperu; èinu tûdu Dharma-arasulu **Channamangale Chaluwarâye** inpi yeruta mittu kulluderu, wolagâyeru, mâyodu kulluderu. **Subrâya dêwere** stalogu battundu. Peiru jappunaga **Subrâya dêweru** tûyeru. Deiwa dêweru nâge Berme tanaddu malle dânti jâgudu yêru jappuni anderu. Châkridayada pandini: oddanadu kôte gorâwadu, sapalodu dari gopâyeru; gôdedu katti barchi dipâyeru; arasu mâta poltudu batteru. Subrâya dêwere stalogu battudu dêwasthanogu poggiyeru. Mûji suttu bali batteru, einu dinata ayana tûyeru. Altu yeruta mittu **Kumâradâre Matsyatirtha** kadateru, kôtelâ **Kêpâdi Gattala** Kadatudu, **Wittlagu** botteru. **Pañchalinga** dêwerenu tuyeru Wittla **Bâkimârudu** nâlu sâwira yerunu tadewonderu; pullere lakkiyeru, Wittla Bâkimâr Kadattudu **Bossawagudilâ Kadambi** dêwastânalâ, **Salêtûra** dêwastânalâ kadateru. **Madungara** gôlidanlu portu kartundu. Yeru pâlaya poyyeru. Altu pullyakelogu lakkudu **Dharmada-uggelu** dalpa pâlya poyyeru. **Kannandûru Poyyedâru** einu kênderu. **Akkâji Mâmûji** kâlodu nama hiriyeru ane kattudu âluderuge, kudure kattudu sânkuderige nama kâlodu yeru kattadu sânkodu andudu Poyyedâru yeru kondariyere pidâdiyeru. Tana bûdu kadattudu **padikâluda** ane pattiyeru. Dharmada Uggelu dalpado padpugu batteru; nâlu sâwire yerunu tûyeru; tana kannugu wonjila samâdu tôjuji. Î Dharmada-arasu wolagâti **Channamangale Chaluwarâye** inpi yerunu tûyeru, â yerunu detteru; krayogu dettudu kondubottudu toda kukkudu kattiyeru. Nîrudu jattudu japogu kulliyeru. Poyyedâru altu bannaga yeru ijji, mâyatundu. Yeru pôndundudu ariyeru. Jâtaka-graha shôdhane tûnaga, awu **Bhûta** kulludi yeru, Bhûtada mâya âtundu andudu tôji battundu. Â ghaligegu Poyyedâre doppa **Nambe beide, âya yejjedu Bhûta jâgadarike battundu**; âye kâjô andudu lette. Poyyedârenu lette; yenkulu wâsâye yenunu kondatteru, yeru îregu tikkuji; yenkulu yeru [9]—

Translation.

There was a **Lower Kâñchi** and an **Upper Kâñchi**, and a palace called **Kâñchikadanga**, in which **King Dharma** was born. He was born on a heap of *mallige* flowers, piled up as high as a man's neck, and on a heap of *sampige* flowers, piled up as high as a man's middle. Seven years passed, and then a beard appeared on his face!

"Who can shave me?" asked king Dharma.

"On the other side of **Ejanagar**[10] on the *ghâts* there is a barber called **Binnadikara**," said his servants.

King Dharma sent a man to **Udda Bettu**, and made him bring some small palm leaves, and put some in the morning sun, and some in the evening sun. He then made him cut both the ends of the leaves, and ordered a man to write a letter to the barber:—

"You must start immediately without attending to your meal or dress."

Thus was the letter written. It was given to a messenger, to whom King Dharma paid a fee. The messenger left the palace of Kâñchikadanga, went to the barber, and gave him the letter. The barber started immediately. He opened his bag of razors, in which were a looking-glass and round scissors, and also a European razor. He kept these all in his bag, and followed the messenger. He came to the palace of Kâñchikadanga, where he saw King Dharma, who saluted him.

"It is well that you have come here. You had better attend to your duty, according to the custom of your caste," said King Dharma.

A European chair with four legs was placed in the middle of the floor. Two *jagana* lamps were placed on the left and right of it. One *sêr* of rice and a cocoanut were put on a plantain leaf. And then the ringing of a bell was heard, and a conch-shell was blown, and swishes were waved over the king, who sat on the chair in half-dress. Pearls were cast, and lamps

[9] [Part of the transliterated text has been lost and it ends abruptly here. — ED.]

[10] [For Bijanagar apparently. — ED.]

were waved before his face. Then the barber came up to King Dharma and shaved his face, and then shaved him from head to foot.

"What is the remedy for the sin of touching a barber?" asked the servants.

King Dharma replied:—"It is necessary to rub the body with oil and to wash it in water. I have constructed a tank for the purpose."

He made his servants bring a large pan and a thousand pots of cold water were poured into the pan. Then he made them warm the water with twelve bundles of fire-wood, and pour the thousand pots of warm water over his head, and afterwards a thousand pots of cold water.

"Whence are the silken cloths to be brought to wipe the water from your head?" asked the servants.

"A black silken cloth manufactured at **Kâvûr**, a white silken one made at **Bôḷûr**, a silken cloth called *sopu kambati*, a silken cloth made at **Îrawadûra**, a silken cloth of which one piece would stretch to three hundred *gâvudas*,[11] a silken one which can be soaked with a tear, and a silken cloth which can be hidden between the nail and the finger, are required," said the king.

All the silken cloths were brought and the king dried his head with them. Then he ordered his servants to dress him. Cloths kept in seven boxes were brought to him, and also jewels kept in seven boxes, and scents kept in bottles. King Dharma sat on a European chair and made his servants decorate him:—an ornament round his neck; a golden belt about his waist; pearl ear-rings in his ears; a ring with a pearl in it as bright as the sun, and a ring with a seal on his fingers; a second necklace round his neck; and a large golden ring on his arm. Thus was he adorned with jewels from head to foot.

Then **King Dharma said that he wanted to descend to the Tuḷu country and see the Tuḷu people**, and he asked his servants:—"Which is the way down the *ghâṭs*?"

He started to go down, but on his way he was opposed by **Sômanâtha** at **Baṅgadi** and by **(the god) Chikkarâya** at **Shirari**.

It happened that a dealer in cattle, a **Seṭṭigâre**, with a herd of four thousand oxen was descending from the forest of **Gaṇḍapeṇḍâra**. King Dharma mounted **an ox named Channamaṅgala Chaluvarâya, belonging to the Thettegara.** This he did by magic and the herd descended by the way of the temple at **Subrâmanya.**

The god Subrâya saw this and asked his attendants:—"Who are the people coming down here, where there are no *dêwas*, nor gods, nor *nâgas*, nor Bramhâ (Bhûtas) superior to myself?"

He made his servants build a fort of shields round his temple, and place crossed swords upon it. King Dharma broke them into pieces, came up to Subrâya's temple, and entered it. He circumambulated the god thrice, witnessed for five days a feast of the god, and then he mounted his ox and passed by the river **Kumara and the Matsyatîrtha.** He passed by **Iṅglika Fort** and the **Kêpâḍi Ghâṭ** and arrived at **Iṭṭal**,[12] where he saw the god **Pañchaliṅga.**

That day the herd of four thousand oxen halted in a paddy field called **Bâkimâra in Ittal**, but next morning King Dharma and the herd left the place, and passed on by a place called **Bassavaguḍi.** He then passed by the temples **at Kadambi and Sâlêtûra**, and it was getting dark when he reached a banyan tree at the village **Muduṅgara.** Here he remained that night, and started early in the morning with the herd, and stopped near a well, called, after him, **Dharma's Well.**

The news became known to the **Poyyedâr of Kunnandûr.**

"**I have heard that in the reign of Akkâjî Mâmûjî**, our ancestors had elephants and horses; and now I shall be glad to possess an ox," said the Poyyedâr.

[11] One *gâvuda* = 12 miles.

[12] [Or Wiṭṭal.—ED.]

He started for the well, and, passing by his *bîḍu*, he ascended the hill **Paḍikâla**, and came to the plateau of Dharma's well, where he saw and examined the four thousand oxen. But he could not find one fit for him. Then he saw and examined the ox **Channamaṅguḷe Chaluvarâya**, upon which King Dharma was sitting, and bought it. He took it to a mango tree, where the ox was tied up, and then the Poyyedâr went down to a water-course and sat there to perform the ceremony of *japam*. On his return the ox that he tied up was missing, and he cried aloud that he had lost his ox. He then referred to his *jatakam*,[13] and found that it was the ox on which the **Bhûta Dharma Arasu**[14] had sat, and had concealed it.

Nambe, an attendant, who had followed the Poyyedâr, **became possessed by the Bhûta**, and came trembling and cried aloud "*kâjô.*"

He said to the Poyyedâr:—"You have bought the ox on which I sat, and now you cannot find it; but I shall cause it to be found. For this kindness, I want a *matham* in this country."

Thus spake the Bhûta through Nambe and then the ox, which had disappeared, appeared again before the Poyyedâr.

The Poyyedâr made his servants build a matham in Upper Kannandûr, and a feast was performed in honour of the Bhûta. And as the servant Nambe had become possessed of the Bhûta on the banks of a water-course **the Poyyedâr named the Bhûta, Toḍakinâra.**

Baṇṭs from three neighbouring villages came to see the Poyyedâr's fèstival, and while they were on the road a man became possessed by the Bhûta and called the Poyyedâr and said:—

"This is not a *matham* fit for me. People from three villages are collected here, and I want two separate *mathams*: one for your use, and one for the use of the people of the three villages. Whom can you induce to build them? Who will consent?"

The Poyyedâr and the people of the three villages thought for a while about building a second *matham*. There was a fit place in a plain called **Uḷkuñja**, and there a *matham* was built and a festival performed in the presence of the Poyyedâr and of the people of the three villages.[15]

Some years afterwards **Toḍakinâra**[16] ordered his attendants to be ready to make a march, as he wanted to bathe in the Western Ocean, and was accompanied by one **Ullatti of Ammanûr.**

She said to Toḍakinâra:—"If you are going to take a bath in the Ocean, I shall follow you."

When he heard this he ordered his servants to bring a palankin for Ullatti and seated her in it, while he mounted his ox Channamaṅgaḷe Chaluvarâya. That same night he and she, with all the servants — **Pilichavaṇḍi, Jumâdi, Durugalaya, Verkadi, Mitta Mugeraya, and others** — started from the temple, and arrived at **Ullal**, where they bathed in the Ocean.

After bathing they all went to **Uliya**, where there is a white *chapal* tree, and beneath this Ullatti's palankin was put down, and here it was that she asked Toḍakinâra for a *matham*, as that place is a cool one.

Toḍakinâra ordered the eight tenants of the land — oil-makers, Kônkanis, **Native Christians, and others — to build a matham there**, and they built one. A festival was performed **in honor of both Ullatti and Toḍakinâra** at this *matham*.

Toḍakinâra used to call her 'sister,' but the year after the festival he said to her:—"If we live together in one *matham*, the people may scoff, so you had better have this one to yourself, and I will make the eight tenants of the land build a separate one for me in the West."

He ordered them to build him another *matham*, and they willingly built one in the West.

Ever since, their festivals are performed in both places even to this day!

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13 Horoscope. 14 [*I. e.*, King Dharma. — ED.]

15 "Three villages" is the name of a place between the Verkaḍi temple and Ittal Mâgne.

16 [This part does not appear in Mr. Männer's version. — ED.]

MISCELLANEA.

SOME REMARKS ON THE KALYANI INSCRIPTIONS.

(1) Râmaññadêsa.

The Kingdom of Râmaññadêsa "comprised originally only the region between the Sittang river and the Salween;"[1] but in the 15th century A.D. it included the provinces of Kusimamaṇḍala (Bassein), Haṁsavatîmaṇḍala (Pegu), and Muttimamaṇḍala (Martaban): that is to say, it extended from the Arakan Yôma on the west to the Salween river on the east, and from Kûdut, now called Myânaung, on the north to Maulmain on the south.

The country stretching to the south as far as Tenasserim, in the Mergui district, had frequently been, in the previous century, the bone of contention between the Muns, or Talaings, and the Siamese, and was retained, or taken possession of, by either nation, according as either happened to be the victor. The following extract from Bowring's *Kingdom and People of Siam,* Vol. I. p. 43 shews that Martaban, Maulmain, Tavoy, and Tenasserim were subject to Siamese rule in the middle of the 14th century A. D. :—

"*Christian era,* 1350. King Uthong assumes the name Phra Ramathibodi; appoints his son Phra Ramesuén, King of Lŏphaburi. At that time, the following kingdoms were subject to the King of Siam :—(1) Mălaka; (2) Xava; (3) Tanaosi [Tenasserim]; (4) Năkhonsithămărăt [Ligor]; (5) Thăvai;[2] (6) Motamă [Martaban]; (7) Molămlóng [Maulmain]."

But the historical records of both countries, however, appear to be silent as to whether this tract of country was under Siamese or Talaing rule in the 15th century.

The appellation Râmañña, or Râmanya, apparently points to an Indian origin, as do those of Râmapura (Maulmain), of Râmmâvatî or Râmavatî (near Rangoon), and of Râmri, and seems to have been originated by colonists from India.

The country of Arramana, mentioned in the Sinhalese Chronicles, may be held to refer to Râmaññadêsa, rather than to Siam or Cambodia; but as the political ascendancy of these three countries often passed from one to the other prior to the 14th century, the appellation appears to have been loosely applied. The above identification is supported by the following extract from Forbes' *Legendary History of Burma and Arakan,* p. 20 :—

"In A. D. 746 Ponenareekaraza, who was on the throne, rebuilt the ancient town of Ramanago,[3] afterwards called Dagone.[4] The Talaing history says that this town was originally built by Arammanaraza,[5] and called after him Arammanamyo,[6] but in time the name became corrupted to Ramanagomyo."[6]

According to tradition, Thatôn was the original seat of the Talaing race in Indo-China, and was built in the 17th century B. C. This high antiquity claimed for the foundation of the city is, however, vitiated by the fact that no mention is made of it in the Kalyâṇî Inscriptions, which relate that Sôṇathêra and Uttarathêra landed at Gôḷamattikanagara (Ayetbèmà) in the 3rd century B. C.

Muttima (Martaban) and **Haṁsâvatî** (Pegu) were founded, I think, in the 6th century A. D. but the former was of not much importance till 1167 A. D., when it was made the seat of a provincial government by Narapatisîþû (Narapatijâyasûra). **Kusima** (Bassein) is mentioned in the Talaing histories as forming part of the kingdom of Pegu in the 7th century A. D.

(2) Râmâdhipati.

The latter half of the 15th century A. D. is a brilliant epoch in the history of Burmese literature. The profound peace, that was due to sheer exhaustion induced by foreign wars and internal dissensions, was eminently favourable to the cultivation of high literary culture. The frequent intercourse with Ceylon, and the liberality with which monastic institutions were supported by Burmese Kings in the previous centuries, had made their capital the seat of learning and a stronghold of Buddhism. The long subjection of Râmaññadêsa to Burmese rule from the 11th to the 13th centuries had caused all political, reli

[1] Forchhammer's *Notes on the Early History and Geography of British Burma, I. The Shwe Dagôn Pagoda,* page 3.

[2] Tavoy.

[3] Râmanagara.

[4] Now Rangoon.

[5] *Râzâ* is the corrupted form of *râjâ* in Talaing and Burmese.

[6] *Myô* is the Burmese equivalent for *nagara.* [I am inclined to think that Arramana came from Râmañña and not *vice versâ.* *Cf.* Ansiam and Asiou=Siam: Ancomorin =Comorin=Comar=Al-Qumâr=Khmer=Cambodia, etc. This An or Ar=(?) Arabic article *al* in such names. Such casual prefixes must always be looked out for in place-names, when found corrupted in foreign languages. *Cf.* Dâvâ for Ava, or correctly for 'of Ava,' in Nicolo Conti's *Travels*: Hakluyt Society's Ed. p. 11.—ED.]

gious, and intellectual life to centre at the Burmese capital (at that time Pagàn), as is always the case in the East, and had accustomed Talaing priests, like **Dhammavilâsa**, from the maritime provinces to repair to it for the completion of their education. Until Dhammachêtî came to the throne in 1469 A. D., the mental energies of the lower country appear to have been spent in squabbles and profitless religious controversies. Hence there were no great writers or renowned teachers in the Talaing Kingdom, at whose feet scholars could receive their instruction.

The literature cultivated at that period was not only that of Pâḷi and Sanskṛit, but also that of the Burmese. The exquisite, highly refined, and inimitable poetry of Silavaṁsa and Raṭṭhasâra, the great epic poets of Burma, who flourished in the latter half of the 15th century, and whose works are mentioned at page 66 of Forchhammer's *Jardine Prize Essay*, does not appear to corroborate that writer's statement made at page 28 of the same work:—"A critical study of the Burmese literature evolves the fact that the Burmese idiom reached the stage of a translatory language at the close of the 15th century, and that of an independent literary tongue not much more than a century ago." This learned scholar was apparently misled by the statement of Native writers, who, in their biographical notices of their literary countrymen, generally accord the first places to the two great poets named above. But the wealth of imagery and allusion, the pure diction, and the terse, logical, and masterly style of composition, evinced by the works referred to, afford strong and unassailable internal evidence as to the Burmese idiom having passed beyond the "stage of a translatory language at the close of the 15th century." Besides, the **Tet'nwègyaung Inscription at Pagàn**, dated 804 B. E. (1442 A. D.), that is to say, eleven years before the birth of Sîlavaṁsa, affords corroborative evidence of the high literary culture of the Burmese vernacular, in that a portion of it is written in faultless Burmese metre, which has served as the model of later writers. The list, mentioned in it, of works belonging to the Buddhist Canon, of commentaries and scholia, of medical, astrological, grammatical, and **poetical works translated from Sanskṛit,** shews also the keen literary activity of the Burmans of that period. The divergence between the actual fact and the statements of local writers may be reconciled by ascribing the cause to the unreliable historical memory of the Burmese people, the direct outcome of the ruthless and vandalic wars, to which their country was spasmodically subjected.

In common with other Talaing priests of the period, **Râmâdhipati, whose priestly name was Dhammadhara,** accompanied by his fellow-pupil, **Dhammañâṇa,** who was subsequently known as **Dhammapâla,** proceeded to Avà in his sixteenth year (1422 A. D.) and received his instruction under **Âriyadhajathêra,** a learned priest of Sagaing.

A few years previous to this, consequent on the death of the great **Talaing** monarch, **Yâzâdarit (Râjâdhirâjâ),** the kingdom of Pegu had been convulsed by civil wars. The succession of Byinnyà Dhammarâjâ, the eldest son of the deceased king, was disputed by his younger brothers, Byinnyàyàn and Byinnyàkaing, who sought the assistance of **Dìhàbû (Sîhasûra), King of Ava.** It was during the second expedition of this Burmese King that Byinnyàyàn gave his sister, Shin Sòbû, in marriage to him, as a pledge of his good faith. **Shin Sòbû, who was a widow and mother of three children,**[7] **accompanied her husband to Avà (1425 A. D.),** and there made the acquaintance of Dhammadhara and Dhammañâṇa, whose intelligence and nationality induced her to become their supporter. After the death of Dìhàbû, Shin Sòbû was not satisfied with her life in the palace. The intrigues, political convulsions, and rapid changes of kings, brought about through the instrumentality of her rival, Sòbumè, appear to have bewildered her and made her feel that her position was precarious in the extreme. She, therefore, longed to be once more in her native land, and secured the assistance of the two Talaing priests, Dhammadhara and Dhammañâṇa, in the prosecution of her object. Amidst much danger and under great difficulties, the party left Avà in a country boat and arrived safely at Pegu in 1429 A. D., where Byinnyàyàn had become king under the title of Byinnyàyànk'aik. **Twenty-six years later, in the absence of male heirs of Yâzâdarit, Shin Sòbû became sovereign of Pegu by popular choice under the title of** Byinnyà T'ò.

Dhammadhara and Dhammañâṇa were well provided for, in token of the Queen's appreciation and gratitude for the services rendered by them during her flight to Pegu. Subsequently the former, who was a native of Martaban, of obscure parentage, and was then **known as the Lêkpyingyaung-pôngyi, but who had unfrocked**

[7] A son and two daughters. The son, Byinnyà Tarû, succeeded his uncle and adoptive father, Byinnyàyànk'aik, in 1446 A. D. The elder daughter was married to Byinnyàên, Governor of Bassein, and the younger to Dhammachêtî.

himself at her request, was appointed to be the Heir Apparent, while the latter was put in prison for harbouring evil designs against his sovereign.

In her choice of a successor, and in excluding her own blood relations from the succession, Shin Sôbû was guided by her knowledge of human nature, and actuated by a noble desire to secure to the Kingdom of Râmaññadêsa firm and wise administration under an able and competent ruler; and Dhammadhara was eminently qualified for the task.

The only opposition against which the Heir Apparent had to contend was that of Byinnâên, Governor of Bassein, a son-in-law of Shin Sôbû. He headed a rebellion, but was shortly after slain in battle.

Shin Sôbû entrusted Dhammadhara with the affairs of the government, while she retired to Dagôn (Rangoon) to pass her remaining days in doing religious works and in peaceful contemplation. The site of her residence is still known to this day as Shin Sôbûmyô$_o$. She died in 1469 A. D., at the age of 76, and was succeeded by Dhammadhara, who had married her younger daughter. The Talaing clergy and nobility conferred the title of Dhammachêtî on the new King because of his wide and varied learning and of his thorough knowledge of the Buddhist scriptures. He subsequently assumed the titles of Râmâdhipati, S'inbyûyin (Sêtagajapati) and Siripavaramahâdhammarâjâdhirâjâ. He was, however, best known among the people of Burma as Dhammachêtî.

Dhammachêtî held friendly intercourse with the rulers of Ceylon, Northern India, Siam, and Cambodia. He sent two religious missions; one to Buddha Gayâ in 1472 A. D., to report on the sacred Buddhistic buildings commemorative of the life of its founder; and the other to Ceylon, in 1475 A. D., to establish beyond doubt the apostolical succession of the priests of Râmaññadêsa, by deputing twenty-two *thêras* and as many younger priests to receive their *upasampadâ* ordination at the hands of the Mahâvihâra sect founded by Mahindamahâthêra in the 3rd century B. C. The result of the first mission was the construction at Pegu of religious edifices in imitation of those at Buddha Gayâ, and that of the second was the consecration of the Kalyânî-simâ by the priests, who had returned from Ceylon.

Dhammachêtî fully justified the choice of his mother-in-law, and "though brought up from early youth in the seclusion of a Buddhist monastery until he was more than 40 years of age,"[8] proved to be a wise, able, and beneficent ruler. He was a man of great energy and capacity, and throughout his long reign of thirty years, consolidated his power and extended the boundaries of his Kingdom eastward without any bloodshed. Moreover, he tried his best to secure the welfare and prosperity of his people and to recoup the strength and resources of the country, which had well-nigh been exhausted during the wars with Burma and the rebellions headed by Talaing princes. He was a good judge and legislator. A compilation of his decisions is extant, and the Dhammachêtî-dhammasattham was compiled under his direction. He died in 1492 A. D., at the ripe age of 86. The funeral honours of a *chakravartin* or universal monarch paid to him after his death, and the building of a pagoda over his bones, bear testimony to the great esteem, love, and admiration with which he was regarded by his subjects.

The dynasty, to which Dhammachêtî may be said to belong, is that founded by Wâgarû, a Talaing adventurer from Siam, who, during the dismemberment of the Burmese Empire, consequent on a Chinese invasion near the close of the 13th century A. D., seized the government of Martaban, and defeated the Burmese forces sent against him. This dynasty gradually increased in importance till its highest pitch of power was reached under Yâzâdarit (1385-1423 A. D.). Previous to Wâgarû's rebellion, the maritime provinces had been under Burmese rule since the conquest of Thatôn by Anôrat'azô in the 11th century A. D.

(3) Dhammâsôkarâjâ.

It is necessary, I think, to explain the attitude of native Burmese scholars towards the great Buddhist reformer, Asôka.

The following is the list, according to the *Mahâvaṁsa*, of the countries to which missionaries were sent at the conclusion of the Third Buddhist Council:—

Name of country.	*Name of missionary sent.*
(1) Kasmîra-Gandhâra..	Majjhantikathêra.
(2) Mahîsamaṇḍala	Mahâdêvathêra.
(3) Vanavâsi	Rakkhitathêra.
(4) Aparântaka	Yôna-Dhammarakkitathêra.

[8] Phâyre's *History of Burma*, p. 85. As a matter of fact, Dhammachêtî was 56 years old when he became Regent, and 63 when he became King. During the interval of seven years, he ruled Râmaññadêsa in the name of Shin Sôbû, who had retired to Dagôn (Rangoon).

(5) Mahâraṭṭha............ Mahâdhammarakkhitathêra.
(6) Yôna.................... Mahârakkhitathêra.
(7) Himavanta............ Majjhimathêra.
(8) Suvaṇṇabhûmi ... Sôṇathêra and Uttarathêra.
(9) Laṅkâdîpa[9] .... Mahâmahindathêra.

The following extract from *The Cave Temples of India* by Fergusson and Burgess, p. 17, will be of value here, as indicating the identification of the countries named in the above list:

"After a great Council of the Buddhist Priesthood, held in the 17th year of his (Asôka's) reign, 246 B. C., missionaries were sent out to propagate the religion in the ten following countries, whose position we are able, even now, to ascertain with very tolerable precision from their existing denominations:—

(1) Kasmîra;
(2) Gandhâra (or Kandahâr);
(3) Mahîsamaṇḍala (or Maisûr);
(4) Vanavâsî (in Kanara);
(5) Aparântaka—'the Western Country,' or the Konkaṇ,—the missionary being Yavana-Dharmarakshita;—the prefix Yavana apparently indicative of his being a Greek, or foreigner at least;
(6) Mahâraṭṭha (or the Dakhan);
(7) The Yavana country (perhaps Baktria);
(8) Himâvanta (or Nêpâl);
(9) Suvarṇabhûmi (or Burma); and
(10) Ceylon.

"His own son, Mahêndra, and daughter, Saṅghamitrâ, were sent with the mission to Ceylon, taking with them a graft of the Bôdhi tree at Buddha Gayâ, under which Buddha was supposed to have attained the supreme knowledge."

The native writers of Burma, however, both lay and clerical, aver with great seriousness that the Aparântaka referred to is Burma Proper, which comprisès the upper valley of the Irrawaddy, **that Yôna is the Shân country about Chiengmai** (Zimmè), that the scenes of the *Milinda Pañhâ* were laid in that State, and that, with the exception of **Himâvanta, which, they say, comprises five countries subject to China,** of Suvaṇṇabhûmi and Laṅkâdîpa, the remaining countries mentioned are situated in India. Such flagrantly erroneous identification of classical names has arisen from the national arrogance of **the Burmans,** who, after their conquest of the Talaing kingdoms on the sea-board, proceeded to **invent new stories and new classical names,** so that they might not be outdone by the Talaings, who, according to their own history and traditions, received the Buddhist religion direct from missionaries from India. **The right bank of the Irrawaddy river near Pagàn was accordingly re-named Sunâparanta, and was identified with the Aparântaka mentioned in the above list.** This is but one of the many instances of the 'lying gabble.' as Cunningham aptly terms it, of the native historians, and indicates the extreme care and judicious discrimination that is required in utilizing their writings in the compilation of a history of their country.

A similar idiosyncrasy on the part of Cambodian writers was noticed by Mouhot, who says in his *Travels in the Central Parts of Indo-China* (Vol. II. pp. 8 and 9): "All traditions being lost, the natives invent new ones, according to the measure of their capacity."

Taw Sein-Ko.

TRADITIONAL MIGRATION OF THE SANTAL TRIBES.

I am greatly interested in the paper by Dr. Waddell on "The Traditional Migrations of the Santâl Tribe" which appeared *ante*, Vol. XXII. p. 294 ff.

I have, during the past few years, been trying to **trace the Santâls,** by means of their traditions, from the north-east of India along the valley of the Gaṅges to Chuṭiâ Nâgpur, and I am delighted to find that Dr. Waddell has turned his attention with the same object in the same direction.

The Kolarian tribes, of which the Santâls are one, would seem to be splinters broken from a larger mass, who, at different periods, have sought refuge in the hilly fastnesses of Chuṭiâ Nâgpur. The time elapsing between each successive inroad of fugitives must have been sufficiently protracted to admit of the feeling of kinship being obliterated, otherwise they would have re-united into a compact people.

Efforts have been made to identify the countries, rivers, forts, etc., mentioned in the traditions of the Santâls with those of similar names in **Chuṭiâ Nâgpur.** Localities have in many instances been found bearing traditional names, and the inference has been drawn that it was here that the traditions of the Santâls took their rise, and that their institutions were formed. But only a slight knowledge of these traditions is necessary to shew that they belong to a much more remote

[9] It is one of the objects of the Kalyâṇî Inscriptions to record that the forms of the Buddhist Religion prevailing in Burma and Ceylon were ultimately blended.

period than the location of the Santâls in Chuṭiâ Nâgpur, and to countries separated from it by many hundreds of miles.

The theory which seems to me capable of proof is that the **Santâls**, or rather the people of whom they are a portion, occupied the country on both sides of the **Ganges**, but more especially that in the north. Starting from the north-east they gradually worked their way up the valley of the Ganges, till we find them in the neighbourhood of Benares with their head-quarters near Mirzâpur. Here the main body, which had kept the northern bank of the river, crossed and, heading southwards, came to the Vindhyâ hills. This obstruction deflected them to the left, and they at length found themselves on the table-land of Chuṭiâ Nâgpur. Examining this theory, we find their supposed route strewed with relics and reminiscences of their occupation. The traditions, in which an account of these migrations is preserved, are not the exclusive property of the Santâls, but are also claimed more or less fully by the other Kolarian tribes.

Like many other emigrants, the Santâls carried with them to their new homes cherished memories of the land from which they had been driven, and, as in America, Canada, Australia and elsewhere we come across such familiar names as London, York, Perth, Melbourne, etc., so also the Santâls transplanted many names from the banks of the Ganges to the country of their adoption, Chuṭiâ Nâgpur. We know the Romans were at Chester and Lancaster, and in like manner we can say that the Santâls lived in Chhâî, Champâ, Bêlâwâ and Kairâ, although none are to be found there at the present day.

Dr. Waddell's identification of Chhaî, Champâ and Khairâgaṛh is, I consider, correct, but I think he is at fault when he seeks to identify **Hihihṛi Pipihri** with a pre-Aryan settlement on the south bank of the Ganges near Chunâr called Pîprî, and the Ahîrî country. Hihihri Pipihri would require too much twisting to fit into Ahîri and Pîprî.

Dr. Waddell's attempt to identify "their deified mountain **Marang Buru**, or the Great Hill" with **Parasnâth** is evidently a mistake. The Santâls have not, and never had, a sacred or deified mountain. The **Marang Buru** of their traditions is the Great Spirit, or the chief object of worship, Buru in old Santâlî having always this meaning. It is equivalent to Bonga in modern Santâlî. *Buru*, as meaning an object of worship, is retained to this day in many of the formulas of worship, and with objects connected therewith. Very often we find the two terms joined together, the more recent being required to explain the older, as Marang Buru Bonga. *Buru* in modern Santâlî means a mountain, and Marang Buru has been erroneously translated by all previous writers as the Great Mountain.

As another instance of the same kind I may mention that of the **Damuda River**, which by the by is not the name by which the Santâls know it, as Dr. Waddell in his note *ante*, Vol. XXII. page 295, seems to suggest. In old Santâlî the word for 'river' was *nai*. In their traditions they speak of the Gang-nai, the Sang-nai, the Cham-nai, etc. In modern Santâlî the word for 'river' is *gaḍa*, but the old name still adheres to the Damuda, with this exception that it has now become a proper name, the Damuda being called the Nai, and sometimes the Nai-gaḍa. I am also extremely doubtful as to the accuracy of Dr. Waddell's etymology of Damuda.

Among the names found in the Santâl traditions, which are easy of identification, I may mention the following rivers, *viz.*, Gang-nai, the Ganges, Jom-nai, the Jumnâ, Sang-nai, the Son, and Cham-nai, an affluent of the Manaurâ, which flows for a considerable distance through the centre of the Khamariâ Division.

Antarbêda is given in the *Suvrôdaya* as one of the provinces in the ancient Madhyâdêśa.

Bêlâwâ is mentioned by Montgomery Martin in his work on the *History of Eastern India*, but I am unable at present to locate it more accurately.

Kêrâ *pargaṇa* in Shâhâbâd is the Kairâ of the Santâl traditions.

Ambêr is the old town near Jaipur.

Chitrabûṭâ is the Santâl Chitrahatup.

Many more instances, in which identification is possible, might be given, but I refrain from trespassing further on your space.

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A TABLE OF INTERCALARY AND EXPUNGED MONTHS OF THE HINDU CALENDAR.

The accompanying Table, on pages 105 to 108, of **Intercalary and Expunged Months of the Hindu Calendar**, for the **expired Saka years 1 to 2105**, is a reproduction of a Table, No. 3, by the late Prof Keru Lakshman Chhatre, published in Vol. I. No. 12 (for March, 1851), pages 348-53, of a Marâṭhî monthly magazine called *Jñânaprasâraka*. The Table is likely to be of use in verifying ancient Hindu dates.

J. F. Fleet.

Intercalary Months, and the Śaka Years (expired) of their Occurrence.														Intercalary and Expunged Months, and the Śaka Years (expired) of their Occurrence.			
														Intercalary.		Expunged.	
Śrâv.	1	Jyê.	4	Chai.	7	Śrâv.	9	Âshâ.	12	Vai.	15	Bhâ.	17				
,,	20	,,	23	,,	26	,,	28	,,	31	,,	34	,,	36				
,,	39	,,	42	,,	45	,,	47	,,	50	,,	53	,,	55	Âśvi. ...	44	Kârt. ...	44
,,	58	,,	61	,,	64	,,	66	Jyê.	69	,,	72	,,	74	,, ...	63	Mârg. ...	63
Âshâ.	77	,,	80	Âśvi.	82	,,	85	,,	88	,,	91	,,	93				
,,	96	,,	99	,,	101	,,	104	,,	107	,,	110	,,	112				
,,	115	,,	118	,,	120	,,	123	,,	126	Chai.	129	Śrâv.	131				
,,	134	,,	137	,,	139	,,	142	,,	145	,,	148	,,	150				
,,	153	Vai.	156	Bhâ.	158	,,	161	,,	164	,,	167	,,	169				
,,	172	,,	175	,,	177	,,	180	,,	183	,,	186	,,	188	Kârt. ...	185	Kârt. ...	185
,,	191	,,	194	,,	196	,,	199	,,	202	,,	205	,,	207	Âśvi. ...	204	Mârg. ...	204
Jyê.	210	,,	213	,,	215	Âshâ.	218	,,	221	Âśvi.	223	,,	226				
,,	229	,,	232	,,	234	,,	237	,,	240	,,	242	,,	245				
,,	248	,,	251	,,	253	,,	256	,,	259	,,	261	,,	264				
,,	267	Chai.	270	Śrâv.	272	,,	275	,,	278	,,	280	Âshâ.	283				
,,	286	Phâl.	288	,,	291	,,	294	Vai.	297	Bhâ.	299	,,	302				
,,	305	,,	307	,,	310	,,	313	,,	316	,,	318	,,	321				
,,	324	Chai.	327	,,	329	,,	332	,,	335	,,	337	,,	340	Kârt. ...	326	Kârt. ...	326
,,	343	,,	346	,,	348	Jyê.	351	,,	354	,,	356	,,	359	Âśvi. ...	345	Mârg. ...	345
,,	362	Bhâ.	364	,,	367	,,	370	,,	373	,,	375	,,	378				
,,	381	,,	383	,,	386	,,	389	,,	392	,,	394	,,	397	Kârt. ...	391	Kârt. ...	391
,,	400	Âśvi.	402	,,	405	,,	408	Chai.	411	,,	413	,,	416	,, ...	410	Mârg. ...	410
,,	419	,,	421	Âshâ.	424	,,	427	Phâl.	429	Śrâv.	432	,,	435	,, ...	429	Paush. ...	429
Vai.	438	Bhâ.	440	,,	443	,,	446	,,	448	,,	451	,,	454	,, ...	448	Mârg. ...	448
,,	457	,,	459	,,	462	,,	465	,,	467	,,	470	,,	473	,, ...	467	,, ...	467
,,	476	,,	478	,,	481	,,	484	Âśvi.	486	,,	489	Jyê.	492	Phâl. ...	486	Paush. ...	486
,,	495	,,	497	,,	500	Vai.	503	Bhâ.	505	,,	508	,,	511				
,,	514	,,	516	,,	519	,,	522	,,	524	,,	527	,,	530				

Intercalary Months, and the Śaka Years (expired) of their Occurrence.							Intercalary and Expunged Months, and the Śaka Years (expired) of their Occurrence. — Intercalary.	Expunged.
Vai. ... 533	Bhâ. ... 535	Âshâ. ... 538	Vai. ... 541	Bhâ. ... 543	Srâv. ... 546	Jyê. ... 549	Kârt. 532	Kârt. 532
Chai. ... 552	„ ... 554	„ ... 557	„ ... 560	„ ... 562	Âshâ. ... 565	„ ... 568	„ 551	Paush. 551
Kârt. ... 570	Srâv. ... 573	„ ... 576	„ ... 579	„ ... 581	„ ... 584	„ ... 587		
„ ... 589	„ ... 592	„ ... 595	Chai. ... 598	„ ... 600	„ ... 603	„ ... 606		
Âśvi ... 608	„ ... 611	„ ... 614	„ ... 617	„ ... 619	„ ... 622	„ ... 625		
„ ... 627	„ ... 630	Jyê. ... 633	„ ... 636	Srâv. ... 638	„ ... 641	Vai. ... 644		
Bhâ. ... 646	„ ... 649	„ ... 652	„ ... 655	„ ... 657	„ ... 660	„ ... 663		
„ ... 665	„ ... 668	„ ... 671	„ ... 674	„ ... 676	„ ... 679	„ ... 682	Kârt. 673	Kârt. 673
„ ... 684	„ ... 687	„ ... 690	„ ... 693	„ ... 695	„ ... 698	„ ... 701	Âśvi. 692	Mârg. 692
„ ... 703	Âshâ. ... 706	„ ... 709	Âśvi. ... 711	„ ... 714	„ ... 717	„ ... 720		
„ ... 722	„ ... 725	„ ... 728	„ ... 730	„ ... 733	„ ... 736	„ ... 739		
„ ... 741	„ ... 744	„ ... 747	„ ... 749	„ ... 752	„ ... 755	Chai. ... 758		
Srâv. ... 760	„ ... 763	„ ... 766	„ ... 768	„ ... 771	„ ... 774	„ ... 777		
„ ... 779	„ ... 782	Vai. ... 785	Bhâ. ... 787	„ ... 790	Jyê. ... 793	„ ... 796		
„ ... 798	„ ... 801	„ ... 804	„ ... 806	„ ... 809	„ ... 812	„ ... 815	Kârt. 814	Kârt. 814
„ ... 817	„ ... 820	„ ... 823	„ ... 825	„ ... 828	„ ... 831	„ ... 834	Âśvi. 833	Mârg 833
„ ... 836	„ ... 839	„ ... 842	„ ... 844	Âshâ. ... 847	„ ... 850	Âśvi. ... 852		
„ ... 855	„ ... 858	„ ... 861	„ ... 863	„ ... 866	„ ... 869	„ ... 871		
„ ... 874	Jyê. ... 877	„ ... 880	„ ... 882	„ ... 885	„ ... 888	„ ... 890		
„ ... 893	„ ... 896	Chai. ... 899	„ ... 901	„ ... 904	„ ... 907	„ ... 909		
„ ... 912	„ ... 915	„ ... 918	Srâv. ... 920	„ ... 923	Vai. ... 926	Bhâ. ... 928		
„ ... 931	„ ... 934	„ ... 937	„ ... 939	„ ... 942	„ ... 945	„ ... 947		
„ ... 950	„ ... 953	„ ... 956	„ ... 958	„ ... 961	„ ... 964	„ ... 966		
„ ... 969	„ ... 972	„ ... 975	„ ... 977	Jyê. ... 980	„ ... 983	„ ... 985	Âśvi. 974	Mârg. 974
Âshâ. ... 988	„ ... 991	Âśvi. ... 993	„ ... 996	„ ... 999	„ ... 1002	„ ... 1004		
„ ... 1007	„ ... 1010	„ ... 1012	„ ... 1015	„ ... 1018	„ ... 1021	„ ... 1023		
„ ... 1026	„ ... 1029	„ ... 1031	„ ... 1034	„ ... 1037	Chai. ... 1040	„ ... 1042		
„ ... 1045	„ ... 1048	„ ... 1050	Âshâ. ... 1053	„ ... 1056	„ ... 1059	Srâv. ... 1061		

Intercalary Months, and the Śaka Years (expired) of their Occurrence.							Intercalary and Expunged Months, and the Śaka Years (expired) of their Occurrence.	
							Intercalary.	Expunged.
Âshâ. ... 1064	Vai. ... 1067	Bhâ. ... 1069	Âshâ. ... 1072	Jyê. ... 1075	Chai. ... 1078	Srâv. ... 1080		
„ ... 1083	„ ... 1086	„ ... 1088	Śrâv. ... 1091	„ ... 1094	„ ... 1097	„ ... 1099		
„ ... 1102	„ ... 1105	„ ... 1107	„ ... 1110	„ ... 1113	„ ... 1116	„ ... 1118	Âśvi. 1115	Mârg 1115
Jyê. ... 1121	„ ... 1124	„ ... 1126	Âshâ. ... 1129	„ ... 1132	Âśvi. ... 1134	„ ... 1137		
„ ... 1140	„ ... 1143	„ ... 1145	„ ... 1148	„ ... 1151	„ ... 1153	„ ... 1156		
„ ... 1159	„ ... 1162	„ ... 1164	„ ... 1167	„ ... 1170	„ ... 1172	„ ... 1175		
„ ... 1178	Chai. ... 1181	„ ... 1183	„ ... 1186	„ ... 1189	„ ... 1191	Âshâ. ... 1194	Mârg.... ... 1180	Mârg 1180
„ ... 1197	Phâl. ... 1199	Srâv. ... 1202	„ ... 1205	Vai. ... 1208	Bhâ. ... 1210	„ ... 1213	„ 1199	Paush.... ... 1199
„ ... 1216	„ ... 1218	„ ... 1221	„ ... 1224	„ ... 1227	„ ... 1229	„ ... 1232	„ 1218	Mârg. 1218
„ ... 1235	„ ... 1237	„ ... 1240	„ ... 1243	„ ... 1246	„ ... 1248	„ ... 1251	„ 1237	„ 1237
„ ... 1254	Âśvi. ... 1256	„ ... 1259	„ ... 1262	„ ... 1265	„ ... 1267	„ ... 1270	Phâl. 1256	„ 1256
Vai. ... 1273	Bhâ. ... 1275	„ ... 1278	Jyê. ... 1281	„ ... 1284	„ ... 1286	„ ... 1289		
„ ... 1292	„ ... 1294	„ ... 1297	„ ... 1300	„ ... 1303	„ ... 1305	„ ... 1308	Kârt 1302	Kârt. 1302
Jyê. ... 1311	„ ... 1313	„ ... 1316	„ ... 1319	Chai. ... 1322	„ ... 1324	„ ... 1327	„ 1321	Mârg 1321
Vai. ... 1330	„ ... 1332	Âshâ. ... 1335	„ ... 1338	Kârt. ... 1340	Srâv. ... 1343	„ ... 1346		
„ ... 1349	„ ... 1351	„ ... 1354	„ ... 1357	„ ... 1359	„ ... 1362	„ ... 1365		
„ ... 1368	„ ... 1370	„ ... 1373	„ ... 1376	„ ... 1378	„ ... 1381	„ ... 1384		
Chai ... 1387	„ ... 1389	„ ... 1392	„ ... 1395	Âśvi. ... 1397	„ ... 1400	„ ... 1403		
„ ... 1406	Śrâv, ... 1408	„ ... 1411	Vai. ... 1414	Bhâ. ... 1416	„ ... 1419	Jyê. ... 1422		
„ ... 1425	„ ... 1427	„ ... 1430	„ ... 1433	„ ... 1435	„ ... 1438	„ ... 1441		
Vai. ... 1444	Bhâ. ... 1446	„ ... 1449	„ ... 1452	„ ... 1454	„ ... 1457	„ ... 1460	Kârt 1443	Kârt. 1443
Chai. ... 1463	Srâv. ... 1465	„ ... 1468	„ ... 1471	„ ... 1473	Âshâ. ... 1476	„ ... 1479	Âśvi. 1462	Paush.... ... 1462
Âśvi. ... 1481	„ ... 1484	„ ... 1487	„ ... 1490	„ ... 1492	„ ... 1495	„ ... 1498		
„ ... 1500	„ ... 1503	„ ... 1506	„ ... 1509	„ ... 1511	„ ... 1514	„ ... 1517		
„ ... 1519	„ ... 1522	„ ... 1525	Chai. ... 1528	„ ... 1530	„ ... 1533	„ ... 1536		
„ ... 1538	„ ... 1541	„ ... 1544	„ ... 1547	Śrâv. ... 1549	„ ... 1552	Vai. ... 1555		
Bhâ. ... 1557	„ ... 1560	Jyê. ... 1563	„ ... 1566	„ ... 1568	„ ... 1571	„ ... 1574		
„ ... 1576	„ ... 1579	„ ... 1582	„ ... 1585	„ ... 1587	„ ... 1590	„ ... 1593		

Intercalary Months, and the Śaka Years (expired) of their Occurrence.							Intercalary and Expunged Months, and the Śaka Years (expired) of their Occurrence.	
							Intercalary.	Expunged.
Bhâ. ... 1595	Śrâv. ... 1598	Jyê. ... 1601	Chai. ... 1604	Śrâv. ... 1606	Âshâ. ... 1609	Vai. ... 1612	Âśvi. 1603	Mârg. 1603
,, ... 1614	Âshâ. ... 1617	,, ... 1620	Âśvi. ... 1622	,, ... 1625	Jyê. ... 1628	,, ... 1631		
,, ... 1633	,, ... 1636	,, ... 1639	,, ... 1641	,, ... 1644	Âshâ. ... 1647	,, ... 1650		
,, ... 1652	,, ... 1655	,, ... 1658	,, ... 1660	,, ... 1663	,, ... 1666	Chai. ... 1669		
,, ... 1671	,, ... 1674	,, ... 1677	,, ... 1679	,, ... 1682	Jyê. ... 1685	,, ... 1688		
Śrâv. ... 1690	,, ... 1693	Vai. ... 1696	Bhâ. ... 1698	,, ... 1701	,, ... 1704	,, ... 1707		
,, ... 1709	,, ... 1712	,, ... 1715	,, ... 1717	,, ... 1720	,, ... 1723	,, ... 1726		
,, ... 1728	,, ... 1731	,, ... 1734	,, ... 1736	,, ... 1739	,, ... 1742	,, ... 1745	Âśvi. 1744	Mârg. 1744
,, ... 1747	,, ... 1750	,, ... 1753	,, ... 1755	Âshâ. ... 1758	,, ... 1761	Âśvi. ... 1763		
,, ... 1766	Jyê. ... 1769	,, ... 1772	,, ... 1774	,, ... 1777	,, ... 1780	,, ... 1782		
,, ... 1785	,, ... 1788	,, ... 1791	,, ... 1793	,, ... 1796	,, ... 1799	,, ... 1801		
,, ... 1804	,, ... 1807	Chai. ... 1810	,, ... 1812	,, ... 1815	,, ... 1818	,, ... 1820		
,, ... 1823	,, ... 1826	,, ... 1829	Śrâv. ... 1831	,, ... 1834	Vai. ... 1837	Bhâ. ... 1839		
,, ... 1842	,, ... 1845	,, ... 1848	,, ... 1850	,, ... 1853	,, ... 1856	,, ... 1858		
,, ... 1861	,, ... 1864	,, ... 1867	,, ... 1869	,, ... 1872	,, ... 1875	,, ... 1877		
,, ... 1830	,, ... 1883	,, ... 1886	,, ... 1888	,, ... 1891	,, ... 1894	,, ... 1896	Âśvi. 1885	Mârg. 1885
Âshâ. ... 1899	,, ... 1902	Âśvi. ... 1904	,, ... 1907	Jyê. ... 1910	,, ... 1913	,, ... 1915	Phâl. 1904	Paush. 1904
,, ... 1918	,, ... 1921	,, ... 1923	,, ... 1926	,, ... 1929	,, ... 1932	,, ... 1934		
,, ... 1937	,, ... 1940	,, ... 1942	,, ... 1945	,, ... 1948	Chai. ... 1951	,, ... 1953	Kârt. 1950	Mârg. 1950
,, ... 1956	,, ... 1959	,, ... 1961	Âshâ. ... 1964	,, ... 1967	Phâl. ... 1969	Śrâv. ... 1972	Mârg. 1969	,, ... 1969
,, ... 1975	Vai. ... 1978	Bhâ. ... 1980	,, ... 1983	,, ... 1986	,, ... 1988	,, ... 1991		
,, ... 1994	,, ... 1997	,, ... 1999	,, ... 2002	,, ... 2005	,, ... 2007	,, ... 2010	Kârt. 2007	Kârt. 2007
,, ... 2013	,, ... 2016	,, ... 2018	,, ... 2021	,, ... 2024	Âśvi. ... 2026	,, ... 2029	Phâl. 2026	Mârg. 2026
,, ... 2032	,, ... 2035	,, ... 2037	,, ... 2040	Vai. ... 2043	Bhâ. ... 2045	,, ... 2048	,, ... 2045	Paush. 2045
Jyê. ... 2051	,, ... 2054	,, ... 2056	,, ... 2059	Jyê. ... 2062	,, ... 2064	,, ... 2067		
,, ... 2070	,, ... 2073	,, ... 2075	,, ... 2078	Vai. ... 2081	,, ... 2083	,, ... 2086		
,, ... 2089	Chai. ... 2092	,, ... 2094	,, ... 2097	,, ... 2100	,, ... 2102	Âshâ. ... 2105		

PROGRESS OF ORIENTAL SCHOLARSHIP, No. 23.

I.

In the *Journal Asiatique* for 1892 **M. Senart** continues his invaluable notes on Indian Epigraphy, with an account of the new version of the **Sahasrâm inscription discovered by Mr. Lewis Rice in Mysore.** This is a subject familiar to the readers of the *Indian Antiquary*, and I need not deal further with it here.

M. Léon Feer gives two articles[1] on *L'Enfer Indien*, commencing with an account of the **hells of Buddhism**, and concluding with one of those of **Brahmanism**. The articles are learned and complete, and should be read in conjunction with Dr. Waddell's account of the Buddhist Wheel of Life in *J. A. S. B.* for 1892, and with Bâbû Śarat Chandra Dâs's articles on Buddhist Hells in the journal of the recently started Buddhist Text Society. The Hell-nightmares of both these religions are compared by M. Feer with considerable acumen, and he shews that, though the Buddhists borrowed their system of infernal regions from the Brâhmans, they modified it, multiplied it, and added new Hells with all the luxuriance of Oriental fancy. From them again the Brâhmans borrowed some of their inventions, altering them to suit their own theories in doing so. The last article concludes with a useful **alphabetical list (with references) of all the Narakas**, the names of which the author has come across in his reading. There are **ninety** of them.

With these exceptions, the *Journal Asiatique* for 1892-93, so far as its numbers have come into my hands, is devoted to articles dealing with Arabic and Egyptian antiquities. A new series of volumes commenced in January 1893.

II.

Kaviratna Abhinâsa Chandra's editions of **Hindû medical works** receive deserved praise from M. Barth, in the *Revue Critique* for March 7th, 1892. The Kaviratna has not only published texts of the *Charaka* and *Suśruta Saṁhitâs* with commentaries, but is also issuing from the press a useful translation of the former. The *Bibliotheca Indica* translation of the *Suśruta* has been delayed by the unfortunate death of its translator, Dr. Uday Chand Dutt, and hence the translation of the *Charaka* is doubly welcome. It may be added that a similar work was also commenced in 1870 by Dr. Mahêndra Lâl Sircar, but it never got beyond the first fasciculus.

In the number for March the 31st, M. V. Henry gives a bright review of Prof. Lefmann's **life of Franz Bopp.** The learned Heidelberg professor, who is one of the few scholars who can claim a thorough working acquaintance with the whole of the *Mahâbhârata*, from cover to cover, and who is best known to the outside world by his well illustrated History of Ancient India, was excellently fitted for the task. As M. Henry truly remarks, the history of Bopp's life is more than a simple biography. It is the history of a new-born science, which, under his auspices, and along the path which he traced for it, has since progressed with grand strides. Bopp's name is so familiar to us, that to many it seems difficult to believe that he died so long ago as the year 1832, at the comparatively early age of forty-one. All his best work was done in the last ten years of his life, during which there appeared from his hand several Sanskrit texts, his Glossary, his Sanskrit Grammar, which is still one of the best in existence, and finally his immortal *Comparative Grammar of the Indo-European Languages*. Dr. Lefmann's biography is described as at once able and sympathetic.

The most important article in the *Revue Critique*, on Indian subjects, which has appeared in 1892, is M. Barth's review of **Sylvain Lévi's History of the Indian Theatre.** This brilliant Sanskritist has worthily taken up the mantle dropped by Wilson more than sixty years previously. It says much for the soundness of that great scholar's work that it sufficed students for so long. His *Hindû Theatrè* has ever since occupied a place of honour on the library shelves of every student of Indian literature. But even in this case knowledge has progressed, and the desire to know more has increased; so that Prof. Lévi's work will be found most acceptable by every student. M. Barth's thoughtful and learned review will command instant attention. It is more than a review, for it proposes explanations of doubtful points, as when, for instance, he suggests that the meaning of the difficult term *bhâratî vṛitti* is the style of the *bharata*, or actor, when he acts and speaks under his own name, as in the prologue, and, now and then, elsewhere in the drama, when he recites the *bharata kâvyas*. An idea of the comprehensive nature of M. Lévi's work may be gathered from a very brief statement of its contents. The first part deals with the theory of the drama according to the best Sanskrit historical writers, and the author does not fail to point out how their teaching has been

[1] In Vol. XX. and in Vol. I. of the new series.

minutely followed in all the plays, which have come down to us. This is followed by a history of Indian dramatic literature, in which M. Lévi has analysed in detail the principal dramatic works, and given more or less complete descriptions of other less important ones. The origins of the Hindû theatre are next discussed at length. They are traced down from the Vedic hymns to the masterpieces of Kâlidâsa and Bhavabhûti The line of descent is admittedly incomplete, for there is a gap, regarding which we know nothing, between the rudimentary indications, which we observe in early Indian Literature, and the sudden appearance of a complete dramatic theory and of complete dramas of high literary merit.

The history of **Sanskṛit drama,** is, in fact, that of classical Sanskrit itself. **It springs suddenly into existence,** like Minerva, armed at all points. The influence of Greek art has been credited with its invention, but this proposition is strenuously denied by M. Lévi, while his reviewer gives a more cautious verdict of "not proven." Most probably M. Lévi is right when he maintains that the true rudimentary attempts of the Indian drama were couched in the vernacular of the time, and that it was not till the vernacular authors had acquired a certain skill, that the dramatic form was adopted by Sanskṛit writers. I have more than once maintained myself, that **Sanskṛit, both as a language, and as a literature, owes more to the vernaculars of the centuries preceding our era, than most European scholars are at present willing to allow.** It is the same at the present day. Nothing good and original is done in the vernacular, that is not taken up and imitated in Sanskṛit by the *paṇḍits.* Just as the Prâkṛit *Saptaśatikâ* of Hâla may be claimed as the origin of erotic poetry in Sanskṛit (compare, for instance, the *śatakas* attributed to Bhartṛihari[2]); so in modern times, the incomparable *Sat'saî* of Bihârî Lâl, — seven centuries of Hindî stanzas possessing a grace and a mastery of language which Kâlidâsa would have envied, — did not fulfil its fate, till it had been translated into or imitated in very neat Sanskṛit verses, each with its appropriate commentary, by Paramânanda, in his *Sriṅgâra-saptaśatikâ* So it has been with others. No great Hindi author has been let alone by the *paṇḍits* of the 16th and 17th centuries. Even Tul'sî Dâs, the apostle of teaching in a language "understanded of the people," was not sacred to them, and I have heard (though I have never seen it) of an elaborate Sanskṛit commentary to Malik Muḥammad's vernacular *Padumâvati. Na hi pûtaṁ syâd gô-kshîraṁ śva-dṛitau dhṛitaṁ.* Sanskṛit used to illustrate the writings of a Muhammadan saint! It is sufficient to make the ashes of the old Sûtrakâras turn in their bed at the bottom of the Ganges.

M. Barth very properly draws attention to **the improbability of the Sanskṛit drama ever being a folk-drama,** — a popular exposition of a well-known subject which was attended for the sake of its literary graces. I do not believe that there ever was even a *paṇḍit* in India, who could have understood, say, the more difficult passages of Bhavabhuti at first hearing, without previous study. What then are we to say of the less lettered *dilettanti* Râjputs, and the herd of the common folk, who crowded these performances? Not one word could they have understood, any more than a fashionable audience at home now understands a Westminster play, or its prologue. The *paṇḍits* went to these representations because the language was *chamatkâra*, and the rest went there because the *paṇḍits* said it was *chamatkâra.* Nowhere is custom a greater force than in India. The old lady at home who loved her Bible, but felt most comfort from that blessed word "Mesopotamia," is a type of the Indian masses. Custom made the literary class, who had the ear of those who paid for the representation, write the dramas in Sanskṛit and in Prâkṛit. Custom made the spectators accept this bar to all intelligent appreciation of the piece, and their acceptance was aided by the pleasure derived from the acting, from the music, from the dresses, and so forth; just as the British multitude flocks to an Italian opera, not one word of which ninety per cent. of the audience can understand. India is unchanging, like the rest of the East, and what occurs now is not very different from what occurred fifteen hundred years ago. In Mithilâ, the *paṇḍits* still write *prakaraṇas,* which are represented on State occasion. These are composed according to the strict rules of Sanskṛit rhetoric. I have seen them in the actual process of formation A *paṇḍit* first writes his play throughout in Sanskṛit. Then he rubs up his memory of of Prâkrit Grammar, and transliterates such portions as are necessary into Prâkṛit. I have even had the honour to watch a well-known *paṇḍit* performing this process. Mr. Cowell would be interested to know that his edition of Vararuchi

[2] I may note in passing that Bhartṛihari's *śatakas* were the first Sanskṛit book translated into a European language. They were translated into Dutch c. 1640, by a Brâhman named Padmanâbha. See Constable's Edition of *Bernier's Travels,* p. 384, footnote.

was found very useful.[3] Then a few Maithilî songs, in the vernacular of the present day, are added, and the whole is complete. I remember seeing one called somebody or other's *karaṇa*. It was acted with *éclat*, but I do not believe that (beyond a few who had studied the *libretto* beforehand) the audience understood one word of what was said or sung by the actors. I sat next the *rájá*, at whose expense the whole thing was done. In one of the more florid songs in the vernacular (his own *mother*-tongue) which I had vainly followed, I asked him if he could understand it "Of course, not a word," said he. Yet he was himself a very fair Sanskrit scholar. If he could not understand what was being said, what could be expected of the crowd of *musáhibs*, who sat behind us, or of the peons and other hangers on, who crowded in in the rear? Yet all were pleased, and followed the *tamásha* with interest. They knew the story, and would have followed it equally well, if it had been dumb show. I do not believe that in Bhavabhûti's, or even Kâlidâsa's, time things were much different. As studies for the closet, their works were admired as *chamatkára*, and hence had a reputation which ensured a large audience (which could not, or could only partly, understand them) at their representations.

III.

In the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* for May-June, 1892, M. Barth contributes another important review: — this time of the first volume of **Prof. Max Müller's translation of the Hymns of the Ṛig Veda**, published in the Series of the *Sacred Books of the East*. The book contains the hymns to the Maruts, Rudra, Vâyu and Vâta, and a great portion of it is a revised edition of his well-known translation of the *Hymns to the Maruts*, published in 1869. Most of the article is devoted to criticism of the translation of isolated passages, but M. Barth also, while paying a just tribute to the learning and brilliant style of the Oxford Professor, gives expression to the regret, which more than one of us have felt, that advantage was not taken, in republishing the *Hymns to the Maruts*, to omit much surplusage, and to bring the commentary up to date.

The number of September-October, 1892, of the same *Revue*, contains the translation of a commentary on the first two verses of the **Dhammapâda**, containing the legends of Chakkhupâla and of Maddhakuṇḍali, by MM. de la Vallée-Poussin and Godefroy de Blonay. The first legend teaches how misfortune follows an evil act, as the cart-wheel follows the yoked ox, and the second that faith[4] in the Buddha, without works, is sufficient for salvation.

M. Darmesteter's French translation of the Zend Avesta, with notes, historical and philological, has been frequently reviewed since its appearance. The erudition and competence of the translator were certain to make this an epoch-founding work; but it has been more than this: for, as Prof. Max Muller observes, it has thrown a bomb-shell into the ranks of Zend scholars. Prof. Darmesteter advances a theory that the *Gáthas*, the oldest portion of the Zend scriptures, do not date further back than the first century after Christ. This is a bold statement to make regarding a book, which scholars had hitherto regarded as being more than two thousand years older than this; and the proposition has provoked, and will provoke, most lively discussion. Prof. Darmesteter has spared no pains to ensure the utmost possible correctness in his translation. Instead of following the not always very trustworthy guide of doubtful etymologies, he has visited India, and gone himself as near the fountain head as possible. With the assistance of learned Pârsîs, he has intimately studied the ritual of the religion, and has obtained access to manuscripts hitherto unpublished, which have thrown much light on disputed passages.

Another work which has been issued under the auspices of the Musée Guimet, but which can hardly be said to have excited much controversy; for all the reviews, which I have seen, have been unanimous in differing from the author, has been the first volume of **M. Paul Regnaud's** *Le Ṛigvêda et les Origines de la Mythologie Indo-Européenne*. I confess that I am compelled to side with the majority. I willingly admit the labour which the author has expended and the zeal and industry which he exhibits, but he goes too far when he claims to be a legitimate follower of Bergaigne. Bergaigne was a reasonable man. He sometimes, like every one, made a slip, but

[3] Mr. Cowell's *Vararuchi* was the one book which I could not keep during my service in Tirhût. No *paṇḍit* who saw it could resist the temptation of borrowing and forgetting to return it. I had to purchase copy after copy, till I resolved never to lend it to any one. Since then it has been safe, but I earned the title of *pustaka-piśácha!*

[4] In the January 1892 number of the same *Revue*, M. Paul Regnaud discusses the meaning of the Vedic word *śraddhâ*, and compares it with the later Sanskrit use of the word. Curiously enough he makes no allusion to the sharp distinction between *bhakti* and *śraddhâ*, which is insisted upon in the *Sâṇḍilya Sûtras*,— a modern work it is true, but undoubtedly containing much ancient tradition.

he never delivered himself over body and soul to a theory, and then endeavoured to make facts suit it. This is what M. Regnaud, with all his learning and all his ingenuity, has done. He has discovered what he calls a "system" for the interpretation of the Vêdas. This system, briefly put, consists in this, that the hymns of *Ṛig Vêda* everywhere, without exception, refer to only one thing — the pouring of an inflammable spirituous liquid, called *sôma*, on the fire. There is no question of a god Agni, or of any God. The hymns describe merely the literal union of the liquid and the fire. To prove this theory he has to distort the meaning of an inconceivable number of perfectly simple hymns, and to invent new meanings for words, — meanings which were never imagined before.[5] It is useless for me to give a detailed criticism of this work. I can only express my regret that so well-known and esteemed an author should find himself in so false a position.

M. L. de Milloué, the Conservator of the Musée Guimet, has reprinted from the *Annales* of that institution his study on the **Myth of Vṛishabha**, the first Jain Tîrthaṁkâra. The pamphlet is accompanied by two good photo-lithographs of Vṛishabha and (?) Mahâvîra The author's object is to shew the original identity of the Paurâṇik Vṛishabha with the Jain saint, in which he clearly succeeds, and to trace the origin of the Myth to the Vedic legends about Agni, in which I doubt if he has been so successful. The essay shews a considerable range of reading, and much ingenuity; but, judging from the misprints and the various different systems of transliteration employed, the book gives one the impression that the author has taken his authorities entirely from translations, without going to the original Sanskṛit texts. He might, moreover, have been more careful in the authorities which he quotes. Some of the theories referred to (*e. g.*, that embodied in Mr. Thomas's article on the early faith of Aśôka) have long been exploded,

IV.

When, in 1885, **M. Barth** at once delighted and surprised the world of Oriental learning with the first instalment of his account of the **Sanskṛit Inscriptions of Cambodia**, it became generaly known that the remainder of the Sanskṛit inscriptions collected in that kingdom and in the neighbouring kingdom of **Champâ** by the indefatigable zeal of M. Aymonier, had been entrusted partly to M. A. Bergaigne, and partly to M. Senart for decipherment. The second volume, that by **M. A. Bergaigne**, has now appeared and arouses many melancholy associations. The preface was probably the last thing which the author wrote on the subject, before he set out in 1888 on that trip to Switzerland, in the course of which he met his tragic fate. Oriental scholarship has not ceased to lament the sudden death of one of her most gifted children, and this publication has bidden us '*infandum renovàre dolorem.*' Bergaigne left the work incomplete and the painful task of preparing it for the press devolved upon his intimate friend, M. Barth. This he has done with a reverent hand, and with rare self-abnegation; but, while we can admire Bergaigne's learning and ingenuity, I may also be permitted to pay a tribute to the modesty of his editor, as regards the very important part, which he has taken in making these inscriptions ready for publication. One word must be said for the magnificent Atlas of photogravures which accompanies the volume. Nothing equal to it in the way of producing facsimiles of epigraphs has ever been attempted either in India or in England. The inscriptions themselves are of very great interest, epigraphically as well as historically, as they furnish a long series of dates, from the beginning of the 6th century of the Śaka Era.

V.

The result of **M. Barth's** labours in another field, must also be mentioned. One of his periodical notices of the Progress of Indian literature entitled "*Bulletin des Religions de l'Inde*" has lately appeared in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, a periodical which I have mentioned more than once in this paper, and which we also owe to the Musée Guimet. The **Bulletin**, as heretofore, contains a complete and succinct review of everything important dealing or in any way connected with the **Religions of India**, which has been published during the past five years. It is written in the luminous style, for which its author is well-known, and replete with the learning and acuteness of deduction which distinguish him.[6]

G. A. GRIERSON.

[5] For instance (pp. 125 and ff.), *pârvata*, *adri* and *givi* mean "the current of the libations," and never mean "mountain."

[6] [A translation of this most important work will shortly appear in this *Journal*,—ED.]

ON THE DATES OF THE SAKA ERA IN INSCRIPTIONS,

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C. I. E.; GÖTTINGEN.

THE number of **dates of the Saka era** which I have collected from the texts of inscriptions, or from accounts of inscriptions published by other scholars, especially by Dr. Fleet, amounts to about 370. Of these, about 100 dates contain no details for calculation or verification, and in rather more than thirty others the wording of some of the details is doubtful. Of the rest, the calculation of about 140 dates has yielded results which theoretically satisfy the requirements of the cases, while that of about seventy has proved unsatisfactory; and in the case of about twenty dates my examination has shewn, either, how a particular term of the original date ought to be understood, or in what manner the wording of the date should be amended. In the following I give a list of what may be called **regular dates**.[1] These will be followed by a list of irregular dates, and by such remarks as have suggested themselves to me regarding the practice of dating followed in connection with the 'Saka era. For obvious reasons, I shall include in my lists the dates which have been already treated of by Dr. Fleet,[2] and feel sure that he will approve of my doing so.

I. — REGULAR DATES.

A. — DATES IN LUNAR MONTHS.

1. — Dates in Expired Years.

(a). — Dates in Bright Fortnights.

1. — **S. 654.** — *Ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 48. Date in a stone inscription from Java:—

(L. 1). — 'Sâkêndrê=tigatê śrut-îndriya-rasair=aṅgîkṛitê vatsarê
vâr-êndau dhavala-trayôdaśi-tithau **Bhadrôttarê Kârttikê.**

S. 654 expired: Monday, 6th October, A. D. 732; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 18 h. 17 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Uttara-bhadrapadâ** up to 15 h. 6 m. after mean sunrise.

2. — **S. 679.** — *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 106; *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 55. Ântrôli-Chhârôli copper-plate inscription of a Râshṭrakûṭa king Kakka of Gujarât: —

(L. 29). — **vishuva-saṁkrântau** . . .

(L. 36). — 'Sakanṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śata-shaṭkê êkônâśîty-adhikê Âśvayuja-śuddhâ-(ddhê=ṅ)katê(tô)=pi saṁ 600 70 9 tithi 7.

In S. 679 expired the Vishuva(Tulâ)-saṁkrânti took place 18 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise of the 23rd September, A. D. 757, during the 6th *tithi;* and the 7th *tithi* of the bright half of Âśvina ended 22 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise of the 24th September, A. D. 757.

3. — **S. 765.** — *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap,* Vol. XXVI. p. 21. Date in a stone inscription from Java:—

Svasti 'Sakavarsh-âtîta 765 Chaitra-mâsa tithi pañchadaśî **chandragrahaṇa Sômavâra** . .

S. 765 expired: A lunar eclipse, visible in Java, 18 h. 50 m. after 6 a. m. (local time) of **Monday,** 19th March, A. D. 843.

4. — **S. 782.** — *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 219, and Vol. XII. p. 329; *ante*, Vol. III. p. 320, and Vol. XVIII. p. 94. Date of the Kalyâṇ Ambarnâth temple inscription of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Mâmvâṇirâjadêva, as read by Dr. Bhâu Dâji and Dr. Fleet:—

(L. 1). — 'Saka-saṁvat 782 Jyêshṭha-śuddha 9 **Su(śu)krê.**

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[1] Those dates in which a *tithi* is joined with the week-day on which it commenced I shall give, under a separate heading, in the list of irregular dates, but by doing so I do not wish to intimate that those dates are incorrect. Under irregular dates will also be given several regular dates from (apparently) spurious documents.

[2] The regular dates which have been already examined by Dr. Fleet are Nos. 2, 4, 6, 13, 25, 27, 28, 32, 35, 55, 59, 60, 62, 64, 65, 69, 74, 85, 98, 102, 106, 108-112.

S. 782 expired: Friday, 3rd May, A. D. 860; the 9th *tithi* of the bright half ended 7 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise.

5. — **S. 782.** — *Ante,* Vol. XXI. p. 48. Date in an inscription from Java:—

Sakavarshatita 782, Kârttikamâsa, tithi trayôdaśi śukla-paksha, . . **Vṛi-vâra** (*i. e.* **Bṛihaspati-vâra**), . . . **Aśvini-nakshatra**, . . . **Vyatîpâta-yôga**, . . . **Taithila-karaṇa.**

S. 782 expired: Thursday, 31st October, A. D. 860; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half and the *karaṇa* **Taitila** ended 10 h. 29 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Aśvinî** up to 11 h. 10 m., and the *yôga* **Vyatîpâta** up to 5 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

6. — **S. 836.** — *Ante,* Vol. XII. p. 194, and Vol. XVIII. p. 90. Haḍḍâlâ copper-plate inscription of the Châpa *Mahâsâmantâdhipati* Dharaṇîvarâha, the feudatory of a king Mahîpâladêva:—

(Plate ii. l. 12). — prâpt-**ôdagayana**-mahâparvvaṇi . . .

(L. 21). — Saka-saṁvat 836 Pausha-sudi 4 **uttarâyaṇê.**

In S. 836 expired the **Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti** took place 4 h. 2 m. after mean sunrise of the 23rd December, A. D. 914, during the 4th *tithi* of the bright half which ended 15 h. after mean sunrise of the same day.

7. — **S. 851.** — *Ante,* Vol. XII. p. 211, No. 48. Kaḷas inscription of the Râshtrakûṭa Gôvinda IV.:—

Saka-varsha 851neya **Vikṛita**-saṁvatsarada Mâghadà puṇṇamey=**Âdityavâram**=**Âślêsha-(shâ)**-nakshatrado(?)l(?) **sômagrahaṇaṁ** samanise tuḷâ-pu[rusham=i(?)]ḷḍu tatsamayadoḷ.

S. 851 expired: A lunar eclipse, visible in India, 12 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise of **Sunday,** 17th January, A. D. 930, when the *nakshatra* was **Âślêshâ** up to 19 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise. By the **mean-sign system** the year **Vikṛita** lasted from the 27th December, A. D. 928, to the 23rd December, A. D. 929, and was therefore current at the commencement of S. 851 expired, but not on the day of the date. [By the southern luni-solar system Vikṛita would be S. 852 expired.]

8. — **S. 855.** — *Ante,* Vol. XII. p. 251. Sâṅglî copper-plate inscription of the Râshṭrakûṭa Gôvinda IV.:—

(L. 44). — Sakanṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshv=ashṭasu paṁchapaṁchâśad-adhikêshv=aṁkatô=pi saṁvatsarâṇâṁ 855 pravarttamâna-**Vijaya**-saṁvatsar-âṁtarggata-**Srâvaṇa**-pauṛṇṇa-mâsyâṁ vârê **Gurôḥ Pûrvvâ-Bhadrapadâ**-nakshattrê.

In S. 855 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Vijaya, Srâvaṇa** was intercalary, and the full-moon *tithi* of the second Srâvaṇa ended on **Thursday,** 8th August, A. D. 933, 8 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise. On the same day the moon entered **Pûrva-bhadrapadâ,** by the Brahma-siddhânta, 9 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise, and later by other systems. [By the mean-sign system Vijaya had ended on the 10th December, A. D. 932, before the commencement of S. 855 expired.]

9. — **S. 873.** — *Ante,* Vol. XII. p. 257. Soraṭûr stone inscription of the Râshṭrakûṭa Kṛishṇa III.:—

(L. 4). — Sa(śa)kanṛipa-kâḷ-âkrânta-saṁvatsara-sa(śa)taṁga[l*] 873 **Virôdhi**[3]-saṁvatsarada Mârggaśira-mâsada puṇṇameyum=**Âdityavâramuṁ Rôhiṇi(ṇi)**-nakshatramuṁ **sô(sô)magrahaṇad-andu.**

S. 873 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Virôdhakṛit: A lunar eclipse, visible** in India, 10 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise of **Sunday,** 16th November, **A. D.** 951, when the *nakshatra* was **Rôhiṇî** up to 12 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise. [By the mean-sign system Virôdhakṛit had ended on the 26th September, A. D. 950, before the commencement of S. 873 expired.]

[3] Clearly only an error of the writer or engraver for *Virôdhakṛit.*

10. — **S. 894.** — *Ante,* Vol. XII. p. 266. Kardâ copper-plate inscription of the Râshṭrakûṭa Kakkala (Karka II.): —

(L. 47). — 'Sakanṛipa-kâl-âtîta-sam(saṁ)vatsara-śatêshv=ashṭasu chaturṇṇa(rnna)vaty-adhikêshv=aṅkataḥ sam(saṁ)vat 894 **Aṅgirâ(raḥ)**-sam(saṁ)vatsar-ântarggata(t-)Âśvayuja-paurṇṇamâsyâyâṁ **Vu(bu)dha-dinê sômagrahaṇa**-mahâparvvaṇi.

S. 894 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Aṅgiras: A lunar eclipse, visible** in India, on **Wednesday,** 25th September, A. D. 972, 16 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise. [By the mean-sign system Aṅgiras had ended on the 29th June, A. D. 971, before the commencement of 'S. 894 expired.]

11. — **S. 939.** — *As. Res.* Vol. I. p. 363. Ṭhâṇâ copper-plate inscription of the 'Silâhâra Arikêsarin: —

'On the fifteenth of the bright moon of *Cártica*, in the middle of the year **Piṅgala,** when nine hundred and forty years, save one, are reckoned as past from the time of King 'Saca, or, in figures, the year 939, of the bright moon of Cártica 15 . . . . . **the moon being then full and eclipsed'** . . .

S. 939 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Piṅgala: A lunar eclipse, visible** in India, on the 6th November, A. D. 1017, 19 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise.

12. — **S. 946.** — *Ante,* Vol. VIII. p. 18. Miraj copper-plate inscription of the Western Châlukya Jayasiṁha III.: —

'Sakanṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshu navasu shaṭchatvâriṁśad-adhikêshv=aṁkataḥ saṁvat 946 **Raktâkshi**-saṁvatsar-âṁtarggata-Vaiśâkha-paurṇṇamâsyâm=**Âdityavârê.**

S. 946 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Raktâksha: Sunday,** 26th April, A. D. 1024; the full-moon *tithi* ended 15 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise.

13. — **S. 950.** — *Ante,* Vol. IV. p. 278, and Vol. XVIII. p. 379. Tâḷgund stone inscription of the Western Châlukya Jayasiṁha III.: —

(L. 8). — 'Saka-varsha 950neya **Vibhava**-saṁvatsarada Pushya-śuddha 5 **Sômavârad= uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrântiy**-andu.

In S. 950 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Vibhava,** the **Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti** took place 16 h. after mean sunrise of **Monday,** 23rd December, A. D. 1028, during the 5th *tithi* of the bright half which commenced 0 h. 47 m. before mean sunrise of the same day and ended 1 h. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, 24th December, A. D. 1028.

14. — **S. 980.** — *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, O. S., Vol. IV. p. 281, and *Cave-Temples of Western India,* p. 104. Copper-plate inscription of the 'Silâhâra Mârasiṁha: —

(L. 44). — Sa(śa)kanṛipa-kâḷ-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshu | asî(śî)ty-adhika-nava-śatêshv= aṁkêshu | pravarttatayiti **Viḷaṁbi**-saṁvatsarê | Pausha-mâsasya śuddha-pakshê | saptamyâṁ **Bṛihaspativârê | udagayana-parvvaṇi** |.

In S. 980 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Vilamba,** the **Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti** took place 10 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise of **Thursday,** 24th December, A. D. 1058, during the 7th *tithi* of the bright half which ended 17 h. after mean sunrise of the same day.

15. — **S. 996.** — *Ante,* Vol. X. p. 127. Bijâpur stone inscription of the Western Châlukya Sômêśvara II.: —

(L. 10). — Sa(śa)ka-varshaṁ 996neya **Ânaṁda**-saṁvatsarada Puśya(shya)-su(śu)dhdha-(ddha) 5 **Bri(bṛi)haspativârad-aṁdin=uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrâṁti**-parvva-nimittam.

In S. 996 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Ânanda,** the **Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti** took place 12 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise of the 24th December, A. D. 1074,

before the commencement of the 5th *tithi*; and the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended on **Thursday,** 25th December, A. D. 1074, 15 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise.

16. — **S. 999.** — *Ante*, Vol. XII. p. 209, No. 17. Hulgûr inscription of the Western Châlukya Vikramâditya VI. and Jayasiṁha IV.: —

Sa(śa)kanṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-sa(śa)taṁgal*u* 999neya **Piṁgala**-saṁvatsarada Âshâḍa-(ḍha)-su(śu)ddha 2 **Âdityavâra saṁkrânti-pavitrârôhaṇad-aṁdu.**

In S. 999 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Piṅgala,** the **Dakshiṇâyana-saṁkrânti** took place 15 h. 2 m., and the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 3 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise of **Sunday,** 25th June, A. D. 1077.

17. — **S. 1037.** — *Inscr. at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa*, No. 47, p. 26. Date of the death of Mêghachandra-traividyadêva: —

Sa(śa)ka-varshaṁ 1037neya **Manmatha**-saṁvatsarada Mârggaśira-su(śu)ddha 14 **Bṛihavâraṁ** . . .

S. 1037 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Manmatha: Thursday,** 2nd December, A. D. 1115; the 14th *tithi* of the bright half ended 14 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise.

18. — **S. 1039.** — *Inscr. at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa*, No. 59, p. 57. A grant by the *Daṇḍaṇâyaka* Gaṅga-Râja, confirmed by the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Êchi-Râja: —

Sa(śa)ka-varshaṁ 1039neya **Hêmaṇambi**-saṁvatsarada Phâlguṇa-śuddha 5 **Sômavârad-andu.**

S. 1039 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Hêmalamba: Monday,** 28th January, A. D. 1118; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 20 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise.

19. — **S. 1045.** — *Ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 18. Date in an Old-Kanarese inscription at Têrdâḷ:— (L. 49). — Sa(śa)ka-va[r*]sha 1045neya **Subhakri(kṛi)t**[4]-saṁvatsarada Vaiśâkhada puṇṇami **Bra(bṛi)haspativâradal*u*.**

S. 1045 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Sôbhakṛit** (Sôbhana): **Thursday,** 12th April, A. D. 1123; the full-moon *tithi* ended 13 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise.

20. — **S. 1045.** — *Inscr. at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa*, No. 43, p. 18. Date of the death of Śubhachandra: —

Bâṇ-âmbhôdhi-nabhaś-śaśâṅka-tuḷitê jâtê Śak-âbdê tatô
varshê **Sôbhakṛit(d)**-âhvayê vyupanatê mâsê punaś Śrâvaṇê |
pakshê kṛishṇa-vipaksha-varttini **Sitê** vârê daśamyâṁ tithau.

S. 1045 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Sôbhakṛit** (Sôbhana): **Friday,** 3rd August, A. D. 1123; the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 17 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

21. — **S. 1076.** — *Ante*, Vol. XII. p. 209, No. 18. Hulgûr inscription of the Western Châlukya Taila III.: —

Śakanṛipa-kâl-âtîta-śataṁgaḷ 1076neya **Bhâva**-saṁvatsarada Âśâ(shâ)ḍa(ḍha)-su(śu)ddha 5 **Bṛihaspativârad-aṁdu.**

S. 1076 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Bhâva: Thursday,** 17th June, A. D. 1154; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 23 h. after mean sunrise.

22. — **S. 1078.** — *Ante*, Vol. XII. p. 209, No. 24. Stone inscription of the Śilâhâra Mallikârjuna, now in the Hall of the Bombay As. Soc.: —

[4] This is clearly an error for *Sôbhakṛit*.

Sakanṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshu daśa[su*] ashṭasaptaty-adhikêshu Saka-saṁvat 1078 **Dhâtâ**-saṁvatsarê Vaiśâkha-śuddha-**aksha[ya*]-tṛitîyâyâṁ yugâdi-parvvaṇi Bhauma-dinê Mṛigaśira**-nakshatrê.

S. 1078 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Dhâṭri : Tuesday,** 24th April, A. D. 1156; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 13 h. 58 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Mṛigaśirsha** up to 13 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise.

23. — **S. 1081.** — *Inscr. at Sravaṇa Beḷgoḷa*, No. 138, p. 108. A grant by the Hoysaḷa Narasiṁha I. : —

Êkâśîty-uttara-sahasra-'Saka-varshêshu gatêshu **Pramâdi(thi)**-saṁvatsarasya Pushya-mâsa-śuddha-**Sukravâra**-chaturddaśyâm **uttarâyaṇa-saṅkrântau.**

In S. 1081 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Pramâthin,** the **Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti** took place 13 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise of **Friday,** 25th December, A. D. 1159, during the 14th *tithi* of the bright half which ended 16 h. 48 m. after mean sunrise of the same day.

24. — **S. 1085.** — *Inscr. at Sravaṇa Beḷgoḷa*, No. 39, p. 8. Date of the death of Dêvakîrti :—

Saka-varsha sâsirada eṁbhatt-aidaneya ||
varshê khyâta-**Subhânu**-nâmani sitê pakshê tad-Âshâḍhakê
mâsê tan-navamî-tithau **Budha**-yutê vârê dinêś-ôdayê |

S. 1085 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Subhânu : Wednesday,** 12th June, A. D. 1163; the 9th *tithi* of the bright half ended 18 h. after mean sunrise.

25. — **S. 1096.** — *Ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 127. Hulgûr stone inscription of the Kalachuri Sômêśvara : —

(L. 35). — Saka-varshada 1096neya **Jaya**-saṁvatsarada Mârgaśirada puṇṇami **Âditya-vâra sômagrahaṇad**-andu.

S. 1096 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Jaya : A lunar eclipse visible** in India, on **Sunday,** 10th November, A. D. 1174, 16 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise.

26. — **S. 1114.** — *Ante*, Vol. II. p. 301. Gadag stone inscription of the Hoysaḷa Vîraballâḷa :—

(L. 43). — Sakanṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshu chaturddaś-âdhikêshv=êkâdaśasu aṁkatô=pi 1114 varttamâna-**Paridhâvi**-saṁvatsar-âṁtarggata-Mârggaśi(śî)rsha-paurṇṇamâsyâṁ **Sanê-(nai)ścharavârê sômagrahaṇê.**

S. 1114 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Paridhâvin : A lunar eclipse, visible** in India, on **Saturday,** 21st November, A. D. 1192, 0 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise.

27. — **S. 1121.** — *Ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 155. Gadag stone inscription of the Hoysaḷa Vîraballâḷa : —

(L. 31). — Sakanṛipa-kâḷ-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śataṁgaḷu 1121neya **Siddhârtthi**-saṁvatsarada **pratham-Âshâḍa(ḍha)**-śukla-paksh-âshṭamî-**Bṛihaspativâra-Bya(vya)tîpâta**-puṇya-dinadôḷ = â **Bya(vya)tîpâta**-nimittaṁ.

In S. 1121 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Siddhârthin, Âshâḍha** was **intercalary** by the Ârya-siddhânta; and the 8th *tithi* of the bright half of the first Âshâḍha ended 23 h. 32 m. after mean sunrise of **Thursday,** 3rd June, A. D. 1199, when the *yôga* was **Vyatîpâta** for about 14 h. after mean sunrise.

28. — **S. 1145.** — *Ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 157. Kôlâr stone inscription of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Siṅghaṇa II. : —

(L. 9). — 'Saka-varusada[5] 1145 de(da)neya **Svabhânu**-sauṁvachchharada[6] **dvitîya-Bhâdra-pada**-sudhdha[7] 5 **Su(śu)kravârad**-aṁdu.

[5] Read *varshada*. [6] Read *saṁvatsarada*. [7] Read *śuddha*.

In S. 1145 **expired**, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Subhânu**, **Bhâdrapada** was **intercalary**; and the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of the second Bhâdrapada ended 7 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise of **Friday**, 1st September, A. D. 1223.

29. — **S. 1156.** — *Pâli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 87. Bijâpur inscription of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Siṅghaṇa II. :—

'Saka 1156 (in figures, l. 5), the **Jaya** *saṁvatsara*; **Vaḍḍavâra**, the day of the full-moon of the bright fortnight of Vaiśâkha.'

S. 1156 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Jaya**: **Saturday**, 15th April, A.D. 1234; the full-moon *tithi* ended 12 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise.

30. — **S. 1156.** — *Cave-Temples of West. India*, p. 99. Image inscription at Êlûrâ : —

(L. 1). — Svasti śrî Sâkê 1156 **Jaya**-savachharê [Phâlguṇa-sudha-trîtiâ **Budhê**].

(L. 3). — Phâlguṇa tṛitîyâṁ **Vu(bu)dhê**.

S 1156 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Jaya**: **Wednesday**, 21st February, A. D. 1235; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 21 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise.

31. — **S. 1158.** — From Dr. Fleet's impression (Graham's *Kolhapoor*, p. 426, No. 13). Kôlhâpur stone inscription of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Siṅghaṇa II. : —

(L. 1). — Svasti śrî Saka 1158 varshê **Durmmukha**-saṁvatsarê Mâgha-śuddha-pûrṇṇamâsyâṁ tithau **Sôma-dinê** ı

(L. 14). — . . . **sômê=pavi[ddhê ?]** . . .

S. 1158 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Durmukha**: **A lunar eclipse**, **visible** in India, 21 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise of **Monday**, 12th January, A. D. 1237.

32. — **S. 1171.** — *Ante*, Vol. VII. p. 304, and Vol. XIX. p. 441. Chikka-Bâgîwâḍi copper-plate inscription of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Kṛishṇa : —

(L. 19). — Êkasaptaty-uttara-śat-âdhê(dhi)ka-sahasra-saṁkhyêshu Sak-âvdê(bdê)shv=atîtêshu pravarttamânê **Saum(sau)mya**-saṁvatsarê tad-aṁta[r*]gat-Âshâḍha-paurṇṇamâsyâṁ **Sanaiścharavârê Pûrvâshâḍh[â*]**-nakshatrê **Vaidhṛiti**-yôgê itthaṁbhûta-puṁ(pu)ṇyakâlê.

S. 1171 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Saumya**: **Saturday**, 26th June, A. D. 1249; the full-moon *tithi* ended 11 h. 33 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Pûrvâshâḍhâ** up to 6 h. 34 m., and the *yôga* **Vaidhṛiti** up to 13 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise.

33. — **S. 1171.** — *Ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 69. Beṇḍigêri copper-plate inscription of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Kṛishṇa : —

(L. 22). — Svasti śrî-Saka-saṁvatsarasya śatâdhika-sahasr-aikâdhika-saptatyâś=ch=ânaṁtarê **Saumyê**=bdê Srâvaṇê mâsi sita-pakshê dvâdaśyâṁ **Guruvârê**.

S. 1171 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Saumya**: **Thursday**, 22nd July, A. D. 1249; the 12th *tithi* of the bright half ended 23 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise.

34. — **S. 1187.** — From Dr. Fleet's impression. Kôlhâpur pillar inscription of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Mahâdêva : —

(L. 8). — Saka-varshê 1187 varttamâna-**Krôdhana**-saṁvatsarê Mâgha-mâsa-pûrṇṇimâyâṁ **Sukra-dinê**.

S. 1187 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Krôdhana**: **Friday**, 22nd January, A. D. 1266; the full-moon *tithi* ended 14 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

35. — **S. 1193.** — *Ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 317, and Vol. XIX. p. 442. Paiṭhan copper-plate inscription of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Râmachandra :—

(L. 62). — Sa(śa)kê cha êkâdaśasu trinavaty-adhikêshv=atîtêshu 1193 varttamâna-**Prajâpati**-saṁvatsar-âṁtargata-Mâgha-śuddha-dvâdaśyâṁ **Vu(bu)dhê**.

S. 1193 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Prajâpati: Wednesday,** 13th January, A. D. 1272; the 12th *tithi* of the bright half ended 14 h. 48 m. after mean sunrise.

36. — **S. 1194.** — From Dr. Fleet's impression (Graham's *Kolhapoor*, p. 437, No. 15) Kôlhâpur stone inscription of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Râmachandra: —

(L. 23). — 'Saka-varshêshu 1194 vêd-âṁka-Rudra-pramitêshu vyatîtêshu varttamân-**Âṁgiraḥ**-[saṁ]vatsara-Mâgha-pûrṇṇimâyâṁ **sômagrahaṇa**-parvaṇi.

S. 1194 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Aṅgiras: A lunar eclipse, visible** in India, 13 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise of the 3rd February, A. D. 1273.

37. — **S. 1200.**—*Inscr. at Sravaṇa Beḷgoḷa*, No. 137, p. 105. Date of a private inscription:—

Svasti śrî-vijayâbhyudaya-'Sâlivâhana-śaka-varshaṁ 1200neya **Bahudhânya**-saṁvatsarada Chaitra-śuddha 1 **Sukravâra.**

S. 1200 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Bahudhânya: Friday,** 25th March, A. D. 1278; the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 20 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise. [This was the day of the Mêsha-saṁkrânti which took place, by the Sûrya-siddhânta 16 h. 44 m., and by the Ârya-siddhânta 14 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise.]

38. — **S. 1227.** — From Dr. Fleet's impression. Vêlâpur stone inscription of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Râmachandra: —

(L. 1). — Svasti śrî Sâku 1227 । **Visvâvasu**-saṁvachchha(tsa)rê । Mârga-su(śu)dha(ddha) 5 **Sômê.**

S. 1227 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Visvâvasu: Monday,** 22nd November, A. D. 1305; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 3 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

39. — **S. 1301.** — *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 356. Ḍambaḷ copper-plate inscription of Harihara II. of Vijayanagara:—

Sak-âbdê Sâlivâhasya sahasrêṇa tribhiḥ śataiḥ ।
êk-âdhikaiś=cha gaṇitê **Siddhârthê**=bdê śubhê dinê ॥
Jyê(jyai)shṭhyâṁ **Bhaumê nisânâth-ôparâgê** . . .

S. 1301 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Siddhârthin: A lunar eclipse, visible** in India, on **Tuesday,** 31st May, A. D. 1379, 20 h. 52 m. after mean sunrise.

40. — **S. 1301.** — *Pali, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 126; *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 214, No. 87. Harihar stone inscription of Harihara II. of Vijayanagara:—

'Saśi-kha-śikhi-chaṁdra-samitê Sâkê **Sidhdhâ(ddhâ)rththi(rtthi)**-saṁjñitê ch=âbdê [।*] Kârttika-mâsasya sita-dvâdaśyâṁ **Bhâskarê** vârê [॥*].

S. 1301 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Siddhârthin: Sunday,** 23rd October, A. D. 1379; the 12th *tithi* of the bright half ended 9 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise.

41. — **S. 1332.** — *Pâli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 127; *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 214, No. 88. Harihar stone inscription of Dêvarâya I. of Vijayanagara:—

'Sâkê nêtr-âgni-vahn-îṁdu-saṁkhyê **Vikru(kṛi)ti**-nâmakê [।*]
var*u*shê Nabhasya-dvâdaśyâṁ śuklâyâṁ **Sômavârakê** [॥*]

S. 1332 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Vikṛita: Monday,** 11th August, A. D. 1410; the 12th *tithi* of the bright half ended 21 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise.

42. — **S. 1353.** — *Ante*, Vol. II. p. 353. Date on the colossal Jain statue at Kârkaḷa, in the South Kanara District:—

(L. 5). — Svasti śrî-Sakabhûpati-tri-śara-vahn-îndau **Virôdhyâdikṛid**[8]-varshê Phâlguna-**Saumyavâra**-dhavala-śrî-dvâdaśî-tithau . . .

(L. 14). — 'Saka-varsha 1353 . . .

S. 1353 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Virôdhakṛit** : **Wednesday,** 13th February, A. D. 1432; the 12th *tithi* of the bright half ended 6 h. after mean sunrise.

43. — **S. 1436.** — *As. Res.* Vol. XX. pp. 22 and 37. Kṛishṇâpura stone inscription of Kṛishṇarâya of Vijayanagara : —

'Sâlivâhana-śaka 1436 . . . **Bhâva**-saṁvatsara, Phâlguna-śuddha 3, **Sukravâra.**

S. 1436 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Bhâva** : **Friday,** 16th February, A. D. 1515; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 22 h. after mean sunrise.

44. — **S. 1450.** — *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 401. Kṛishṇâpura stone inscription of Kṛishṇarâya of Vijayanagara : —

(L. 41). — 'Sâkê sârdaiḥś=chaturbhiḥr[9]=daśabhir=api śataiḥ saṁmitê **Sarvadâriṇy=** abdhê[10] Chaitr-âkhya-mâsê sita-Madana-tithau **Jîvavârê=ryamarkshê** ।

S. 1450 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Sarvadhârin** : **Thursday,** 2nd April, A. D. 1528; the 13th (Madana) *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 13 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Uttara-phalgunî (the Aryamarksha)** up to 12 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise.

45. — **S. 1451.** — *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 399. Kṛishṇâpura stone inscription of Kṛishṇarâya of Vijayanagara : —

(L. 1). — Svasti śrî-jayâbhyudaya-Sâlivâhanaśaka-varushaṁgaḷu 1451neya **Virôdhi**-saṁvatsarada Vaiśâkha-śuda(ddha) 15 **Sudalû** (*i. e.* **Sukravâradallû**) . . .

(L. 22). — **Virôdhi**-saṁvatsarada Vaiśâkha śu 15 **Sudallû sômagrâ(gra)haṇa**-puṇya-kâladalû . . .

S. 1451 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Virôdhin** : **A lunar eclipse, visible** in India, on **Friday,** 23rd April, A. D. 1529, 14 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise.

46. — **S. 1460.** — *Ante,* Vol. IV. p. 332, and Vol. XII. p. 214, No. 96. Harihar stone inscription of Achyutarâya of Vijayanagara : —

(L. 15). — 'Sâlivâhana-nirṇîta-śaka-var*uśa*(rsha)-kram-âgatê ।
vyôma-tarkka-chatuś-chaṁdra-saṁkhyayâ cha samanvitê ॥
Viḷaṁbi-nâmakê varshê mâsê Kârttika-nâmani ।
paurṇamâsyâṁ sitê pakshê **vârê Saśisutasya** cha ॥
Sômôparâga-samayê . . .

S. 1460 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Vilamba** : **A lunar eclipse, visible** in India, on **Wednesday,** 6th November, A. D. 1538, 15 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise.

47. — **S. 1476.** — *Pâli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 133; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 17, p. 25. Harihar inscription of Sadâśivadêva of Vidyânagarî (Vijayanagara) :—

'Sâlivâhana-Saka 1476 (in figures, l. 4); **Monday,** the fourteenth day of the bright fortnight of Vaiśâkha.'

S. 1476 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Ânanda** : **Monday,** 16th April, A. D. 1554; the 14th *tithi* of the bright half ended 17 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise.

[8] Read *Virôdhakṛid-*. [9] Read *sârdhaiś=chaturbhir.* [10] Read °*dhâriṇy=abdê.*

48. — **S. 1506.** — *Pâli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 28; *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 213, No. 74. Dêvanhaḷḷi copper-plate inscription of Raṅgarâya of Vijayanagara : —

(L. 114). — Khyât-âṁg-âṁbara-bâṇ-êṁdu-gaṇitê Saka-vatsarê ı
vatsarê **Târaṇ**-âbhikhyê mâsi Kârttika-nâmani ıı
Pakshê valakshê puṇyâyâṁ paurṇimâyâṁ mahâtithau ı
sômôparâga-samayê . . .

S. 1506 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Târaṇa : A lunar eclipse, visible** in India, on the 7th November, A. D. 1584, 23 h. 2 m. after mean sunrise.

49. — **S. 1543.** — *Pâli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 29; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 136, p. 248. Simoggâ copper-plate inscription of Râmadêva of Vijayanagara :—

'Saka 1543 (in words ; l. 18 of the first side ; *vêda*, 3 ; *ambudhi*, 4 ; *śara*, 5 ; and *kshôṇî*, 1), the **Durmati** *saṁvatsara ;* **Saturday,** the third day of the bright fortnight of Vaiśâkha.'

S. 1543 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Durmati : Saturday,** 14th April, A. D. 1621 ; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

50. — **S. 1556.** — *Inscr. at Sravaṇa Beḷgoḷa*, No. 84, p. 66 (and No. 140, p. 111). Stone inscription of Châma Râja Vaḍeyar of Maisûr : —

Srî-Sâlivâhana-śaka-varusha 1556neya **Bhâva**-saṁvatsarada Âshâḍa(ḍha)-śu 13 **Sthiravâra**-**Brahmayôga**-dalu.

S. 1556 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Bhâva : Saturday,** 28th June, A. D. 1634 ; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 22 h., and the *yôga* was **Brahman** from 1 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise.

51. — **S. 1644.** — *Mysore Inscr.* No. 168, p. 316. Tonnur copper-plate inscription of Kṛishṇarâja of Maisûr :—

' The Sâlivâhana Saka year reckoned as *vêda, arṇava, ṛitu, kshiti* (1644) having passed, the year **Subhakṛit** being current, in the month Mârgaśira, full moon, **Tuesday, Brahma** *yôga,* **Ârdrâ** *nakshatra,* **Bâlava** *karaṇa,* . . . . **the moon being eclipsed** in the constellation under which Râmânuja was born' . . .

S. 1644 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Subhakṛit : A lunar eclipse, visible** in India, 16 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise of **Tuesday,** 11th December, A. D. 1722, when the *nakshatra* was **Ârdrâ** from 5 h. 55 m., the *yôga* **Brahman** from 10 h. 23 m., and the *karaṇa* **Bâlava** from 16 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise.

52. — **S. 1650.** — *Coorg Inscr.* No. 13, p. 20. Abbimaṭha copper-plate inscription ; date of a grant of the Coorg Râja Doḍḍa Vîrappa Vaḍeyar : —

Sâlivâhaṇa-śaka-varusha 1650ne **Kîlaka**-saṁvatsarada Kârttika-śuddha 2 **Budhavâra**-dallu.

S. 1650 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Kîlaka : Wednesday,** 23rd October, A. D. 1728; the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 17 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

53. — **S. 1683.** — *Pâli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 37. Date in copper-plates from Maisûr : —

'Sâlivâhana-Saka 1683 (in figures ; l. 1 of the first side), the **Vishu** *saṁvatsara ;* **Monday** the first day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra.'

S. 1683 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Vishu : Monday,** 6th April, N. S., A. D. 1761 ; the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 6 h. after mean sunrise. [The Mêsha-saṁkrânti took place on the 9th April, A. D. 1761.]

54. — S. 1718. — *Coorg Inscr.* No. 13, p. 20 (and No. 14, p. 22). Abbimatha (and Mahâdêvapura) copper-plate inscription of the Coorg Râja Vîra Râjêndra Vaḍeyar : —

Svasti śrî-vijayâbhyudaya-Sâlivâhana-śaka-varusha 1718ne varttamânakê salluva **Nala**-saṁvatsarada Chaitra-śu 1 **Bhârgavâra**-dallu.

S. 1718 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Nala : Friday,** 8th April, N. S., A. D. 1796; the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 21 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise. [The Mêsha-saṁkrânti took place on the 9th April, A. D. 1796.]

(b). — Dates in Dark Fortnights.

[1.] — Pûrṇimânta Dates.[11]

55. — **S. 726.** — *Ante,* Vol. XI. p. 126, and Vol. XVII. p. 141. Kanarese country copper-plate inscription of the Râshṭrakûṭa Gôvinda III. : —

(L. 1). — Śakanṛipa-kâḷ-âtîta-saṁvatsaraṁgaḷ=êḷnûṛ=î(i)rpatt-âṟaneyâ **Subhânu** embhâ-(mbâ) varshadâ Vaisâ(śâ)kha-mâsa-kṛishṇa-paksha-pañchamê(mî)-**Bṛihaspatî(ti)vâraṁ.**

S. 726 expired : Thursday, 4th April, **A.** D. 804; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pûrṇimânta* Vaiśâkha ended 7 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise. By the **mean-sign system** the 4th April, A. D. 804, fell in the year **Subhânu** which lasted from the 17th June, A. D. 803, to the 12th June, A. D. 804. [The 5th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amânta* Vaiśâkha ended 20 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, 3rd May, A. D. 804; and by the southern luni-solar system S. 726 expired would be Târaṇa.]

56. — **S. 976.** — *Pâli, Skr., and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 158. Baḷagâṁve stone inscription of the Western Châlukya Sômêśvara I. : —

'Saka 976 (in figures, l. 15), the **Jaya** *saṁvatsara;* **Sunday,** the day of the new-moon of the dark fortnight of Vaiśâkha.'

S. 976 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Jaya : Sunday,** 10th April, A. D. 1054; the 15th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pûrṇimânta* Vaiśâkha ended 19 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise. [The 15th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amânta* Vaiśâkha ended 6 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, 10th May, A. D. 1054. Compare below, No. 150.]

57. — **S. 1313.** — *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. IV. p. 115. Copper-plate inscription of Harihara II. of Vijayanagara : —

Sakê trayôdaśâdhika-triśatôttara-sahasrê gatê vartamâna-**Prajâpati**-saṁvatsarê Vaiśâkha mâsê kṛishṇa-pakshê amâvâsyâyâṁ **Saumya-dinê sûryôparâga**-puṇyakâlê.

S. 1313 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Prajâpati : A solar eclipse, visible in India,** 5 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise of **Wednesday,** 5th April, A. D. 1391, which was the 15th of the dark half of the *pûrṇimânta* Vaiśâkha.

[2.] — Amânta Dates.

58. — **S. 589.** — *Inscr. Sanscrites du Cambodge,* p. 74; *ante,* Vol. XXI. p. 48. Stone inscription at Vat Prey Vier[12] :—

Yâtê kâlê Sakânâṁ nava-tanu-vishayair=Mmâdhavê shôḍaś-âhê
Jîvaś=châpê=ja-sûryyô . . . . **maitram=indur** . . .

S. 589 expired : The 16th day of the lunar **Mâdhava** (Vaiśâkha) was the 15th April, A. D. 667, when the first *tithi* of the dark half of the *amânta* Vaiśâkha ended 4 h. 28 m., and

[11] The dates given under this heading will be specially considered below.

[12] For the full wording of this date and an exact calculation of all its details see now M. A. Barth in *Inscr. Sanscrites de Campâ et du Cambodge,* p. 592. I give the date here, merely, because it is the earliest available Śaka date in a dark fortnight which shews the *amânta* scheme of the lunar month and admits of verification. For an even earlier *amânta* date from Cambodia (of Śaka 548), see *ante,* Vol. XXI. p. 47.

when the moon was in **Anurâdhâ** (the **Maitra** *nakshatra*) up to about 22 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise. On the same day the sun was in the sign **Aja** (**Mêsha**), which it had entered on the 20th March, and Jupiter was in **Châpa** (**Dhanuḥ**), having entered that sign on the 20th January, A. D. 667.

59. — **S. 788.** — *Ante*, Vol. XII. p. 219, and Vol. XVII. p. 142. **Sirûr** stone inscription of the Râshṭrakûṭa Amôghavarsha ('Sarva) : —

(L. 15). — 'Sakanṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsarangaḷ êḷ-nûṟ=eṇbhatt-eṇṭaneya **Vyayam** emba saṁvatsaraṁ pravarttise śrîmad-Amôghavarsha-Nṛipatuṅga-nâm-âṅkitanâ vijaya-râjya-pravardhamâna-saṁvatsaraṅgaḷ avyatt-eraḍum uttar-ôttaraṁ râjy-âbhivṛiddhi salutt-ire . . . . Jyêshṭha-mâsad=amâseyum **Âdityavâram** âge **sûryyagrahaṇad**-andu.

S. 788 expired : A solar eclipse, visible in India, 9 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise of **Sunday,** 16th June, A. D. 866. This day fell in the year **Vyaya by both systems ;** for by the mean-sign system Vyaya lasted from the 23rd September, A. D. 865, to the 19th September, A. D. 866 ; and by the southern luni-solar system Vyaya was S. 788 expired.

60. — **S. 810.** — *Ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 69, and Vol. XVIII. p. 90. **Bagumrâ** copper-plate inscription of the Râshṭrakûṭa *Mahâsâmantâdhipati* Kṛishṇarâja II. of Gujarât : —

(Plate ii. *b*, l. 11). — Sakanṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshv=ashṭasu daś-ôttarêshu Chaitrê=mâvâsyâ[yâṁ] **sûryagrahaṇa**-parvaṇi.

S. 810 expired : A solar eclipse, visible in India, 2 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise of the 15th April, A. D. 888.

61. — **S. 867.** — *Ante*, Vol. I. p. 209. **Sâlôṭgi** stone inscription of the reign of the Râshṭrakûṭa Kṛishṇa III. : —

(L. 3). — Saka-kâlâd=gat-âvdâ(bdâ)nâṁ sasaptâdhikashashṭishu
śatêshv=ashṭasu tâvatsu samânâm=aṅkatô=pi cha
varttamânê **Plavaṅg-âvdê(bdê)** . . .

(L. 45). — Pûrvvôktê varttamân-âvdê(bdê) mâsê Bhâdrapadê=ṁchitê
pitṛi-parvvaṇi tasy=aiva **Kujavârêṇa** saṁyutê
sûryyagrahaṇa-kâlê tu madhyagê cha divâkarê.

S. 867 expired : A solar eclipse, visible in India, 6 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise of **Tuesday,** 9th September, A. D. 945. The year **Plavaṅga,** by the **mean-sign system,** did not commence till the 17th October, A. D. 945, and it is therefore clear that the donation, to which the date in line 45 refers, was made some time before the date, referred to in line 3, when the inscription was put up. [By the southern luni-solar system Plavaṅga would be S. 869 expired.]

62. — **S. 867.** — *Ante*, Vol. VII. p. 16, and Vol. XIX. p. 102. Date of the accession of the Eastern Chalukya Amma II., from a copper-plate inscription of his : —

(L. 31). — Giri-rasa-vasu-saṁkhy-âbdê Saka-samayê Mârggaśîrsha-mâsê=smin [|*]
kṛishṇa-trayôdaśa-dinê **Bhṛiguvârê Maitra-nakshatrê** ||
Dhanushi ravau ghaṭa-lagnê dvâdaśa-varshâ(rshê) tu janmanaḥ . . . .

S. 867 expired : Friday, 5th December, A. D. 945 ; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 10 h. 8 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Anurâdhâ** (the **Maitra** *nakshatra*) up to 7 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise ; and the sun was in the sign **Dhanuḥ** which it had entered on the 23rd November, A. D. 945.

63. — **S. 893.** — *Ante*, Vol. XII. p. 256. Adaraguñchi stone inscription of the Râshṭrakûṭa Koṭṭiga (Khoṭika) : —

(L. 7). — Sa(śa)kanṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvachchha(tsa)ra-sa(śa)taṅgaḷ=eṇṭu nûṟa toṁbhatta-mûṟaneya **Prajâpati**-sa[ṁ*]vachchha(tsa)raṁ saluttam-ire tad(d-)va(-va)rsh-âbhyâ(bhya)-ntarad=Âshva(śva)yujad=amavâse **Âdityavâra sûryyagrahaṇa.**

S. 893 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Prajâpati: A solar eclipse, visible** in India, 2 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise of **Sunday,** 22nd October, A. D. 971. [By the mean-sign system Prajâpati had ended on the 3rd July, A. D. 970, before the commencement of S. 893 expired.]

64. — **S. 904.** — *Inscr. at Sravaṇa Beḷgoḷa,* No. 57, p. 55; *ante,* Vol. XX. p. 35. Date of the death of the Râshṭrakûṭa Indrarâja:—

Vanadhi-nabhô-nidhi-pramita-saṁkhyê(khya-)'Sak-âvanipâla-kâḷamaṁ

neneyise **Chitrabhânu** parivarttise Chaitra-sitêtar-ashṭamî- ı

dina-yuta-**Sômavâradol** . . . .

S. 904 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Chitrabhânu: Monday,** 20th March, A. D. 982; the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 22 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise. [By the mean-sign system Chitrabhânu had ended on the 18th May, A. D. 981, before the commencement of S. 904 expired.—The Mêsha-saṁkrânti took place on the 23rd March, A. D. 982.]

65. — **S. 972.** — *Ante,* Vol. XII. p. 202, and Vol. XVIII. p. 91. Surat copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Trilôchanapâla of Lâṭadêśa: —

(Plate iii, l. 3). — Śâkê nava-sa(śa)tair=yuktê dvisaptaty-adhikê tathâ [ı*]

Vikṛitê vatsarê Paushê mâsê pakshê cha tâmâ(ma)sê ıı

Amâvâsyâ-tithau **sûrya-parvvaṇy=Aṅgâravârakê** [ı*]

S. 972 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Vikṛita: A solar eclipse, visible** in India, 10 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise of **Tuesday,** 15th January, A. D. 1051.

66. — **S. 991.** — *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 227. Vâghlî stone inscription of the reign of the Yâdava Sêuṇachandra II.: —

(L. 9). — Rûpa-Naṁd-âṁka-tulyê tu 991 'Saka-kâlasya bhûpatau [ı*]

Saumya-saṁvatsar-Âshâḍha-**ravigrahaṇa**-parvvaṇi ıı

S. 991 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Saumya: A solar eclipse, visible** in India, 0 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise of the 21st July, A. D. 1069.

67. — **S. 1047.** — *Ante,* Vol. XII. p. 212, No. 56. Narêndra inscription of the Western Châlukya Vikramâditya VI.: —

Śaka-varshaṁ 1047neya **Visvâ(śvâ)vasu**-saṁvatsarada [Bhâ]drapada-ba 13 **Sukravâra** mahâtithi-**yugâdiy**-aṁdu.

S. 1047 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Viśvâvasu: Friday,** 28th August, A. D. 1125; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise.

68. — **S. 1050.** — *Inscr. at Sravaṇa Beḷgoḷa,* No. 54, p. 47. Date of the death of Mallishêṇa: —

Sâkê śûnya-śar-âmbar-âvani-mitê saṁvatsarê **Kîlakê**

mâsê Phâlgunikê tṛitîya-divasê vârê 'sitê **Bhâskarê** ı

Svâtau . . . . . . madhyâhnê . . . .

S. 1050 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Kîlaka: Sunday,** 10th March, A. D. 1129; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 21 h. 16 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Svâti** up to 15 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise.

69. — **S. 1096.** — *Ante,* Vol. XVIII. p. 127. Hulgûr stone inscription of the Kalachuri Sômêśvara: —

(L. 40). — 'Saka-varshada 1096neya **Jaya**-saṁvatsarada Mârgaśira-bahuḷad=ama(mâ)vâsyê **Maṅgaḷavâra sûryagrahaṇad**-andu.

S. 1096 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was **Jaya: A solar eclipse, visible** in India, 6 h. after mean sunrise of **Tuesday,** 26th November, A. D. 1174.

70. — **S. 1112.** — *Ante,* Vol. XII. p. 209, No. 25. A Kôlhâpur inscription of the 'Silâhâra Bhôja II.: —

(L. 2). — 'Sakanṛipa-kâlâd=ârabhya varshêshu dvâdaśôttara-śatâdhika-sahasrêshu nivṛittêshu varttamâna-**Sâdhâraṇa**-saṁvatsar-ântarggata-Pushya-bahula-dvâdaśyâṁ **Bhaumavârê** bhânôr=**uttarâyaṇa-saṁkramaṇa-parvvaṇi.**

In S. 1112 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Sâdhâraṇa,** the **Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti** took place 14 h. 2 m. after mean sunrise of **Tuesday,** 25th December, A. D. 1190, during the 12th *tithi* of the dark half which ended 19 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise of the same day. [For another, irregular date in the same inscription see below, No. 191.]

71. — **S. 1113.** — From Dr. Fleet's impression. Gadag stone inscription of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Bhillama: —

(L. 13). — Śakanṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshu trayôdaśâdhikêshv=êkâdaśasu varttamâna-**Virôdhakṛit**-saṁvatsar-âṁtargata-Jyêshṭh-âmâvâsyâyâm=**Âdityavârê sûryagrahaṇê.**

S. 1113 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Virôdhakṛit: A solar eclipse, visible** in India, 10 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise of **Sunday,** 23rd June, A. D. 1191.

72. — **S. 1113.** — *Pâli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 109. Chandadâmpur inscription of the Great Chieftain Vîra-Vikramâditya of the lineage of Chandragupta, and his *Nâyaka* Khaṇḍêya-Kâṟa-Kâmêyanâyaka:—

'Saka 1113 (in figures, l. 72), the **Virôdhikṛit** *saṁvatsara;* the day of the new-moon of Mârgaśîrsha; at the time of **an eclipse of the sun.'**

S. 1113 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Virôdhakṛit: A solar eclipse, visible** in India, 5 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise of the 18th December, **A. D. 1191.**

73. — **S. 1137.** — *Pâli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 201. Baḷagâṁve stone inscription of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Siṅghaṇa II.: —

'Saka 1137 (in figures, l. 23), the **Yuva** *saṁvatsara,* **Thursday,** the day of the new-moon of Bhâdrapada.'

S. 1137 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Yuvan: Thursday,** 24th September, A. D. 1215; the 15th *tithi* of the dark half ended 21 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise.

74. — **S. 1189.** — *Ante,* Vol. XVIII. p. 128. Hulgûr stone inscription of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Mahâdêva: —

(L. 15). — 'Saka-varshada 1189neya **Prabhava**-saṁvatsarada Jyêshṭha-ba 30 **Budhavâra sûryagrahaṇad**-andu.

In S. 1189 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Prabhava,** Jyaishṭha was intercalary; and there was **a solar eclipse, visible** in India, 8 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise of **Wednesday,** 25th May, A. D. 1267, which was the 15th of the dark half of the first Jyaishṭha.

75. — **S. 1235.** — *Inscr. at Sravaṇa Beḷgoḷa,* No. 41, p. 11. Date of the death of 'Subhachandra: —

Pañchatriṁśat-saṁyuta-śatadvay-âdhika-sahasra-nuta-varshêshu |
vṛittêshu 'Saka-nṛipasya tu kâlê vistîrṇṇa-vilasad-arṇṇavanêmau ||
Pramâdi-vatsarê mâsê Srâvaṇê tanum atyajat |
Vakrê kṛishṇa-chaturddaśyâṁ 'Subhachandrô mahâyatiḥ ||

S. 1235 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Pramâdin : Tuesday,** 21st August, A. D. 1313; the 14th *tithi* of the dark half ended 15 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise.

76. — **S. 1295.** — *Ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 48. Date in an inscription from Java : —

'Sakavarshatita 1295, Asujimâsa, tithi trayôdaśî kṛishṇapaksha . . . . **Su-vara** (*i. e.* **Sukra-vâra**).

S. 1295 expired : Friday, 14th October, A. D. 1373; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 20 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise.

77. — **S. 1307.** — Hultzsch, *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 157. Inscription on a lamp-pillar at Vijayanagara : —

(L. 36). — 'Saka-varshê 1307 pravarttamânê **Krôdhana**-vatsarê Phâlguna-mâsê kṛishṇa-pakshê dvitîyâyâṁ tithau **Sukravârê**.

S. 1307 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Krôdhana : Friday,** 16th February, A. D. 1386; the second *tithi* of the dark half commenced 0 h. 17 m. before mean sunrise of this Friday and ended 0 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise of the following day.

78. — **S. 1331.** — *Inscr. at Sravaṇa Beḷgoḷa*, No. 106, p. 80. Date of a private inscription : —

Saka-varusha 1331neya **Virôdhi**-saṁvatsarada Chaitra-ba 5 **Gu** (*i. e.* **Guruvâra**).

S. 1331 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Virôdhin : Thursday,** 4th April, A. D. 1409; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 23 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise.

79. — **S. 1565.** — *Inscr. at Sravaṇa Beḷgoḷa*, No. 142, p. 112. Date of the death of Chârukîrti : —

'Srî-Sakavarusha 1565neya
Srîmach-Châru-sukîrti-paṇḍita-yatiḥ **Sôbhânu**-saṁvatsarê
mâsê Pushya-chaturddaśî-tithi-varê kṛishṇê supakshê mahân ||
madhyâhnê vara-**Mûla**-bhê cha(?)karaṇê **Bhârggavyavârê Dhṛi(dhru)vê**
yôgê svargga-puraṁ jagâma matimân(mâṁs=)traividya-chakrêśvaraḥ ||

S. 1565 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Subhânu : Friday,** 29th December (the day of the Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti), A. D. 1643; the 14th *tithi* of the dark half and the *karaṇa* 'Sakuni ended 19 h. 54 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Mûla** up to 11 h. 10 m., and the *yôga* **Dhruva** up to 5 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

80. — **S. 1731.** — *Inscr. at Sravaṇa Beḷgoḷa*, No. 72, p. 61. Date of the death of Aditakîrtidêva : —

'Sâlivâhana-śakâbdâḥ 1731neya **Sukla**-nâma-saṁvatsarada Bhâdrapada-ba 4 **Budhavâra**-dalli.

S. 1731 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Sukla : Wednesday,** 27th September, N. S., A. D. 1809; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise.

81. — **S. 1739.** — *Coorg Inscr.* No. 17, p. 25. Merkara copper-plate inscription of the Coorg Râja Liṅga Râjêndra Vaḍeyar : —

'Sâlivâhana-śaka-varsha 1739ney **Îśvara**-saṁvatsarada Jêshṭha-bahula bidigeyu **Bhânuvârakkê** Kali-dina 1796 392 ne . . .

S. 1739 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Îśvara : Sunday,** 1st June, N. S., A. D. 1817, which was the day of the Kaliyuga 1796 392; the second *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

[The same inscription also has the date: **Vikrama**-saṁvatsarada Chaitra-śuddha dvâdaśîyu **Bhânuvârada** varige varusha 2 tingaḷu 9 dina 25 Kali-dina 1797 421ne, corresponding, for S. 1742 expired = **Vikrama**, to **Sunday**, 26th March, N. S., A. D. 1820, which was the day of the Kaliyuga 1797 421.]

82. — **S. 1748.** — *Inscr. at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa*, No. 98, p. 74. Date from the reign of Kṛishṇarâja Vaḍeyar of Maisûr: —

Śâlivâhana-śaka-varusha 1748neya sanda varttamânakke saluva **Vyaya**-nâma-saṁvatsarada Phâlguṇa-ba 5 **Bhânuvâradalu.**

S. 1748 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Vyaya: Sunday,** 18th March, N. S., A. D. 1827; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 3 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

2. — Dates in Current Years.

(a). — Dates in Bright Fortnights.

83. — **S. 1032.** — *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XIII. p. 3. Tâlaleṅ copper-plate inscription of the Śilâhâra Gaṇḍarâdityadêva: —

Śakanṛipa-kâl-âtîta-dvâtriṁśad-uttara-sahasrê **Virôdhi**-saṁvatsarê Mâgha-śuddha-daśamyâṁ **Maṁgalavârê.**

S. 1032 current, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Virôdhin: Tuesday,** 1st February, A. D. 1110; the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 11 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

[The same inscription contains the date: tat-saṁvatsar-ôparitana-**Vikṛita**-saṁvatsara-Vaiśâkha-paurṇamâsyâṁ **sômagrahaṇa-parvaṇi,** corresponding, for **S. 1033 current,** which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Vikṛita,** to the 5th May, A. D. 1110, when there was **a lunar eclipse, visible** in India, 21 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise.]

84. — **S. 1051.** — *Ante*, Vol. XII. p. 212, No. 57. An Iṅglêśvar inscription of the Western Châlukya Sômêśvara III.: —

Śakha(ka)-var*u*sha 1051neya **Kîlaka**-saṁvatsarada Kârttika-paurṇṇamâseyoḷ **sômagrahaṇa**-nimittaṁ.

S. 1051 current, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Kîlaka: A lunar eclipse, visible** in India, 20 h. after mean sunrise of the 8th November, A. D. 1128.

85. — **S. 1065.** — *Ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 317. Miraj stone inscription of the Śilâhâra Vijayâdityadêva: —

(L. 19). — [Śaka]-varsha 1065neya **Duṁdubhi**-saṁvatsarada Bhâdrapada-su(śu)dhdha-(ddha) 2(*altered to* 6) **Sukravârad**-aṁdu.

S. 1065 current, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Dundubhi: Friday,** 28th August, A. D. 1142; the 6th *tithi* of the bright half ended 12 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise.

86. — **S. 1065.** — From Dr. Fleet's impression. Kôlhâpur stone inscription of the Śilâhâra Vijayâdityadêva: —

(L. 16). — Śaka-varshêshu paṁchashashṭy-uttara-sahasra-pramitêshv=atîtêshu pravarttamâna-**Duṁdubhi**-saṁvatsara-Mâgha-mâsa-paurṇṇamâsyâṁ **Sômavârê sômagrahaṇa**-parvva-nimittam.

S. 1065 current, which by the southern luni-solar system was **Dundubhi: A lunar eclipse, visible** in India, 17 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise of **Monday,** 1st February, A. D. 1143.

87. — **S. 1068.** — *Inscr. at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa*, No. 50, p. 33. Date of the death of Prabhâchandra-siddhântadêva: —

Sa(śa)ka-varshaṁ 1068neya **Krôdhan**-saṁvatsarada Âśvija-su(śu)ddha-daśamî **Bṛihavârad**-andu Dhanur-llagnada pûrvvâhṇad [a].

S. 1068 current, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Krôdhana: Thursday**, 27th September, A. D. 1145; the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise.

88. — **S. 1073.** — From Dr. Fleet's impression. Bâmaṇî stone inscription of the Silâhâra Vijayâdityadêva: —

(L. 12). — Saka-varshêshu trisaptaty-uttara-sahasra-pramitêshv=atîtêshu aṁkatô=pi 1073 pravarttamâna-**Pramôda**-saṁvatsara-Bhâdrapada-paurṇṇamâsî-**Sukravârê** **sômagrahaṇa**-parvva-nimittaṁ.

S. 1073 current, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Pramôda**: **A lunar eclipse, visible** in India, 20 h. 6 m. after mean sunrise of **Friday**, 6th September, A. D. 1150.

89. — **S. 1099.** — *Inscr. at Sravaṇa Belgoḷa*, No. 42, p. 14. Date of the death of Nayakîrtidêva: —

Sâkê randhra-nava-dyu-chandramasi **Durmmukhy**-âkhya-saṁvatsarê
Vaiśâkhê dhavaḷê chaturddaśa-dinê vârê cha **Sûryâtmajê** |
pûrvvâhṇê praharê gatê 'rddha-sahitê . . .

S. 1099 current, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Durmukha: Saturday**, 24th April, A. D. 1176; the 14th *tithi* of the bright half ended 15 h. after mean sunrise.

90. — **S. 1127.** — *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 236. Kalhoḷi Jain temple inscription of the Raṭṭa chiefs Kârtavîrya IV. and Mallikârjuna:—

'In the Saka year 1127, the **Raktâkshi** saṁvatsara, on **Saturday**, the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Paushya, **at the time of the sun's commencement of his progress to the north.**'

In S. 1127 current, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Raktâksha**, the second *tithi* of the bright half of Pausha ended 4 h. 32 m., and the **Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti** took place 4 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise of **Saturday**, 25th December, A. D. 1204.

91. — **S. 1131.** — *Ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 247. Bhôj copper-plate inscription of the Raṭṭa chief Kârtavîrya IV.: —

(L. 97). — Sakanṛipa-kâlasy=aikatṛi(tri)ṁśad-uttara-śat-âdhika-sahasratamasya **Vibhava**-saṁvatsarasya Kârttika-mâsasya śukla-dvâdaśyâṁ **Budhavâra**-samanvitâyâṁ.

S. 1131 current, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Vibhava: Wednesday**, 22nd October, A. D. 1208; the 12th *tithi* of the bright half ended 12 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise.

92. — **S. 1197.** — *Pâli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 236; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 120, p. 219. Haḷêbîḍ memorial tablet: —

'Saka 1197 (in figures, l. 8), the **Bhâva** *saṁvatsara;* **Wednesday**, the twelfth day of the bright fortnight of Bhâdrapada.'

S. 1197 current, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Bhâva: Wednesday**, 15th August, A. D. 1274; the 12th *tithi* of the bright half ended 20 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise.

93. — **S. 1199.** — From Dr. Fleet's impression. Sidnûrle inscription of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Râmachandra :—

(L. 13). — Saka-varshêshu 1199 raṁdhr-âṁka-Rudra-pramitêshu gatêshu varttamâna-**Dhâtṛi**-saṁvatsar-âṁ(â)ntargata-Srâvaṇa-pûrṇṇimâyâṁ **Sôma-dinê yajñôpavîta-parvaṇi.**

S. 1199 current, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Dhâtṛi: Monday**, 27th July, A. D. 1276; the full-moon *tithi* ended 4 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

94. — **S. 1205.** — *Inscr. at Sravaṇa Belgoḷa*, No. 129, p. 97. Date of a private inscription: —

Sa(śa)ka-varshaṁ 1205neya **Chitrabhânu**-saṁvatsara Srâvaṇa-su 10 **Bṛidandu.**

S. 1205 current, which by the southern luni-solar system was **Chitrabhânu**: **Thursday**, 16th July, A. D. 1282; the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 20 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

95. — **S. 1295.** — *Inscr. at 'Sravaṇa Belgoḷa*, No. 111, p. 86. Date of a private inscription:—
'Saka-varsha 1295 **Paridhâvi**-saṁvatsara-Vaiśâkha-śuddha 3 **Budhavâra.**

S. 1295 current, which by the southern luni-solar system was **Paridhâvin**: **Wednesday**, 7th April, A. D. 1372; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 11 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise.

96. — **S. 1355.** — *Inscr. at 'Sravaṇa Belgoḷa*, No. 108, p. 85. The tomb of the Jaina 'Srutamuni was set up: —

Ishu-śara-śikhi-vidhu-mita-śaka-**Paridhâvi**-śarad-dvitîyag-**Âshâḍhê** |
sita-navami-**Vidhudin**-ôdayajushi sa-**Viśâkhê** pratishṭhit=êyam=iha ||

In **S. 1355 current**, which by the southern luni-solar system was **Paridhâvin, Âshâḍha was intercalary**;[13] and the 9th *tithi* of the bright half of **the second Âshâḍha** ended 4 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise of **Monday**, 7th July, A. D. 1432, when the *nakshatra* was **Viśâkhâ** up to 17 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise.

97. — **S. 1455.** — *Ante*, Vol. V. p. 19. Bâdâmî inscription of the time of Achyutarâya of Vijayanagara:—

(L. 4). — Svasti śrî-jayâbhyudaya-'Sâlivâhana-śaka-varsha 1455neya **Naṁdana**-saṁvatsarada Jê(jyê)shṭha-śu 5 **Guruvâradalu.**

S. 1455 current, which by the southern luni-solar system was **Nandana**: **Thursday**, 9th May, A. D. 1532; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 20 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise.

(b). — Dates in Dark Fortnights.

[1.] — Pûrṇimânta Dates: None.

[2.] — Amânta Dates.

98. — **S. 948.**—*Ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 120 (and Vol. XVI. p. 43). Kalas-Budrûkh copper-plate inscription of the Yâdava Bhillama III.: —

(L. 14). — 'Sakanṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshu navasv=ashṭâchatvâri[ṁ*]śad-adhik[ê*]-shv=aṁkatô=pi || 948 || **Krôdhana**-saṁvatsara-Kârttika-saṁjât-**âdityagrahaṇê.**

S. 948 current, which by the southern luni-solar system was **Krôdhana**: **A solar eclipse, visible** in India, 2 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise of the 23rd November, A. D. 1025.

99. — **S. 1042.** — *Inscr. at 'Sravaṇa Belgoḷa*, No. 49, p. 28. Date of the death of Dêmiyyaka: —

Sa(śa)ka-varusha 1042neya **Vikâri**-saṁvatsarada Phâlguṇa-bahuḷa 11 **Bṛihavârad-andu.**

S. 1042 current, which by the southern luni-solar system was **Vikârin**: **Thursday**, 26th February, A. D. 1120; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 21 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise.

100. — **S. 1104.** — *Ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 19. Date in an Old-Kanarese stone inscription at Têrdâḷ: —

(L. 59). — Sa(śa)ka-varshaṁ 1104neya **Plava**-saṁvatsarada Âśvayuja-bahuḷa 3 **Âdivâradalu.**

S. 1104 current, which by the southern luni-solar system was **Plava**: **Sunday**, 27th September, A. D. 1181; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise.

[13] See *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 356, No. 157.

101. — Ś. 1110. — *Ante*, Vol. XII. p. 97. Toragal inscription of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Barma :—

(L. 33). — Sa(śa)ka-varshaṁ 1110neya **Plavaṁga**-saṁvatsarada Puśya(shya)-bahuḷa 10 **Vaḍḍavârav=uttarâyaṇa-saṁkramaṇa-**vyatîpâtadal*u*.

In Ś. 1110 current, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Plavaṅga,** the **Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti** took place 19 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, 25th December, A. D. 1187, during the 10th *tithi* of the dark half, which ended 15 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise of **Saturday,** 26th December, A. D. 1187.

102. — Ś. 1136. — *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 7; *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 440. Khêdrâpur stone inscription of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Siṅghaṇa II. :—

(L. 8). — Śrî-Śaka-varshê 1136 **Śrîmukha**-saṁvatsarê Chaitrê **sûrya-parba(rva)ṇi Sôma-dinê.**

Ś. 1136 current, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Śrîmukha: A solar eclipse, visible** in India, 10 h. 52 m. after mean sunrise of **Monday,** 22nd April, A. D. 1213. [The same date in a Haḷêbîḍ inscription of the Hoysaḷa Vîraballâḷa, *Pâli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 234.]

103. — Ś. 1151. — *Arch. Survey of West. India*, Vol. III. p. 113; *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 282. Date in an Old-Kanarese stone inscription of the Raṭṭa chief Lakshmîdêva at Saundatti : —

(L. 64). — Saka-varshaṁ 1151neya **Sarvvadhâri**-saṁvatsarada Âshâḍhad=ama(mâ)vâse **Sômavârad=**aṁdina **sarvvagrâsi-sûryyagrahaṇad=**uttama-tithiyoḷ.

Ś. 1151 current, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Sarvadhârin: A total solar eclipse, visible** in India, 6 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise of **Monday,** 3rd July, A. D. 1228.

104. — Ś. 1172. — *Ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 201. Kâñchîpura Êkâmranâtha stone inscription of Gaṇapati :—

(L. 13). — Śâkâbdê tu dvisaptaty-adhika-Śiva-śata-khyâta-saṁkhyâna-mânê
Saumy-âbdê Śrêshṭha-mâsê bahula-Hari-dinê **Bhaumavârê** samê=hni ।

Ś. 1172 current, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Saumya: Tuesday,** 8th June, A. D. 1249; the 11th (Hari) *tithi* of the dark half ended 13 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise.

105. — Ś. 1175. — *Mysore Inscr.* No. 171, p. 322. Bangalore Museum copper-plate inscription of the Hoysaḷa Sômêśvara :—

'The Śaka year 1175, the year **Paridhâvin,** the month Phâlguna, new-moon day, during **an eclipse of the sun.'**

Ś. 1175 current, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Paridhâvin: A solar eclipse, visible** in India, 10 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise of the 1st March, A. D. 1253.

3. — Dates in Expired or Current Years.[14]

[1.] — A Pûrṇimânta Date.

106. — Ś. 534.—*Ante*, Vol. VI. p. 73; Vol. XVI. p. 109; Vol. XVII. p. 141; and Vol. XX. p. 3. Haidarâbâd copper-plate inscription of the Western Chalukya Pulikêśin II. : —

(L. 11). — âtmanaḥ pravarddhamâna-râjyâbhishêka-saṁvatsarê tṛitîyê Śakanṛipati-saṁvatsara-śatêshu chatustriṁś-âdhikêshu pañchasv=atîtêshu Bhâdrapad-âmâvâsyâyâṁ **sûryyagrahaṇa-nimittaṁ.**

[14] The question as to which of the possible equivalents of the original date should be regarded to be its true equivalent will be considered below.

S. 534 current: A partial solar eclipse, not visible in India, 21 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise of the 13th August, A. D. 611, which was the 15th of the dark half of the *pûrṇimânta* Bhâdrapada.

S. 534 expired: A total solar eclipse, not visible in India, 14 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise of the 2nd August, A. D. 612, which also was the 15th of the dark half of the *pûrṇimânta* Bhâdrapada.

[2.] — **Amânta Dates.**

107. — **S. 716.** — From Dr. Fleet's impression. Paiṭhan copper-plate inscription of the Râshṭrakûṭa Gôvinda III. : —

(L. 60). — Śakanṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-sa(śa)têshu saptamu(su) jê(shô)ḍaś-ôttarêshu Vaiśâkha-va(ba)hul-âmâvâsyâm=**âdityagrahana**-parvvaṇi.

S. 716 current: A circular solar eclipse, not visible in India, 17 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise of the 14th May, A. D. 793, which was the 15th of the dark half of the *amânta* Vaiśâkha.

S. 716 expired: A total solar eclipse, visible in India, 3 h. 48 m. after mean sunrise of the 4th May, A. D. 794, which also was the 15th of the dark half of the *amânta* Vaiśâkha.

108. — **S. 730.** — *Ante*, Vol. VI. p. 68, and Vol. XVI. p. 74. Râdhanpur copper-plate inscription of the Râshṭrakûṭa Gôvinda III. : —

(L. 53). — Śakanṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshu saptasu triṁśad-uttarêshu **Sarvajin**-nâmni saṁvatsarê Śrâvaṇa-bahula-a(l-â)mâvâsyâṁ **sûryagrahaṇa**-parvaṇi.

S. 730 current: A total solar eclipse, not visible in India, 10 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise of the 7th August, A. D. 807, which was the 15th of the dark half of the *amânta* Śrâvaṇa.

S. 730 expired: A total solar eclipse, visible in India, 1 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise of the 27th July, A. D. 808, which also was the 15th of the dark half of the *amânta* Śrâvaṇa.

By the **southern luni-solar system Sarvajit** was S. 730 current; and by the **mean-sign system Sarvajit** lasted from the 31st May, A. D. 807, to the 26th May, A. D. 808, and accordingly was current on the 7th August, A. D. 807, and at the commencement of S. 730 expired, but not on the 27th July, A. D. 808.

109. — **S. 789.** — *Ante*, Vol. XII. p. 185, and Vol. XVIII. p. 56. Bagumrâ copper-plate inscription of the Râshṭrakûṭa *Mahâsâmantâdhipati* Dhârâvarsha Dhruvarâja III. of Gujarât: —

(L. 64). — Śakanṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshu saptasv=êku(kô)nanavaty-adhikêshv-aṅkataḥ saṁvat 789 Jyêshṭh-âmâvâsyâyâṁ **âdityagrahaṇa**-parvvaṇi.

S. 789 current: A total solar eclipse, visible in India, 9 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise of the 16th June, A. D. 866, which was the 15th of the dark half of the *amânta* Jyaishṭha.

S. 789 expired: A total solar eclipse, visible in India, 1 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise of the 6th June, A. D. 867, which also was the 15th of the dark half of the *amânta* Jyaishṭha.

B. — DATES IN SOLAR MONTHS.

All in Expired Years.

110. — **S. 944.** — *Ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 53, and Vol. XIX. p. 129. Korumelli copper-plate inscription of the Eastern Chalukya Râjarâja II.; date of his accession : —

(L. 65). — Yô rakshituṁ vasumatîṁ Śaka-vatsarêshu
vêd-âmburâśi-nidhi-varttishu **Siṁhagê**=**rkkê** [|*]
kṛishṇa-dvitîya-divavas[15]-**Ôttarabhadrikâyâṁ**
vârê Gurôr=vvaṇiji lagna-varê=bhishiktaḥ ||

[15] Read *-divas-*.

In S. 944 expired the Siṁha-saṁkrânti took place (and the solar Bhâdrapada commenced) 20 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise of the 26th July, A. D. 1022; and the day of the date is **Thursday**, 16th August, A. D. 1022, when the second *tithi* of the dark half (of the *amânta* Bhâdrapada) ended 10 h. 55 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Uttara-bhadrapadâ** up to 16 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

111. — **S. 999.** — *Ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 163. Vizagapatam copper-plate inscription of Anantavarman Chôḍagaṅgadêva; date of his accession: —

(L. 30). — Śâk-âvdê(bdê) Nanda-randhra-grahagaṇa-gaṇitê **Kumbha-saṁsthê dinêśê**
śuklê pakshê tri(tṛi)tîyâ-yuji **Ravija-dinê Rêvatî-bhê** nṛiyugmê
lagmê(gnê) . . .

In S. 999 expired the Kumbha-saṁkrânti took place (and the solar Phâlguna commenced) 19 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise of the 22nd January, A. D. 1078; and the day of the date is **Saturday**, 17th February, A. D. 1078, when the third *tithi* of the bright half (of the lunar Phâlguna) ended 21 h. 23 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Rêvatî** up to 19 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise.

112. — **S. 1003.** — *Ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 164. Vizagapatam copper-plate inscription of Anantavarman Chôḍagaṅgadêva: —

(L. 40). — Haranayana-viyad-gagana-chandra-gaṇitê Śâk-âvdê(bdê) **Mêshamâsa-**kṛishṇ-âshṭamyâm=**Âdityavârê.**

In S. 1003 expired the Mêsha-saṁkrânti took place (and the solar Vaiśâkha commenced) 17 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise of the 23rd March, A. D. 1081; and the day of the date is **Sunday**, 4th April, A. D. 1081, when the 8th *tithi* of the dark half (of the *amânta* Chaitra) ended 12 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

113. — **S. 1347.** — Hultzsch, *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 84. Inscription inside the front Gôpura of the Viriñchipuram temple: —

'On the day of (*the nakshatra*) **Anusham** (*i. e.* **Anurâdhâ**), which corresponds to **Wednesday**, the sixth lunar day, the 3rd (*solar day*) of the month of **Paṅguṇi** (*i. e.* Phalgunî) of the **Viśvâvasu** year, which was current after the Śaka year 1347 (*had passed*).'

In S. 1347 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Viśvâvasu**, the month **Paṅguṇi** (*i. e.* the solar Chaitra) commenced 15 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise of the 24th February, A. D. 1426; and the day of the date is **Wednesday**, 27th February, A. D. 1426, when the 6th *tithi* of the dark half (of the *amânta* Phâlguna) ended 20 h. 30 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Anurâdhâ** for about 23 h. after mean sunrise.

114. — **S. 1371.** — Hultzsch, *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 111. Inscription on the east wall of the Sômanâthêśvara temple at Paḍavêḍu :—

'On the day of (*the nakshatra*) **Uttirâḍam** (*i. e.* **Uttarâshâḍhâ**), which corresponds to the *yôga* **Âyushmat** and to **Saturday**, the thirtee nth lunar day of the former half of the month of **Siṁha** of the **Sukla** year, which was current after the Saka year 1371 (*had passed*).'

In S. 1371 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Sukla**, the **Siṁha-saṁkrânti** took place (and the solar Bhâdrapada commenced) 8 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise of the 30th July, A. D. 1449; and the day of the date is **Saturday**, 2nd August, A. D. 1449, when the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of the lunar Śrâvaṇa) ended 8 h. 43 m., and when the *nakshatra* was **Uttarâshâḍhâ** for 10 h. 30 m., and the *yôga* **Âyushmat** for 4 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise

115. — **S. 1471.** — Hultzsch, *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 85. Inscription on a stone, built into the floor of the court-yard of the Viriñchipuram temple : —

'On **Thursday**, the day of (*the nakshatra*) **Punarvasu**, which corresponds to the seventh lunar day of the former half of the month of **Mêsha** of the **Saumya** year, which was current after the **Śâlivâha-Śaka** year 1471 (*had passed*).'

In S. 1471 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was **Saumya**, the **Mêsha-saṁkrânti** took place (and the solar Vaiśâkha commenced) 19 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise of the 27th March, A. D. 1549; and the day of the date is **Thursday**, 4th April, A. D. 1549, when the 7th *tithi* of the bright half (of the lunar Vaiśâkha) ended 14 h. 44 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Punarvasu** up to 17 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.

116. — **S. 1488.** — Hultzsch, *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 70. Inscription on a stone at Arappakkam: —

'On **Wednesday**, the twelfth lunar day of the latter half of the month of **Kumbha** of the **Akshaya** *saṁvatsara*, which was current after the Saka year 1488 (*had passed*).'

In S. 1488 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was **Akshaya** (or Kshaya), the **Kumbha-saṁkrânti** took place (and the solar Phâlguna commenced) 7 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise of the 27th January, A. D. 1567; and the day of the date is **Wednesday**, 5th February, A. D. 1567, when the 12th *tithi* of the dark half (of the *amânta* Mâgha) ended 20 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise.

117. — **S. 1589.** — *Arch. Survey of South. India*, Vol. IV. p. 77. Râmêśvaram copper-plate inscription: —

'In the year **Plavaṅga**, current after 1589 of the Sâlivâhana-Saka had elapsed, ... on **Thursday**, the third lunar day of the light fortnight of the month of **Vaiyâsi**, and in the asterism of **Pûsa (Pushya)**, **Kaṇḍa** *yôga* and **Karaśavâ** (?) *karaṇa*.'

In S. 1589 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was **Plavaṅga**, the month **Vaiyâsi** (*i. e.* the solar Jyaishṭha) commenced 6 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise of the 29th April, A. D. 1667; and the day of the date is **Thursday**, 16th May, A. D. 1667, when the third *tithi* of the bright half (of the lunar Jyaishṭha) and the *karaṇa* **Gara** ended 1 h. 51 m., and when the *nakshatra* was **Pushya**[16] *after* 21 h. 40 m., and the *yôga* **Gaṇḍa** *up to* 9 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise.

118. — **S. 1636.** — *Arch. Survey of South. India*, Vol. IV. p. 85. A Sêtupati copper-plate inscription in the Râmêśvaram temple: —

'In the year **Jaya**, current after 1636 of the Sâlivâhana-Saka had elapsed, on . . . **Monday** the tenth lunar day, and the first day of the month of **Sittirai**, in the asterism of **Sravaṇa** and in the **Subha** *yôga* and the Subha *karaṇa*.'

In S. 1636 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was **Jaya**, the month **Sittirai** (*i. e.* the solar Vaiśâkha) commenced on Monday, 29th March, A. D. 1714, by the Sûrya-siddhânta 12 h. 21 m., and by the Ârya-siddhânta 9 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise. By the Ârya-siddhânta, therefore, this **Monday** was the first day of Sittirai; and on the same day the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of the *amânta* Chaitra) ended 21 h., and the *nakshatra* was **Sravaṇa** up to 9 h. 12 m., and the *yôga* **Subha** *from* 9 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.[17]

119. — **S. 1637.** — *Arch. Survey of South. India*, Vol. IV. p. 88. Another Sêtupati copper-plate inscription in the Râmêśvaram temple: —

'In the year **Manmatha**, current after the 1637th year of the Sâlivâhana-Saka era had elapsed, on . . . **Monday** the third lunar day, and the 2nd day of the month of **Mâsi**, and in the asterism of **Uttiram**' (*i. e.* **Uttara-phalguni**).

In S. 1637 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was **Manmatha**, the month **Mâsi** (*i. e.* the solar Phâlguna) commenced 21 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, 28th January, A. D. 1716. The second day of Mâsi, therefore, was **Monday**, 30th January, A. D. 1716; and on this day the third *tithi* of the dark half (of the *amânta* Mâgha) ended 13 h. 45 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Uttara-phalguni** up to 16 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

16 The *nakshatra* preceding Pushya is Punarvasu.

17 There is no *karaṇa* named *Subha*.

120. — **S. 1655.** — *Arch. Survey of South. India*, Vol. IV. p. 91. Another Sêtupati copper-plate inscription: —

'At the auspicious time of **the lunar eclipse** that occurred on the 10th lunar[18] day of the month of **Kâttikai** of the year **Piramâtîshsa** which is current after 1655 of the Śâlivâhana-Śaka had elapsed, on **Saturday,** when the time of full moon, the asterism of **Rôhiṇî** . . . . are in conjunction.'

In S. 1655 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Pramâdin,** the month **Kârttigai** (*i. e.* the solar Mârgaśira) commenced 5 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise of the first November, A. D. 1733. The 10th day of Kârttigai, therefore, was **Saturday, 10th** November, A. D. 1733; and on this day (the full-moon day of the lunar Kârttika) there was **a lunar eclipse, visible** in India, at 11 h. 42 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Rôhiṇî** from about 13 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise.

121. — **S. 1658.** — *Arch. Survey of South. India*, Vol. IV. p. 97. Another Sêtupati copper-plate inscription: —

'On . . . the **Tai** new-moon day of the dark fortnight of the month of Pushya, . . . of the year **Naḷa** current after 1658 of the Śâlivâhana era, in the **Śravaṇa** asterism, in the good *yôga* named **Birummiyayôga** (?) and in the good *karaṇa* of **Karulakaraṇa** (?).'

In S. 1658 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Nala,** the month **Tai** (*i. e.* the solar Mâgha) commenced 20 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise of the 29th December, A. D. 1736; and the day of the date is the 19th January, A. D. 1737, when the new-moon *tithi* of the *amânta* Pausha and the *karaṇa* Chatushpada ended 18 h. 38 m., and when the *nakshatra* was **Śravaṇa** up to 22 h. 20 m., and the *yôga* Siddhi[19] up to 3 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise.

122. — **S. 1705.** — *Arch. Survey of South. India*, Vol. IV. p. 105. Another Sêtupati copper-plate inscription: —

'In the year . . . **Śôbhakṛit,** current after 1705 of the Śâlivâhana-Śaka and 4884 of the Kali era had elapsed, . . . on **Friday,** the thirteenth lunar day of the light half of the month of **Mithuna,** in the asterism of **Anusha** (*i. e.* **Anurâdhâ**), in the auspicious *yôga* named **Siddhi** and in the auspicious **Taittulâ** *karaṇa*.'

In S. 1705 = Kali 4884 expired, which by the **southern luni-solar system** was **Śôbhakṛit** (Śôbhana), the **Mithuna-saṁkrânti** took place (and the solar Âshâḍha commenced) 16 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise of the 11th June, N. S., A. D. 1783; and the day of the date is **Friday,** 13th June, A. D. 1783, when the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of the lunar Jyaishṭha) and the *karaṇa* **Taitila** ended 4 h. 36 m., and when the *nakshatra* was **Anurâdhâ** up to 22 h. 20 m., and the *yôga* **Siddha** (*not* Siddhi) up to 6 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise.

(*To be continued.*)

FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE.

BY GEO. FR. D'PENHA.

No. 18. — The Sparrow Girl.

There once lived in a town **a cock-sparrow and a hen-sparrow,** with their chicks. After living in the town for a long period, they went with their chicks and took up their abode in a jungle, where they lived happily for some time. One day it happened that **a fire broke out in the jungle,** which caused great dismay to them. Said the cock-sparrow to the hen-sparrow :—

"Come, my dear, let us fly from this jungle, or else the fire will come to where we are living and burn us to death."

[18] This word is wrong and should have been omitted.

[19] The *yôga* Siddhi is followed by Vyatîpâta.

Of course, the hen-sparrow was of one mind with her mate, but said she:—"Fly, we must; but what will become of our chicks? They will perish in the fire!"

The cock-sparrow, however, who did not care about his chicks, said:—"Oh, come; don't bother yourself about the chicks! Let us fly away. We can't save ourselves and them at the same time. Let them perish. If we wait much longer in order to save them, we too, shall perish with them."

But the hen-sparrow could not entertain such an idea, and they thus kept quarrelling and fighting, pecking at each other, till at last the cock-sparrow flew away, leaving the hen-sparrow and the chicks to save themselves or perish in the fire, which was rapidly approaching the tree on which they had made their dwelling. The hen-sparrow was now at a loss to know what to do to save herself and her little ones from the fire. She looked about for water, but no water could be seen anywhere about the place. At length she flew up to the tallest tree in the jungle, and from there she spied a little pond at a distance. She managed to fetch some water in the hollow of her wings several times, enough to make the nest damp, and going at a short distance waited to see the consequences of the fire. In the meanwhile the fire raged furiously and had reached the abode of the sparrows, which it soon passed, leaving everything behind it a mass of live coals and ashes; but, fortunately for the young ones, the tree and their nest was not touched by the fire, and the hen-sparrow had the satisfaction to know that she did well in watering the nest, and the happiness to find her chicks alive.

They now lived in peace for a long time. One day the hen-sparrow went into the town to search for food, and in her absence the cock-sparrow returned for the first time since he had abandoned them to the mercy of the flames. He asked the chicks where their mother was, and they told him she had gone in search of food. The cock-sparrow then told them to look for her and call her back, which they did.

When the hen-sparrow returned, she fed the chicks, and ate the remainder of the food herself, leaving nothing for the cock-sparrow, who grumbled and growled at his mate, and asked her what it all meant. The hen-sparrow said that she did not wish to have anything to do with him, and that she was right in feeding her chicks and eating some herself without thinking of him. Upon this the cock-sparrow said that the chicks belonged to him, and that he wished to take them away with him, but the hen-sparrow contended that they belonged to her, and she said she had the better right to them, because she had saved them from fire; and so the two sparrows kept quarrelling till they came to pecking at each other, and they did so for a long while. At length they made up their mind to go before the king of the neighbouring country, and ask him to decide their dispute. When they came before the king, it was decided by him that the chicks belonged to the father, the cock-sparrow, and so the mother, the hen-sparrow, was obliged to give up her chicks, and live by herself.

Now, it happened that next door to the king's palace lived a *pardhan*, in a niche of whose house the hen-sparrow took up her abode. There she had plenty to eat, for she had only to get into the *pardhan's* granary. She passed in this way several months, till one day the *pardhan* saw her in the granary and killed her, and it so happened, that the *pardhan's* wife, who was childless, became from that moment pregnant, or, rather the hen-sparrow, which died, was conceived in the pardhan's wife's womb.[1]

[1] The following folk-story which is told locally as a fact (!), will not be uninteresting in this connection:—"There lived two brothers with their wives. One of the brothers had a child, a girl, who was tenderly loved by her parents, and more so by her aunt, who had no children. When the girl was about seven or eight years old, she became seriously ill, and, when she saw her aunt weeping near her bed, she said to her:—'Don't cry, aunt; when I am dead I will be conceived in your womb.' When she had thus spoken, she expired, and it is said that the aunt from that time became pregnant, and at the end of nine months a girl was born to her." This story is a good instance of the inability of the folk in India to connect cause and effect. Given that the girl spoke as is said, and given that her aunt gave birth to a girl-child at a time shewing that pregnancy commenced just after the girl's death, there is still, of course, no proof whatever that the girl who died was the same person as the girl that was afterwards born.

In due time the *pardhan's* wife was delivered of a daughter. This girl grew up beautiful, and was the pride of her parents, who spared neither pains nor purse to bring her up well. When she was about nine or ten years old, she asked her father to buy her a horse with which she could play and amuse herself, and sometimes take a ride. The father readily bought a very good horse for her. Now, it happened that the king had a mare, which was covered by the horse of the *pardhan's* daughter, which resulted in the mare's bringing forth, in due time, a colt. The *pardhan's* daughter ordered her servants to bring the king's mare, with the colt, into her own stables, and when the king's servants remonstrated with her, she gave up the mare, and said the colt belonged to her, as the issue of her horse. This led to a serious quarrel with the *pardhan's* daughter and the king's servants, who said that the colt belonged to the king, as it was a issue of the king's mare, but the girl would not give it up, and at last they agreed to ask the king to render them justice. When the king, who had till then been ignorant of the affair, heard the case, he naturally decided in favour of his servants, which, of course, meant in his own favour. Upon this the *pardhan's* daughter quietly remarked :—

"Sire, your decision is not just! Do you remember how you decided in the case of the two sparrows about their chicks? You said the young ones belonged to the father, the cock-sparrow, and deprived the mother, the hen-sparrow, who had, with much trouble and anxiety, saved them from a fire, of her young ones. You must act up to that decision in this case too, and I contend that the colt belongs to my horse, its father."

The king was dumb-founded by this remark, and at last gave up the colt to the *pardhan's* daughter, saying:—"Go away, you stupid girl, and take the colt; and if you can bring me the milk of a bullock I shall certainly consider you very clever!"

The *pardhan's* daughter listened to this quietly, and went away without saying a word. On the following day she collected a basketful of rags in the streets, and began to wash them in a tank, from which the king's servants got their water for drinking and cooking purposes. When the servants saw her, they asked her what she was doing, and she answered:—

"Last night my father was confined of a baby, and I am washing the clothes used by him at the time!"

The servants burst out laughing, and asked the girl to go away, as she was spoiling their drinking-water by washing rags; but the girl refused to go away, and kept washing the rags, upon which the servants, after repeating their request, two or three times, began to beat her. The girl immediately ran to the king and complained to him of his servants' conduct, and that they had beaten her. The king summoned the servants, and asked what the row was about. The servants said:—

"Sire, as we were passing by the tank we saw this girl washing rags in it, and thus spoiling our drinking-water. We remonstrated with her, but she would not listen, and hence the quarrel."

Upon this the king cried out to the girl:—"Is this true that I hear?"

The *pardhan's* daughter replied:—"Sire, these people are telling lies, when they say they caught me washing rags. I was not washing rags; but my father has given birth to a baby, and I was washing the clothes that were used at the time of his confinement."

"What a girl!" thundered out the king. "Are you mad? How can a man give birth to a child?"

"Ha ha ha," laughed the girl, and asked the king:—"If a man cannot give birth to a hild, how can I get milk from a bullock?"

The king at once perceived that, in trying to make a fool of the *pardhan's* daughter, he himself had been befooled, and, as a second attempt to try the skill of the girl, he said:—

"Get away, you mad girl; if you can put together the roofing of a house before it is built, I will admit that you are a very clever girl."

The girl, pretending not to hear what the king said, went away without uttering a single syllable.

A few days elapsed after this incidence, and the girl, carrying a basketful of gram and a measure called *pâilî*, came near the king's palace, and cried out :—" Gram for sale; good gram for horses. Who will buy my gram ?"

The king's grooms heard the call of the supposed gram-seller, and ran and told the king that there was a girl crying out gram for sale, and as their stock was over, they would, if the king ordered, buy from the girl. The king ordered the servants to fetch the girl with the gram in his presence, and, on her being brought, he told her to measure the gram she had, upon which she cooly asked the king to apply the shig[2] to the pâili.

" Go on, measure the gram," said the king, "none of your nonsense."

But the *pardhan's* daughter pertly replied:—"Go on, apply the *shig*, and then I will fill my measure."

This roused the king's ire, and he thundered out:—"None of your impertinence. What do you mean by asking me to apply the *shig*, before you have filled the measure?"

The girl, however, remained composed, and quietly said :—" Sire, why do you get into temper? If you cannot apply the *shig* before I have filled the *pâilî*, how could you get it into your head to ask me to put together the roofing of a house before it is constructed? Is it not the same as applying the *shig* to the *pâilî* before it is filled?"

The king now clearly saw the trick, and admitted to himself that he was, for the second time, outwitted by the girl. However, he determined to try her for the third time. He therefore, dismissed the girl from his presence, saying :—

" Oh, I'll marry you, and make you eat *nâchṇî*[3] for twelve years."

The girl, however, quietly remarked:—" Oh, I'll marry you, and present you with your own child without your knowledge!" So saying she went to her house.

As soon as the girl was gone the king went to his father, the ex-king, whom he had succeeded during his life-time, as he was very old and unable to hold the reins of government any longer, and asked him to contract an alliance for him with the *pardhan's* daughter. The old king did not like the idea of his son, a king, marrying the daughter of a common *pardhan*, and tried his best to make his son dissuade from his intention. The young king, however, was determined to marry her, and he said so to his father. The old king, at length yielded, and sent for the *pardhan*. The poor *pardhan*, who feared that some new quarrel had been created by his daughter, lost no time in presenting himself before the old king, and, bowing down very low, asked what was His Majesty's pleasure, and what his orders. The old king, having asked the *pardhan* to take a seat, proposed a marriage between his son, the king, and the *pardhan's* daughter. The *pardhan* was quite astonished at the proposition, and asked the king why he took such pleasure in annoying a poor man like him with such a joke. The old king assured him that it was no joke, and that he was earnest about the marriage, no matter what the *pardhan's* social or pecuniary position might be. The *pardhan*, however, could not be convinced, and left the palace without even giving an answer, either in the affirmative or negative. When the *pardhan* had gone home, his daughter asked him why the king had sent for him, and he told her it was on occount of some business about which she must not concern herself; but she was not satisfied with such an evasive answer, and begged and urged him to tell her why he was sent for by the king. At last the *pardhan* said :—

" The old king sent for me and asked me to give you in marriage to his son, the king."

[2] When measuring gram, wheat, rice and other grains, the measure, *pâilî* or *tiprî* (one-eighth part of a *pâilî*), or any other measure is, in the first place, filled up, and then the grain, protruding above the edges of the measure, is, so to say, cut off with the finger or with a sort of rule, levelling the grain with the edges of the measure, and this is called applying the *shig*.

[3] *Nâchṇî* is a sort of grain used as food by very poor people. It is supposed to be the staple food of prisoners

"And you have agreed to it, I suppose!" asked the girl eagerly.

"No," replied the father. "In truth, I gave him no answer at all, either in the affirmative or negative."

"Oh, how silly it was of you," said the girl. "Should the king happen to send for you again and touch upon the subject, tell him you are willing to give me in marriage to his son."

The *pardhan* was quite surprised to hear his daughter talk in that way, and did not understand what to make of it. However, he promised to give an answer in the affirmative, if the king should send for him and moot the subject.

The following day, being worried by the young king to be told the result of his interview with the *pardhan*, the old king sent for the *pardhan*. When the *pardhan* came the old king asked him if he had considered over their conversation of the previous day, and what answer he was prepared to give, and added, by the way, his hope that the answer would be in the affirmative. The *pardhan*, though with some hesitation, gave a reply satisfactory to the old king, who fixed a day for the celebration of the marriage.

In the meanwhile the young king ordered the construction, in the neighbourhood of the old palace, of a new one, seven storeys high, and in the seventh storey he stored *nâchnî* enough to last for twelve years. This new palace was intended for the imprisonment of the *pardhan's* daughter, with the view of making her eat *nâchnî* for twelve years, as he had already told her. Such was the impatience of the young king to see the palace (or rather the prison) ready, that he engaged thousands of workmen, and a work that would ordinarily have taken years to finish he got completed in a few days.

Preparations, on a grand scale, were, also, made on both sides. Nothing was spared to lend to the occasion a grandeur befitting a royal wedding. Time flitted by rapidly and the day appointed for the marriage came. At last the auspicious occasion was solemnized with great pomp, and the feasting extended over several days.

A few days more passed, and the *pardhan's* daughter, now the queen, was duly transplanted to the new palace which had been expressly built for her. In the whole of the palace could be seen nothing save, perhaps, one bedstead and a chair, and plenty of *nâchnî*, which would serve her as food for twelve long years, during which she was to be imprisoned, all alone. The *pardhan's* daughter was not, however, to be outdone. She had taken the precaution of carrying with her a few rats, which were at once set to make a subterraneous passage. In a few days' time a passage was made, which, by a strange coincidence, happened to lead into another palace in a neighbouring village. In this second palace there were no human beings, but in it were stored the best sorts of provisions, confectionery, sweatmeats, and, in fact, everything one could desire. Here she took up her abode, which would be for twelve years, for she knew too well that her husband would not open her prison gates, much less see her, during that period. She did not also forget her rats, whom she fed every time she took her meals, and these rats were her only companions in her solitude.

She thus lived happily for several years. One day her husband happened to take a ride through this village, and chanced to see her at one of the windows of the palace. The king did not recognise her, and how could he? What reason had he to believe that he saw his wife? Had he not imprisoned her safely in the new palace, where no one saw her, and from which she had no means to escape? And he was greatly enamoured of her beauty. The *pardhan's* daughter, however, recognised him at the first glance, but feigned ignorance; yet for all that she thought this the best opportunity to accomplish her object, and so accepted his advances. The king soon began to love her very passionately, and visited her every day. At the end of six or seven months she became pregnant, and in due time gave birth to a son, in every respect the type of his father. Some time after this occurrence, the king gave her to understand that he was, for some reason or other, obliged to discontinue his visits to her. She,

therefore, asked him to give her something which would serve her as a souvenir of their love. The king had not the heart to refuse her request. and so he pulled off from his finger a ring, which he presented to her, little suspecting that some day this very ring would be produced as an evidence against himself.

A few years more rolled away, and the twelve years during which the *pardhan's* daughter was to be imprisoned with the view of making her eat *nâchṇî* for that period, were also over. The *pardhan's* daughter, while there were yet two or three days remaining, set her rats to again open a passage to her prison, and the rats, like grateful creatures, at once set to work and finished it in a shorter time than was expected, and on the last day of the twelfth year our heroine, followed by her son, passed through the subterraneous passage, and again installed herself in her place of confinement, so that, should any one open the palace gates, they would see her there, and imagine that she had remained there, ever since she had been brought in by her husband twelve years ago. The king, too, did not forget her, and he had determined to open the palace gates on that very day. He had for this purpose invited several of the neighbouring kings and princes and other men of note, for he had counted upon seeing — either the *nâchṇî* more or less all consumed, or the *pardhan's* daughter a corpse through starvation, a fact less probable.

At the appointed time hundreds of kings and princes and nobles and other great men, who were fully acquainted with the object of the invitation, came to see the result. When all had assembled together the king went in person, and, in the presence of all, himself unlocked the doors of the palace, when, wonder of wonders, contrary to all expectations of the king, what did they see?— the nâchṇî untouched, and the pardhan's daughter carrying a child of three or four years, which she brought and seated on the lap of the king, saying :—

"Here is *your* son, whom I told you, twelve years ago, I would present to you."

All the guests were thunderstruck at this sight, and so, too, the king, her husband, who at last asked for an explanation. The *pardhan's* daughter said not a word, but produced the king's ring, which she had asked from him at the palace in the neighbouring village, and asked if he could deny that it was his ring. The king admitted it to be his ring, but was at his wit's end to understand how she managed to leave the palace, which he had taken the precaution, not only of locking securely, but of having guarded by several men both by day and night. The *pardhan's* daughter then related how she had taken with her a few rats, who made a subterraneous passage, which, happily for her, led to the palace in which, after several years, the king saw her, and to which he made visits, the result of which was she became pregnant, and in due time gave birth to the son, whom she now presented to the king, his father. She also mentioned the day on which she asked the king for something as a souvenir of their love, upon which she received the ring she had just produced. She concluded by telling them how, again, she got the rats, whom she had fed for twelve years with the same food as she ate, of which there was an abundance in the palace, to open up the same passage, by which she was enabled to bring herself and their son to the abode where they now saw her. All the guests were surprised at the courage and the ingenuity of the *pardhan's* daughter, and the king, too, her husband, admitted her to be a very clever person, and confessed himself outwitted by her. She was then conducted in great splendour to their old palace, in which they had been married, and there they lived happily to a ripe old age, surrounded by many children and grandchildren.

MICELLANEA.

SOME DATES OF THE BURMESE COMMON ERA.

Mr. Taw Sein Ko's account of the Pos̆us̆daung inscription of S'inbyûyin, *ante*, Vol. XXII. pp. 2-5, contains the following six dates of the Burmese common era, which should admit of verification :—

1. — 'Sunday, the 8th of the waxing moon of Pyâðô (*i. e.* Pâusha), 1136, Sakkarâj';

2. — '**Monday**, the 8th of the waning moon of the same month';

3. — '**Wednesday**, the 9th of the waxing moon of Tabôdwè (*i. e.* Mâgha), 1136, Sakkarâj, and 2318, Anno Buddhae';

4. — '**An eclipse of the moon on the evening of Wednesday**, the 1st of the waning moon of Tabôdwè'; also described as 'the first day of the waning moon of Mâgha, 1136, Sakkarâj, and 2318, Anno Buddhae, when Asurinda had seized the bright moon and released her from danger';

5. — '**Wednesday**, the full moon day of Tabaung' (*i. e.* Phâlguna), 1136, Sakkarâj;

6. — '**Saturday**, the full-moon day of Vaiśâkhâ, 1137, Sakkarâj, and 2319, Anno Buddhae'; also described as 'Saturday, the full-moon day of the same month' (of Kasôn, *i. e.* Vaiśâkha, 1137, Sakkarâj).

The common era of Burma, according to Sir A. Cunningham, was introduced from India[1] in A. D. 638; and there can, therefore, be no doubt that the eclipse spoken of in connection with the fourth of the above dates is the lunar eclipse which took place, at Ava, about 9 p. m. on **Wednesday**, the 15th February A. D. 1775,[2] by the Indian calendar the 15th of the bright half of the month Mâgha, but here described as the first of the waning moon of Mâgha. And counting backwards and forwards from that day, the other dates, as indicated by the week-days, must correspond—

No. 1 to **Sunday**, the 8th January A. D. 1775, by the Indian calendar the 7th of the bright half of Pausha, but here called the 8th;

No. 2 to **Monday**, the 23rd January A. D. 1775, by the Indian calendar the 6th of the dark half of Pausha, but here called the 8th;

No. 3 to **Wednesday**, the 8th February A. D. 1775, by the Indian calendar the 8th of the bright half of Mâgha, but here called the 9th;

No. 5 to **Wednesday**, the 15th March A. D. 1775, by the Indian calendar the 13th of the bright half of Phâlguna, but here called the full-moon day; and

No. 6 to **Saturday**, the 13th May A. D. 1775, by the Indian calendar the 13th of the bright half of Vaiśâkha, but here also called the full-moon day.

The explanation of these discrepancies is perhaps to be found in the statement of Sir A. Cunningham that the Burmese luni-solar year has twelve lunar months of 29 and 30 days alternately. For if we assign 30 days to Pausha, 29 to Mâgha, 30 to Phâlguna, and 29 to Chaitra, and take the month Pausha of Sakkarâj 1136 to have commenced on the 1st January A. D. 1775, Sunday the 8th January will be the 8th of Pausha, Monday the 23rd January the 23rd (= 15 + 8th) of Pausha, Wednesday the 8th February the 9th of Mâgha, Wednesday the 15th February the 16th (= 15 + 1st) of Mâgha, Wednesday the 15th March the 15th of Phâlguna, and Saturday the 13th May the 15th of Vaiśâkha; and it would thus seem as if the first fifteen days of each month, in Burma, were called days of the waxing moon, and the following days of the month days of the waning moon, quite **irrespectively of the actual course of the moon and of the** *tithi* **that ends on each day.**

I hope that this matter will be inquired into by somebody residing in Burma, with the help of a Burmese calendar. What we want is, *e. g.* for the year now current, Sakkarâj 1255, the first day of each lunar month and a full and exact scheme of one of the months, with the proper European equivalent for each day. It would also be desirable to obtain the scheme of a year which contains an intercalated month. This information it would not be difficult to procure.

F. KIELHORN.

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[1] [But (?) from further East. — ED.]

[2] From May 1773 to June 1776 this was the only lunar eclipse which took place on a Wednesday.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

BRANGINOCO.

This extraordinary word is used by the old Portuguese travellers for the name of a prominent **King of Pegu** who reigned 1551-1581 A. D.

His real name or rather title, as known to local history, is usually given in the modern form of **Bayin Naung** (royal or divine king). This title would be spelt **B'urañ Nauñ**, which does not, however, account for all of **Branginoco**. But Scott, *Burma, as it was*, &c., p. 15, gives a clue, when he calls him "**Buyin-Gyee Noung Zaw,**" meaning thereby **Bayinji**[1] **Naungzò** (great royal king-chief). This would be spelt **B'urañkri Nauñchau**, which is quite enough to account for Branginoco, allowing for the difference in pronunciation, which is known to exist between that and the present period.

R. C. TEMPLE.

[1] Sometimes still pronounced Bayingî.

THE ROOTS OF THE DHATUPATHA NOT FOUND IN LITERATURE.

BY G. BÜHLER.

IN his "Review of Recent Studies in Hindu Grammar," which fills pp. 171-197 of fourteenth volume of the *American Journal of Philology*, the continuation of an article on Hindu and European Grammar in the fifth volume of the same periodical, the late Professor Whitney re-opens the discussion of a question, which used to sorely vex the soul of the Sanskritists of the last generation, but has since been dropped in Europe, because the progress of Indo-Aryan research has shewn very clearly what the solution of the problem is. Professor Whitney, engrossed with his Vedic studies, does not seem to have noticed the labours of the Prakritists. He informs us on p. 182 that there are in the Dhâtupâṭha a "thousand or twelve hundred false roots," and declares that the fact of their "voices being not less carefully defined by the Dhâtupâṭha than those of the eight or nine hundred genuine ones casts a shade of unreality over the whole subject of voice-conjugation." On the next page he condoles with Geheimrath von Böhtlingk, who, in his second edition of Pâṇini, has given "the whole Dhâtupâṭha in length and breadth, finding nothing else to put into its place," though he ought to have known better. Next he severely blames Dr. Liebich, who "talks of probable interpolations and intimates that he deems them posterior to the great trio of Pâṇini, Kâtyâyana and Patañjali, acknowledging that his (*i. e.*, Professor Whitney's) criticisms may be more or less applicable to their successors." Turning finally to the Sanskritists of the modern school in general, he throws down the gauntlet to them and winds up with the following peroration: — "This free and easy way of disposing of the subject is quite characteristic of the whole guild of partizans of native grammar. It appears impossible to bring any one of them to stand up and face fairly the question of the Dhâtupâṭha. There are not far from nine hundred real and authenticable roots in Sanskṛit. We could believe that the uncritical interpolations of later grammarians might add to this number a dozen, or a score, or fifty, or (to take the extreme) even a hundred or two; but it is the wildest of nonsense (only strong expressions suit the case) to hold that they could swell the number to over two thousand. Such increase is thus far wholly unexplained, perhaps for ever unexplainable, and certainly most unpardonable; and until it is in some way accounted for, the admirers of the Hindu science of grammar ought to talk in very humble tones. If these roots are not the ones recognized by the wondrous three, when and under what circumstances and by whose influence were the additional twelve hundred foisted in, to the abandonment and loss of the old genuine list? The difficulty of explaining this seems not less great than that of supposing the whole two thousand as old as Pâṇini himself; both are hard enough; and in either event the taint of falsity attaches to the Hindu system as we know it and are expected to use it."

Professor Whitney's grievances are therefore: (1) against "the guild of the admirers of Hindu grammar" that they will not — to use with Professor Whitney the language of the prize-ring — come up to the scratch and fully discuss his objections to the Dhâtupâṭha, though they do answer his strictures on other and less important points: (2) against the Hindu grammarians that their Dhâtupâṭha contains a very large number of verbs, which are not traceable in the accessible Sanskṛit literature and which therefore must be "sham" and "false," *i. e.*, if I understand Professor Whitney rightly, inventions either of Pâṇini or of his successors.

If I venture to offer some remarks on the points, raised by the illustrious Praeceptor Columbiae, my object is to suggest a definite line of enquiry, which, I think, may lead to tangible results, valuable alike for Sanskṛit and comparative philology, and to add some practical proposals. In doing so, I must premise that I do not belong to any guild of partizans of the Vyâkaraṇa (if such a one exists). Eighteen years of personal intercourse with the Hindus have taught me at least something about their many excellent qualities and their weaknesses, which are all clearly discernible in their system of grammar. It shews their great acumen and their pedantry, their laboriousness and their practical sense as well as their feebleness in the struggle after an ideal, which is much too high for their strength. I am even ready to believe with the

great Mîmâṁsaka Bhaṭṭa, that the Hindu grammarians occasionally resemble "horsemen who forget the existence of their steeds."[1] But, strong language on the part of a European or American authority, however great, is insufficient to persuade me that the Hindu grammarians have invented forms or roots. Such an assertion I could believe only on the evidence of stronger proof than the fact that one, or a dozen, or even a score, of scholars cannot find the forms taught. Until that has been furnished, I prefer to adhere to my own opinions, which in the main coincide with those of Professors Westergaard and Benfey. I must also express my doubts regarding the desirability of the use of strong language, in this case and in all other scientific discussions, both for personal reasons and out of regard for our special branch of learning.

Professor Whitney's first complaint seems to me well-founded. I likewise regret that the specialists in Hindu grammar and particularly the able pupils, whom Professor Kielhorn has trained, hitherto have not turned to the Dhâtupâṭha, and have not availed themselves of the plentiful materials which are ready at hand in order to carry on and to supplement the work, begun in so masterly a manner by Professor Westergaard. Since the times of the great Dane the critical treatment of Pâṇini's Sûtrapâṭha has been begun, and perfectly trustworthy critical editions of the Vârttikas and of their great Commentary, as well as of the Kâtantra, have been published. The Paribhâshâs, which are the key to the whole system of Hindu grammar, have been so excellently translated and so carefully illustrated by Professor Kielhorn, that even a beginner may understand their application. The Kâśikâ together with its huge Vṛitti, the Padamañjarî of Haradattamiśra, Kaiyaṭa's Pradîpa, a number of Nâgojî's and Bhaṭṭojî's grammatical treatises, Bhartṛihari's Vâkyapadîya, Sâyaṇa-Mâdhava's Dhâtuvṛitti, Śâkaṭâyana's grammar and the Sârasvata have at least been printed, be it in their entirety or in part. And for those, who desire to critically examine these works, there are good old MSS. in the public libraries of India, which the liberality of the Indian Governments makes accessible to all Sanskṛit students. Finally, the Grammars of Chandra, Jinendra-Pûjyapâda, Buddhisâgara, Malayagiri and Hemachandra have been recovered in MSS., mostly together with their Aṅgas, as well as Jinendrabuddhi's Kâśikâvṛittinyâsapañjikâ, and an apograph of Sâyaṇa's Dhâtuvṛitti is lying in the library of Elphinstone College, Bombay, which has been transcribed from a MS. (at Nargunḍ), dated within a hundred years of the author's time.[2]

With these materials, which mostly were not accessible to Professor Westergaard, or only so in indifferent modern MSS., it is possible to settle the following points :—

(1) Which portions of our Dhâtupâṭha were certainly known to Pâṇini and the other two Munis.

(2) Whether any additions have been made by the later authorities of Pâṇini's school, Vâmana, Jayâditya, Jinendrabuddhi and so forth, and what has been added by each.

(3) What our Dhâtupâṭha, or the list of verbs in the Dhâtuvṛitti, owes to the homonymous treatises of Śarvavarman, Chandragomin and the other authors of independent Śabdânuśâsanas.

Though Professor Westergaard's and Geheimrath von Böhtlingk's works contain a good deal that helps, the task is nevertheless one of considerable magnitude, and it requires a thorough acquaintance with the Hindu system of grammar, as well as with the Hindu ways of thought, which differ considerably from those of Europeans. Such an enquiry will solve nearly all the doubts regarding the history of the Dhâtupâṭha and make unnecessary all speculations whether the Munis had a different list, or if their successors "foisted in" new roots or meanings. From the end of the sixth century of our era it is possible to determine with full

[1] *Tantravârttika*, p. 201, ll. 3-4 (Benares edition) :—सूत्रवार्त्तिकभाष्येषु दृश्यते चापशब्दनम् । अश्वारूढाः कथं चाश्वान्विस्मरेयुः सचेतनाः ॥ The sermon, in which Kumârila expands this text, is highly edifying, and the best Vaiyâkaraṇas living have admitted to me that the charges made there are not unfair.

[2] See my *Rough List*, No. 120. This MS., or its original, will be used for the continuation of the edition of the *Dhâtuvṛitti* in the *Benares Paṇḍit*.

exactness the meaning of every explanation, given in the Dhâtupâṭha. Bhaṭṭi's version of the Râmâyaṇa, which has been composed between Guptasaṁvat 252 and 330 and probably dates from the reign of Dharasena III. of Valabhî about G. S. 310, illustrates most of them, and Halâyudha's Kavirahasya,[3] written during the reign of one of the Kṛishṇarâjas of the Râshṭra-kûṭa line, between A. D. 775 and A. D. 973, shows the meaning and conjugation of every root. If further help is wanted, there are considerable fragments of Bhîma's or Bhauma's Râvaṇârjunîya, which Kshemendra,[4] saec. XI, quotes as an instance of a *śâstrakâvya* or *kâvyaśâstra*.

As far as my own, of a necessity desultory and incomplete, studies in Hindu grammar permit me to judge, the result of the whole enquiry will be, that the Dhâtupâṭha of the "wondrous three" did not differ materially from that commented by Sâyaṇa. And it is not doubtful to me that verifications for a certain number of verbs and inflexions will be found in the Bhâshya, and other grammatical works. It seems to me impossible to contemptuously leave aside such sentences as मातरं प्रमिणीमि जानित्रीम् Vârttika 3 on P. III. 1, 78 (Kielhorn, *M. Bh.* II. 61), or यत्र भूम्यां वृणसे[5] *ibidem* Vârttika 2, इदमिदानीं ग्लुञ्चे रूपमग्लुञ्चीत् (*M. Bh.* II. 56), or such specific forms as न्यग्लुचत् । न्यग्लोचीत् । *ibidem*, and अवादिग्ये (*M. Bh.* III. 346).[6] The fact that a preposition is prefixed to the last three forms indicates that Patañjali had in his mind a particular passage or phrase, in which they occurred. The four sentences are quotations, as unsuspicious as the famous वरतनु संप्रवदन्ति कुक्कुटाः, पञ्च पञ्चनखा भक्ष्याः and so forth. I must add that, if I were as much racked by doubts regarding the history of the Dhâtupâṭha, as Professor Whitney appears to have been, I should not lose a moment, before I began to search, or had searched by others every work, bearing on the question. Together with his staff of able pupils Professor Whitney no doubt could have effected all that is necessary and laid his fellow-students under new obligations by bringing out a work, giving a clear and comprehensive view of the state of the list of roots before and after beginning of our era.

Turning to **Professor Whitney's grievance against the Hindu grammarians,** his assertion that they have inserted "false," "sham," or "fictitious" forms in the list of verbs, which, as is acknowledged at all hands, has an intimate connection with their Śabdânuśâsana, is supported in his present paper by the sole argument that he cannot find the verbs, their inflexions and meanings in the literature accessible to him. In his earlier article (*Am. Journ. Phil.* Vol. V.) he refers to Professor Edgren's paper on the Verbal Roots of the Sanskrit Language (*Journ. Am. Or Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 1-55). He greatly approves of his pupil's results and appears to wish them to be taken together with his own argument. Professor Edgren's views coincide with those of sundry authorities in comparative philology, while they disagree from those of the most competent Sanskritists of the last generation.

Briefly stated, **Professor Edgren's line of argument** is as follows: — (1) The Dhâtupâṭha contains a great many more roots that cannot be found, than such as are traceable in Sanskrit literature, and the same remark holds good with respect to the inflexions and meanings of the roots. And in spite of a "vast" progress in the exploration of Vedic and Sanskrit works, the proportion of the former had remained in 1882 virtually the same as in 1841, when Professor Westergaard expressed the conviction that every form in the Dhâtupâṭha is genuine and would be found some time or other in inaccessible or unexplored works. Professor Edgren's second proposition is certainly not in accordance with the facts, as will be shewn below.

(2) The roots, preserved in the grammars and their Aṅgas alone, are barren and mostly have no offspring, — are not connected with derivative nouns, such as the genuine roots have

[3] See Professor Bhâṇḍârkar's *Report*, 1883-4, p. 8 f. The poem is a Śâstrakâvya in the guise of a *Praśasti*, addressed directly to the poet's patron, king Kṛishṇa.

[4] Kaśmîr *Report*, p. 62f. and Professor Peterson, *First Report*, p. 8 f.

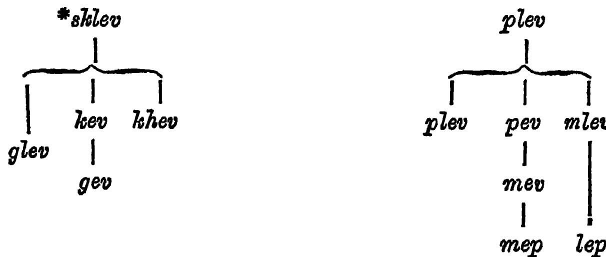
[5] Professor Whitney omits वृण in para. 731 of his *Grammar*. Professor Westergaard mentions that वृण occurs in the Bhâshya.

[6] दिग्ये is according to the Kâśikâ the perfect of दीङ् and stands for दिद्ये. For a dental, followed by *ya*, a guttural is substituted also in *nikyaṁ* instead of *nityam*, Aśoka, Rock Edict XIV. (Kâlsî), and there are other instances of the same change in the Indian Vernaculars.

produced in great numbers. Only 150 among them seem to have "a possible connection in sense with surrounding or similar nominal forms." This proposition, too, requires considerable modification.

(3) Most of the roots, not found in Sanskṛit literature, are *not* represented in the cognate languages. Professor Fick's *Worterbuch* shews only 80 roots, solely known through the Dhâtupâṭha, to have belonged to the common stock of the Indo-European speech, and it would seem that in some cases the evidence adduced is too weak. On the other hand, among the verified roots, 450 have representatives in Greek, or in the Iranian, the Italic, the Teutonic, the Sclavonic and the Celtic languages.

(4) On a closer examination the unverified roots shew various peculiarities, which point to an artificial or fictitious origin. First, the majority of them naturally arranges itself into smaller or larger groups of forms of similar sound and identical in meaning, "the analogy of form being such as to exclude the principle of growth and decay." The first instance given is the group *kev, khev, gev, glev, pev, plev, mev, mlev, śev, meb, peb, mep, lep* with the meaning 'to honour, to serve,' and with absolutely identical inflexion. To Professor Edgren (p. 15) "it seems, as if, in coining these counterfeits, the guiding principle had been at first to model them in form and sense on some genuine radical, rightly or wrongly interpreted," and he suggests that the above group "leans on the real root *sev* as its *point d'appui.*" To me it would seem that, in the case quoted, Professor Edgren has made his list unnecessarily long. *Sev* and *śev* differ only in pronunciation, and so do *pev* and *peb*, as well as *mev* and *meb*. To a Hindu the syllables *si* and *śi*, *se* and *śe* are absolutely the same thing, and our Dictionaries are full of words, which shew sometimes the one and sometimes the other. Again *ba* and *va* likewise are often exchanged. In Northern India (excepting Kaśmîr), and in the East, *va* has been lost completely and, as the inscriptions prove, since ancient times. The ten remaining forms, it would seem to me, are clearly variants of two originals, **sklev* and *plev*, and are due to the same principles of change, which are regularly operative in the Prâkṛits and not rarely active in Sanskṛit, as well as in other Indo-European languages. The pedigree[7] stands thus : —



The form *gev* has been preserved, I think, in the noun *gevayâ* 'the low ones' (Aśoka, Pillar Edict, III.), which is best explained as equivalent to *gevakâḥ* 'servitors, slaves.'[8] The same remarks apply to most of Professor Edgren's other groups, which usually consist of one or two old forms, with numerous dialectic varieties or such varieties as might be expected in the same dialect, according to the laws of Indo-Aryan phonetics. Some shew, too, an intimate connection with words of common occurrence in Sanskṛit or in the Prâkṛit languages. Thus, in the second *gaṇa*, झम्प् गतौ is evidently the parent of the modern Gujarâtî झापवुं and so forth, and of the Sanskṛit झम्पा, झम्प, झम्पन. Again, in his fifth *gaṇa* गज्ज् शब्दार्थे bears the same relation to the common Sanskṛit verb गर्ज् as कष् to कर्ष्, जप् to जल्प् and so forth. And जगति is probably the parent of

[7] Examples of the assumed changes are to be found in Professor E. Müller's *Simplified Pali Grammar*, and Professor Pischel's edition of Hemachandra's *Prakrit Grammar*, as well as in Sanskṛit, where, *e. g.*, the same words sometimes shew *k* and *g*, like कर्त or गर्त, कुल्फ or गुल्फ, किरिक or गिरिक, संकर or संगर, कुह[र] and गुह[ा], तटाक and तडाग, लकुट and लगुट, and where roots are found ending in *k*, or equivalents thereof, while the corresponding ones in the cognate languages shew the media.

[8] I withdraw my former proposal to derive *gevayâ* from *glep dainye*, because the Pâḷi usually preserves a *la* preceded by gutturals, and because I find in Pâḷi many cases, where *aka* is represented by *aya*.

गज 'elephant,' literally 'the roarer, the trumpeter.' The important fact that a very large proportion of the roots of the Dhâtupâṭha is Prakritic in form, has apparently not been fully realised by Professor Edgren, though Professors Weber, Benfey and many other Sanskritists have repeatedly called attention to it, both years ago and quite lately.

The second point, which, according to Professor Edgren, makes the *introuvable* roots appear artificial, is the fact that so many of them are stated to have the same meaning. To take only the worst case, there are, according to Professor Edgren, 336 verbs, to which the explanation गतौ is appended, and only 65 can be verified in literary works. The fact, no doubt, looks curious. But it becomes easily intelligible, if one consults the Hindu Śâstras as to the meaning of गति or गमन. The Naiyâyikas and Vaiśeshikas say,[9] कर्म पञ्चविधमुत्क्षेपणमवक्षेपणमाकुञ्चनं प्रसारणं गमनम्, and give as the definition of गमनम्। उत्क्षेपणादिचतुष्टयभिन्नत्वे सति कर्मत्ववत्. They futher add, गमनं बहुविधम्। भ्रमणं रेचनं स्पन्दनमूर्ध्वज्वलनं तिर्यग्गमनमिति ॥ It is evident that the author, or authors, of the Dhâtupâṭha hold the same opinion, and that they mean to say that the roots, marked गतौ. denote some kind of motion. It is a matter of course that definitions like भाषणे भासने । शब्दार्थे and हिंसायाम् are likewise intended merely as general indications of the category to which the verbs belong, not as accurate statements of their meanings.

The third point, which rouses Professor Edgren's suspicions, is that the same verbs are used according to the Dhâtupâṭha आदरे। अनादरे। गतौ हिंसायाम्। भाषणे भासने or व्यक्तायां वाचि and अव्यक्तायां वाचि. Nevertheless, the Sanskṛit dictionaries shew that many verbs actually are used with widely divergent meanings, and he might have found without difficulty in English and in other languages a good many instances, exactly analogous to those which have appeared to him so extraordinary in Sanskṛit.

The problems, which the Dhâtupâṭha offers, ought to be approached in a very different spirit and can be solved only by a different method. Taking as correct Professor Whitney's statement (*Am. Journ. Phil.* Vol. V. p. 5 of the reprint) that in all eleven hundred roots are awaiting verification, and likewise Professor Edgren's assertion that 150 among them are connected with nouns occurring in Sanskṛit literature, and that 80 have representatives in the cognate languages, the genuineness of 870 forms has still to be proved, and the number of unverified inflexions and meanings is in all probability at least equally great.

The first question to be put is, of course, if all that can be done has been done in order to account for them, or if there are still materials unused and unexplored. The next consideration is, whether the author or authors of the Dhâtupâṭha may be supposed to have drawn on other materials than those accessible in the present day and if there are circumstances which could explain the apparent barrenness of so many roots as well as the absence of representatives in the cognate languages.

Professor Edgren is certainly right in maintaining that a great many Sanskṛit works, and particularly the more ancient ones, have been explored lexicographically since Professor Westergaard's times. But he is as certainly in error, when he says the number of verified roots, meanings and inflexions has remained virtually the same. A comparison of the articles on roots in the *Petersburg Dictionaries* and in Professor Whitney's *Supplement* with the *Radices* proves that incontestably. Without counting those roots, which occur in Sanskṛit literature, but are not found in the Dhâtupâṭha, Professor Whitney has 120 verified roots, for which Professor Westergaard was only able to quote Pâṇini, the Bhaṭṭikâvya and the Nirukta, and the smaller *Petersburg Dictionary* has about a score more. Each Saṁhitâ of the Vedas, the Kâṭhaka, the Maitrâyaṇîya, the Taittirîya and that of the Śaunaka Atharvavedîs has furnished its contribution. The same remark applies to the Brâhmaṇas, the Upanishads and the Vedâṅgas, among the Sûtras especially to the huge Kalpa of the Âpastambîyas. And it must be noted that, with the exception of the Ṛik and Atharva Saṁhitâs, which have been

[9] I take the following definitions from Mahâmahopâdhyâya Bh. Jhalkîkar's excellent *Nyâyakosha* (second edition, 1893, Bo. Sansk. Ser. No. XLIX.).

indexed, the exploration of the printed works is not complete, and that the interpretation even of these two Saṁhitâs, is not yet settled. The Ṛichas and the Mantras of the Atharvâṅgirasas are still a field *yatra yuddhaṁ kachâkachi* between the strict philological school and the linguists, and will probably remain so for some time. It is not doubtful that, with an alteration of the method of interpretation, the views regarding the meanings of a certain number of roots and words, and regarding the derivation of the latter will considerably change.[10]

It is, of course, well known to all Sanskritists that there are other Vedic works, accessible in MSS., which have been explored only very superficially, or have not been used at all. Among these may be named the Kapishṭhala Saṁhitâ of the Yajurveda, and the Paippalâda version of the Atharvaveda, which Professor Whitney was to have taken in hand, and there are, besides the last Praśnas of the Âpastambîya Śrauta Sûtras, a number of exceedingly bulky Kalpas, that of the Mânavas, the Baudhâyanîyas, the Bhâradvâjas, the Hairaṇyakeśas and the Vaikhânasas.[11] Smaller in compass are the Gṛihyasûtras of the Vârâhas,[12] of Laugâkshi,[13] of Jaimini,[14] and the recently recovered Dharmasûtra of Hârîta,[15] one of the earliest compositions of its class. Among these the Baudhâyaniya Sûtras may be expected to furnish much that is valuable, both because they are very ancient and because the Dharmasûtra already has furnished something, and the same may be said of the Hârîta Dharmasûtra. Among the Vedic works, certainly existing in India, but not as yet easily accessible, the Śâtyâyanaka, the Paiṅgyamahâbrâhmaṇa, the Śaunkasûtra of the Ṛigveda, the Bhṛigusûtra of the Black Yajurveda and the Gautamasûtra of the Sâmaveda may be mentioned as instances.

Though the Vedic literature may be justly expected to furnish most for the elucidation of the enigmas of the Dhâtupâṭha, yet the two great Epics yield, too, a good many contributions. A careful study of the largest Parvans of the Mahâbhârata permits me to say that something may be gleaned there in spite of Geheimrath von Böhtlingk's harvesting for his two dictionaries. Professor Holtzmann's grammatical extracts (*Grammatisches aus dem Mahâbhârata*) are incomplete and not always trustworthy. Spellings like *cīvita rācan, stāpya*, the explanation of the ablative *kshuttaḥ* as a perfect passive participle and of *brūyāsta* as a medial form, and the translation of *pitā mahyaṁ daydhaḥ* by "der Vater wurde mir *gebissen*" and similar mistakes are certainly unfortunate. The incompleteness of Professor Holtzmann's excerpts became very evident when Dr. Winternitz, while writing his review for the *Oesterreichische Monatsshrift für den Orient*, carefully went over one single Parvan. Among the Purâṇas, the language of which so closely resembles that of the Epics, it is unfortunately that huge forgery of the eleventh or twelfth century A. D., the Bhâgavata, which has been explored most thoroughly. The older ones, with the exception of the Vishṇupurâṇa, have received very little attention. Among other works, the authors of which probably, or certainly, have not written according to Pâṇini and the Dhâtupâṭha, I may point to the Saṁhitâs of the ancient Bhâgavatas[16] and Śaivas, those belonging to the ancient Jyotisha, the Gajaśâstra, the Vâstuvidyâ, the Nâṭya and Saṁgita Śâstras, and the medical Saṁhitâs. Among these, only the last have engaged the attention of the European lexicographers, especially of Professor von Roth. The remainder has hardly been looked at, though MSS. of them, *e. g.*, of the large Vâsishṭha

[10] I may state that I stand on the side of those who consider the Vedas to be Indian books, and interpret them as such. The older school has rendered most important services chiefly by its successful war against the omnipotence of the Hindu tradition. But it is just this success that has caused its chief weaknesses

[11] A bad copy of the *Vaikhânasa Srauta Sûtra* is in the State Library at Munich, good copies are in the Sarasvatîbhâṇḍâgâra of the Mahârâja of Mysore. Copies of the *Grihya* and *Dharmasûtras* are in the Vienna University Library.

[12] Recovered by the late Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik from Khandesh.

[13] Or, of the *Kâṭhakas*.

[14] In the Sarasvatîbhâṇḍâgâra of Mysore.

[15] See Prefatory Notes to Pandit Vaman Shastri Islampurkar's edition of *Parâśara*, Vol. I. p. 16 f. (Bo. S. Ser. No. xlvii).

[16] See Dr. R. G. Bhâṇḍarkar, *Report* for 1883-4, p. 8.

Saṁhitâ, the Vṛiddha Garga, the Pâlakâpya,[17] Bharata's Nâṭya[18] and Saṁgita Śâstras and the Vâstuśâstra are lying in the public libraries of India. The number of the existing published and unpublished compositions of the learned Kavis and of the Pandits on all kinds of 'Śâstras, on paper, stone and copper, which have been explored either insufficiently or not at all, is simply legion. And it is not doubtful that they might help to verify a good many roots, meanings or forms.

In order to prove that these expectations are not quite unfounded, I give here a list of some aorists, which Professor Whitney's *Supplement* does not take into account, from the Daśakumâracharita, together with a few taken from other sources. They are:—

आयिष्ट (पला+) D. iv;[19] ऐक्षिषि D. v; अक्रामीत् (sic) D. ii; अगादीत् D. ii, iii, vii (8 times); अगाहिष्ट D. iii, viii; अघ्रासिषम् D. iii; अचक्षिषि D. vii;[20] अचारीत् D. viii; अचुम्बिषम् D. iii; अजायिषत परा+) D. vi; अतूतुषत् Śrîkaṇṭhachar., 9, 21; अदद्रत् Haravijaya, 3, 30; अधायिषि D. iv; अपूपुजत्; D. vi; अप्रोषि D. vi; अबभवत् Śrîk. Char., 5. 46; अयतिष्ट D. viii; अयंस्त D. ii; अयाचिष्ट D. vii; अरारमत् D. iii, vi, viii; अरोदीत् D. ii; अरुत्सत D. vi; अलपिषम् D. vi; अलापिषम् D. iii; अलिप्त: Haravijaya, 5, 102; अवन्दिष्ट D. ii; अवल्गि Śrîk. Char., 5, 14; अवर्तिष्ट D. ii, iii, iv, v; अस्मेषि D. v; अजिघांसीत् D. viii; अहसीत् D. viii.

Every one of these forms will necessitate at least the addition of a +, or the removal of a square bracket, in Professor Whitney's Dhâtupâṭha. The occurrence of पराजयिषत makes also desirable a small alteration of the wording of para. 998 *f.* of the second edition of the *Grammar*, which paragraph Professor Whitney would probably have seen reason to modify still more, had he been able to further extend his researches in classical Saṅskṛit. I may add, that the remarks in para. 925, *a* and *b*, of the *Grammar* are absolutely erroneous. Both the Parasmaipada and the Âtmanepada of the Precative are very common in classical Saṅskṛit, of course not in the texts consulted by Professor Whitney, but in their proper sphere, those portions of the Kâvyas, which are called technically *Âśishaḥ*. Thus, there are *ten* precatives in the first canto of the Śrîkaṇṭhacharita, *twenty-two* (all Par.) in the Sûryaśataka (saec. vi), *fourteen* in the Chaṇḍiśataka (saec. vii), and their number is very large in the Praśastis. The little hymn, incorporated in the Jvâlâmukhi Praśasti, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 129 f., offers sixteen readable forms: (1) पायात्, (2) अव्यात् (half a dozen times), (3) खण्डिषीष्ट, (4) एधिषीष्ट, (5) संगसीष्ट, (occurs also Śrîk. Char., 1 24), (6) विद्योतिष्ट, (7) संबोभूयिषीष्ट, (8) प्रकांक्षूयिषीष्ट, (9) कंसिसीष्ट, (10) अशिशीष्ट [अशिषीष्ट], (11) त्रासीष्ट, (12) दासीष्ट, (13) गाहिषीष्ट, (14) स्थासीष्ट, (15) धृषीष्ट, (16) निकृषीष्ट, and others which I have not been able to make out owing to the unsatisfactory state of the squeeze.[21] From the Haravijaya, 5, 117, I add प्रा_वृषीष्ट.

These facts, to which others will be added in the Appendix to this paper, will suffice to substantiate the assertion, that **the partially explored and the unexplored classical literature can furnish facts, confirming the statements of the Hindu grammarians.** In the course of my reading, I have noted hundreds of words from Vedic, Epic and Classical works, which all prove that a very great number of the forms, postulated by the grammarians, may be verified from one source or the other, and the same may be said of *many* verbal roots.[22]

[17] An edition of the *Pâlakâpya Gajaśâstra*, from which Kumârila (p. 202, Benares edition) extracts the curious word उभाभ्य: 'a blow delivered with both tusks,' will be published shortly, in accordance with my repeated requests in the *Ânandâśrama Series*.

[18] Its pulication in the *Kâvyamâla* was begun by the late Pandit Durgaprasâd at my urgent request.

[19] The figures refer to the *Uchchhvâsas*. The form अधायिषि has been duly noted in the *Grammar*, para. 998 f. (second edition).

[20] Against Pâṇini ii, 4, 54-55.

[21] For this reason and through the uncontrollable vagaries of the P. D. of the Calcutta Government Press my edition of the hymn is not what it ought to be. I hope that one of these days a MS. of the hymn will turn up, and a better edition will become possible.

[22] In order to shew that I do not talk at random, I give a few passages for roots, which Professor Whitney either omits or declares to be doubtless artificial: — आञ्छ् H. V. v. 66, 151; कच् 'to shine,' Śr. Char. 21, 35; क्षीव् H. V. 19, 41; चुलुम्प् Śr. Char. 12, 35; 14, 12; 17, 55; रङ्ख् Śr. Char. 12, 6; 16, 56; रस् 'to taste,' Śiś. 11, 11; शोण् 'to redden,' Śr. Char. 10, 17; विष्वन् 'to devour,' Śiś. 18, 77.

I would also undertake to prove that the majority of the words and meanings, marked with an asterisk in B. W., does actually occur somewhere in the ocean of the existing Sañskṛit literature. To me, who believe that the Hindus are not swindlers, but have carefully preserved a trustworthy tradition in all matters, where they are not biassed by religious dogmas, such facts appear of small importance. **What seems to me really interesting, is the likewise not small amount of facts that has escaped their attention, or has been left aside by them for other reasons.**

But, even after the whole existing Sañskṛit literature has been fully explored, only half the task of the root-hunter has been accomplished. He has then to extend his researches to the ancient and modern Prâkṛits, many of which possess an extensive literature, as well as to the Mixed Language of the first centuries before and after the beginning of our era. The compositions in the oldest types of the Prâkṛits, which are found in Aśoka's Edicts, in the Vinayapiṭaka, the Pañcha Nikâyas (*e. g.*, in the verses of Jâtakas), and other canonical Buddhist books, certainly existed in the third century B. C. This much is evident from the Maurya inscriptions on the rocks and pillars and from those on the Stûpas of Sanchi and Bharahut. Their language has preserved numerous forms older than those of the classical Sañskṛit of Paṇini, and some older than those of the Vedic dialects. Their frequent nominatives plural from masculine *a*-stems in *âse* and from neuter *a*-stems in *â* (Professor Oldenberg's discoveries) are Vedic. The not uncommon occurrence of the subjunctive (Professor Pischel's discovery) is another remnant of the language of the Ṛishis, and such are the imperatives like आव्रजातु (*âvrajatu*), the plural instrumentals of the *a*-stems in *ebhi* (Oldenberg), the very common first persons plural in *mase*, the infinitives in *tave*, *tâye*, *tuye*, *ase* and other forms, which may be gathered from the Pâḷi grammars, or from detached articles and notes of Professors Fausböll, Jacobi, Kern, Kuhn, Leumann, Oldenberg, Rhys Davids, Trenckner, Weber and Zachariae, as well as of Dr. Morris and M. Senart in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*, the London *Academy*, the *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, the editions of the Aśoka Inscriptions, the Mahâvastu and in other works. Among the forms, which are older even than the Vedic language, I will only mention the present participles of the Âtmanepada in *mana*, *mina*, *mîna*, which the Aśoka Inscriptions offer, and which agree with the Greek, Latin and Bactrian endings, and the Aorist *addasa* 'I saw,' which goes back, not to Sañskṛit *adarśam*, but to **adṛiśam*, thus corresponding exactly with ἔδρακον, and which without a doubt is the older form. A careful investigation of the oldest documents reveals the existence of very many similar cases.

Now it might be expected, that such a language should have preserved verbal roots, which were dropped by the classical writers. And Professor Kern has shewn long ago in his *Bijdrage tot de Verklaring van eenige Worden in Pali-Geschriften Voorkomende*, as well as recently in his *Review of Jâtakas*, Vol. V. (*Museum* of 1893, p. 100ff.) that this is the case. He has proved the existence of भण्ठति गतौ,[23] Pali अन्धति ;[24] खर्जति व्यथने मार्जने, Pali खज्जति ; जक्ष् हसने,[25] Pali जग्घाति जेषति गतौ, Pali जेस्सति (Class IV), बलयति प्राणने, Pali बलेति; शुम्भति हिंसायाम्,[26] Pali and Mixed Language शुभाति, सुभाति, सुम्भति and सुम्हति. **In lately going over the Jâtakas for a different purpose I have noted representatives of some more verbs, for which the explored Sañskṛit literature offers no passages,** and even of some which Professor Whitney in his *Supplement* expressly stigmatises as "without a doubt artificial."

(1) शिङ्घति, I. P., आघ्राणे.

Professor Whitney gives the verb in his *Supplement*, remarking that the forms उच्छिङ्घन and उपशिंहन, quoted in B. W., are '*doubtless artificial.*' B. W., which had not progressed so

[23] This verb has also been given by Professor Whitney in the *Addenda* to his *Supplement*, on the authority of B. W., which got it from a Buddhist work in the Mixed Dialect.

[24] The Pâḷi अन्धति shews that the original form was अर्थ्, compare the Epic अर्थते 'petit.'

[25] This verb occurs, too, in the *Supplement*, on account of the Vedic present participle जक्षत्. The Pâḷi verses offer the forms जग्घसि = जक्षसि । उज्जग्घन्ती = उज्जक्षन्ती, जग्घिताये = जक्षित्वाय (Vedic absolutive or gerund).

[26] Compare Sañskṛit निशुम्भन and so forth, and Professor Whitney's Vedic शुम्भ्.

far, when Professor Whitney wrote, states under शिङ्घ् that no examples of the simple verb are found and refers to उपशिङ्घ्, adduced by Professor Westergaard from the Bhaṭṭikâvya, and to उच्छिङ्घन. It also gives the derivatives शिङ्घण, शिङ्घाण, शिङ्घाणक and शिङ्घन, as well as others, with *ha* instead of *gha*.

According to the phonetic laws of Pâḷi, the representative of शिङ्घति ought to be सिंघति and the Jâtaka verses offer inflected forms and participles of its Parasmaipada and Âtmanepada. In the Jâtakas, Vol. III. p. 308, l. 10 ff., we read the following story:—

बोधिसत्तो----एकं पदुमसरं निस्साय उपवसन्तो एकदिवसं सरं ओतरित्वा सुपुप्फितपदुमं उपसिंघमानो अट्ठासि । अथ नं एका देवधीता रुक्खक्खन्धाविवरे ठत्वा संवेजयमाना प्रथमं गाथमाह ।

यं एकं वारिजं पुप्फं अदिन्नं उपसिंघसि ।

एकङ्गमेतं थेय्यानं गन्धत्थेनोसि मारिसा ॥ ति ॥ ११७ ॥

ततो बोधिसत्तो दुतियं गाथमाह ।

न हरामि न भञ्जामि आरा सिंघामि वारिजं ।

अथ केन नु वण्णेन गन्धत्थेनोति वुच्चती ॥ ति ॥ ११८ ॥

तस्मिं पन खणे एको पुरिसो तस्मिं सरे भिसानि चेव खणति पुण्डरीकानि च भञ्जति । बोधिसत्तो तं दिस्वा । आरा ठत्वा उपसिंघन्तं चोरोति वदसि एतं पुरिसं कस्मा न भणसीति ॥ [27]

"The future Buddha . . . . . . who resided near a lotus-lake, one day went down to the bank and stood there inhaling the fragrance of a well flowered water-lily. Thereupon a daughter of the gods, who lived in the hollow of a tree, intending to frighten him, recited the first verse (*of this story*): 'When thou inhalest the fragrance of a lotus-flower that has not been given to thee, that is an attempt at theft; friend, thou art a thief of perfume.'

"Then the future Buddha answered her with the second verse: 'I neither take away, nor do I pluck the lotus. I smell it from afar. On what grounds then doest thou call me a thief of perfume?'

"But at that moment a man dug in that lake for lotus-sprouts and plucked off the flowers. When the future Buddha saw him, he said (*to the Dryad*): 'Thou callest a thief me, who smell (*the flowers*) from afar, why doest thou not apply (*the same name*) to this man?' "

Here we have the active present indicative of सिंघ् and of उपसिंघ् and the present participles of the Parasmaipada and the Âtmanepada, which latter is an *ârsha* form, as the Hindus would say. Childer's *Pali Dictionary* does not give the verb, but notes its derivative सिंघाणिका 'mucus from the nose,' which in Sanskṛit appears occasionally in the same form, but is usually and more correctly spelt शिङ्घाणिका. In B. W. it has been identified already with the synonymous शृङ्खाणिका, found in Âpastamba's Dharmasûtra I, 16, 14, with the variants शिखाणिका। शिंघाणिका and सिंघाणिका. The identification is unobjectionable, as the changes in the second form may be explained by the phonetic laws of the Prâkṛits, where *ṛi* frequently becomes *i* and *kha* is softened to *gha*. It suggests the probability that the Sanskṛit verb शिंघति is likewise a Prakritic or secondary form of an older शृङ्घति, which had fallen into disuse when the Dhâtupâṭha was composed. In support of this view it is possible to adduce (1) the noun of action निःशृङ्घण "throwing out mucus, blowing the nose," which likewise has been preserved in Âpastamba's Dharmasûtra ii, 5, 9, (2) the lingual *ṇa* in the derivatives like शिंघाण, which points to the former existence of a *nâmin* in the radical syllable, and (3) the Gujarâtî सुंघवुं 'to smell.' The radical vowel of the latter verb can only be derived from an older *ṛi*, not from *i*. For in the Prâkṛits *a, i, u, e* are the regular representatives of Sanskṛit *ṛi*. Accented Sanskṛit *i* can become *u* only by assimilation, *i. e.*, if the following syllable has the same vowel as in सुसु for शिशु and so forth. These facts teach two valuable lessons. First, they prove that among the Sanskṛit roots there are such as have been shaped according to

[27] Dr. Morris has pointed out that the same story and the same verses occur in the Saṁyutta Nikâya IX. 14.

phonetic laws, regularly operative in the Prâkṛits and sporadically active in the production even of Vedic forms and stems. Nearly one-half of the roots of the Dhâtupâṭha, I should say, owe their forms to these laws. The difference between Sanskṛit and Prâkṛit is only one of degree. A definite boundary line does not exist between them, and the further one goes back, the smaller does the difference become. Secondly, it appears that, even in the tertiary Prâkṛits, forms are reflected which are older than those commonly current in classical Sanskṛit. **No Sanskritist can afford to leave the modern Vernaculars out of the range of his studies, if he wishes really to understand the ancient language.**

(2) मुण्डति, I. P., प्रमर्दने खण्डने मार्जने मुण्डने.

This verb is omitted in the *Supplement*. B. W. marks it with an asterisk, referring at the same time to the well known मुण्डयति. In the Jâtakas, Vol. III. p. 368, l. 1, where an angry disputant says to the future Buddha: त्वं मं कुण्ठसत्थेन मुण्डन्तो विय अतिफरुसं कथेसि "You speak to me very roughly, as if you were shaving me with a blunt razor," its present participle Parasmaipada actually occurs. This verb, too, is Prakritic. It is clearly a corruption of *मृन्दति,[28] which bears to मृद्गाति the same relation as मन्थाति to मथ्नाति, मन्थति, to मथ्नाति and so forth. And मृद्गाति actually has all the meanings attributed to मुण्डति in the Dhâtupâṭha. The lingual *ṇḍa* of the latter is due to the influence of the original *nâmin* of the root, which very commonly affects not only following dental nasals, but also dental *tenues* and *mediae*, compare *e. g.*, Sanskṛit कृत = किटे or किट्र (Shâhbâzgarhî) = किट or कट (Pali); Sanskṛit कट = crat-(es); Prâkṛit गढ 'a fort' = Teutonic *gard*, Sanskṛit पाषण्ड = Shâhbâzgarhî प्रषंड or प्रषड = Sanskṛit पार्षद (according to Professor Kern).

(3) शटति I. P., रुजाविशरणगत्यवसादनेषु.

The passive past participle of the causative of this verb, which is omitted in the *Supplement* and marked with an asterisk in B. W., has in Pâḷi the representative साटित. According to the Kandagalaka Jâtaka (Vol. II. p. 163, verse 118) the future Buddha, who had been born as a wood-pecker, once broke his beak and split his head in striking a Khadira tree. Sorely hurt, he exclaimed:

अम्भो को नामयं रुक्खो सीतपत्तो सकण्टको ।
यत्थ एकपहारेण उत्तमंगं विसाटितं ।। ति ।। ११८ ॥

"Ho, I say, what is then this thorny tree with pointed leaves,[29] where by one blow my head has been broken?" The Commentary explains उत्तमंगं विसाटितं by सीसं भिन्नं and in a parallel passage, verse 119 आभिन्न appears instead. To the Sanskṛit शटति belong the nouns शाट शाटक and शाटी, their literal meaning being "a strip (of cloth or bark)."[30] The form is again Prakritic and corresponds to an older *शृत्, derived, as Professor Meringer suggests to me, from शॄ or शृ, compare च्चि and च्चित्, हन् and घातयाति and so forth.

(4) भण्डते I. Â., परिभाषणे परिहासे.

I have found the absolutive of this verb, which the *Supplement* omits and B. W. marks with an asterisk, in the following passage, Jâtakas, Vol. I. p. 239, l. 10: अथ सो माणवकेहि सद्धिं भण्डित्वा ओवादं अगण्हन्तो ततो पलायित्वा आहिण्डन्तो एकं पच्चन्तगामं गत्वा भितिं कत्वा जीवति ॥ The person referred to is quarrelsome Mittavindaka whose story is told in a number of Jâtakas. In punishment of his greed he had in the end to carry a revolving wheel on his head; he is the wheel-carrier in Panchatantra V. Kathâ 5. The verb भण्डति is given in Childer's *Pali Dictionary* and the nominal derivatives भण्डन and so forth are common both in Sanskṛit and in Pâḷi. The lingual *ṇḍa* of the root induces me to believe that it is, like the

[28] See also a similar opinion of Professor Fortunatov in *Per. Person, Zur Lehre von der Wurzelerweiterung und Wurzelvariation*, p. 37 (11).

[29] The Commentator explains सीतपत्तो by सुखुमपत्तो and takes it as equivalent to शितपत्त्र. He is probably right, as in Pâḷi an accented *i* is frequently lengthened.

[30] In the *Mahârâshṭrî* there is विसट्टइ an *Âdeśa* for दलाति, and वोसट्टइ.

preceding three verbs, a Prakritic form, but I cannot suggest what the older form may have been.

(5) कुटति vi. P. कौटिल्ये.

The perfect past participle of this verb, for which in B. R. W. passages are quoted, according to the *Radices*, from the Bhaṭṭikâvya occurs in a prose passage and in a verse, Jâtakas, Vol. II. p. 225, l. 22 ff. and p. 226, verse 163, which latter runs as follows :—

पुरिसूसभं मञ्ञमाना अहं खुज्जमकामयिं ।
सोयं संकुटितो सेति छिन्नतंति यथा विणा ॥ ति ॥ १६३ ॥

"That hunchback, to whom I clave, considering him a bull among men, lies here doubled up (*by pains*) like a lute with broken strings." It may be noted that the identical form संकुटित is used in the Bhaṭṭikâvya. Professor Edgren correctly enumerates कुट् among the roots. "possibly connected with surrounding nouns." कुटति is, of course, as the Greek *κυρτ-ός* shews, a Prakritic corruption of an older form *कुर्तति, and as Professor Curtius suggests (*Grundzüge* I. p. 133, II. p. 127) finally goes back to an Indo-European root *kur-kul*.[31]

(6) अमति I. P. गत्यादिषु.

Professor Whitney's *Supplement* gives अमीति and अमते in the sense of 'to hurt,' for which meaning B. W. adduces various passages from Vedic texts. In the Vyagghajâtaka (Vol. II. p. 358) it is narrated, how a foolish Dryad frightened the lions and tigers from the neighbourhood of her home. Consequently, the woodcutters, who saw that there was no longer any danger, began to cut down the trees. Perceiving her mistake, the Dryad tried to coax the carnivorous animals back to their old haunts with the following verse :—

एथ व्यग्घा निवत्तह्वो पच्चमेथ महावनं ।
मा वनं छिन्दि निव्यग्घं व्यग्घा मा हेसु निब्बना ॥ति ॥ ६६ ॥

"Return hither, ye tigers, walk back into the great forest, lest the tigerless wood be cut down, lest the tigers lose their forest."

Some MSS. offer for पच्चमेथ, in Pâḷi the regular second person plural of the optative, the variant पच्चुमेथ. Professor Fausböll has correctly chosen the *lectio doctior*.[32]

(7) इरति 'to move.'

This root, which is duly noted in B. W., occurs only in the Nirukta V. 26, and Professor Kern (*Bijdragen*, p. 55) has pointed out that the Pali इरियति or इरीयति and various Sanskrit nouns belong to it. I will add its causative एरेति = *एरयति, which occurs in a verse, Jâtakas, Vol. IV. p. 478, 301 :—

यथापि नावं पुरिसोदकम्हि एरेति चेनं उपनेति तीरं ।
एवंपि व्याधी सततं जरा च उपनेन्ति मच्चं वसं अन्त कस्सा ॥ ति ॥ ३०१ ॥

"As a man, if he rows a boat in the water, drives it to the further shore, even so diseases and old age constantly drive mortals into the power of Yama."[33] The Commentary explains

एरेति by अरित्तेन उप्पीळेन्तो पियेन कड्ढन्तो चालेति.

(8) कुञ्जति I. P. अव्यक्ते शब्दे.

B. W. adduces one passage from Bâṇa's Harshacharita, in which this verb, given by Professor Westergaard on the authority of Chandragomin, occurs in the sense 'to rustle.' Professor Whitney remarks thereon in the *Supplement*, "If it is not a bad reading, it is

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[31] Compare also Benfey, *Wurzellexikon*, II. 289, 322.

[32] The root is worthy of the attention of Professor Edgren, who is astonished that the Dhâtupâṭha often marks roots गातौ हिंसायाम्. Another case of the same kind will be discussed below under No. 12.

[33] In this verse the verb has been chosen in order to bring out the Anuprâsa.

probably an artificial formation." In the Jâtakas, Vol. V. p. 304, verses 50 and 52, I have found it used with the meaning 'to trumpet' and 'to whistle':—

यत्थस्सु थेरि नदति कुञ्जरो च निकुञ्जति ।
खत्तियानं कुले भद्दे किं नु सुखतरं ततो ॥ ति ॥ ५० ॥[34]

In the second verse the past participle is found in the compound कोकिलाभिनिकुञ्जित, which the Commentary explains by अभिनिकूजित.[34] The verb कुञ्जति, very probably the etymon of कुञ्जर 'elephant,' literally 'the trumpeter,' is, of course, merely a variant of कूजति the short vowel plus the nasal doing duty for the long one, as is the case in numerous other Sanskṛit roots. Sometimes, as many as three forms occur, *e. g.*, *kuḍ*, *kûḍ* (*kûḷ*), *kuṇḍ* 'to burn.' The first form is vouched for, as Professor Meringer points out to me, by the Gothic *haúri* 'a coal, coal-fire,' the second occurs in Vedic works and in Pâḷi (*e. g.*, Jâtakas, Vol. I. p. 405, verse 97) and the third rests on the authority of the grammarians, who adduce various inflected forms, *e. g.*, in the Mahâbhâshya, Vol. III. p. 337 (Kielhorn) the future कुण्डिता. Various modern Vernaculars, like the Gujarâtî, allow in the case of almost every verb, with a short *u* or *i* followed by a double consonant, the substitution of a nasalised short or of a long vowel, followed by one consonant, *e. g.*, मुक्के, मुंके or मूके = *मुक्ति.

(9) गन्धयति X. P. अर्दने.

This verb, regarding which hitherto nothing has been known, is clearly the parent of the noun गन्धन 'the destroyer,' preserved in the compound कुलगन्धनो, *Ittivuttaka*, p. 64, verse, 5ᵃ:—

अतिजातं अनुजातं पुत्तमिच्छन्ति पण्डिता
अवजातं न इच्छन्ति यो होति कुलगन्धनो ।[35]

As Professor Windisch states in the note, *loc. cit.*, the MS. A explains कुलगन्धनोति कुलच्छेदको and mentions the *v. l.* कुलधंसनो. In my opinion गन्धयति is a denominative from गन्ध, which frequently means "a trace, something infinitesimally small." Everybody, who has attended an Indian Sabhâ, or had intercourse with the Pandits, will remember the familiar phrase अमुष्य विद्यागन्धोपि नास्ति.

(10) मथते मन्थते, I. A. कौटिल्ये.

Prof. Westergaard gives the meanings 'curvum esse, scelestum esse, curvare.' According to B. W., *मथति means also 'verletzt, beschädigt.' Hemachandra, Anekârthasaṁgraha, III. 249 (Zachariae), says: मन्थितं हतदुष्धयोः। आक्रान्ते च and Mahendra (op. cit. p. 110) adduces त्रिष्वपि an unidentified fragment of a verse मान्थितं दयितया नवमाल्यम्. In the Shâhbâzgarhî version of Aśoka's Rock-Edict XIII. the noun अपमथ occurs twice instead of उपघात 'hurt,' which the Girnâr and Kâlsî versions offer. In the Jâtakas, Vol. V. p. 306, ll. 14 and 21, we have twice the compound कुलगात्थिनी, which is explained by, and certainly means कुलदूसिया, 'a female disgracing her family.' The noun गत्थिन् is apparently the representative of मन्थिन् 'curvans, scelestum faciens,' *ttha* being put, as in other cases, in place of *ntha* in order to save the quantity of the syllable. Though we have also in this case no proof, that the verb was inflected in the manner prescribed by the Dhâtupâṭha, and though the task of verification has not been done completely, yet the former existence of a verb मन्थ् or मथ् 'to disgrace, to hurt,' which in the Âtmanepada would mean 'to be disgraced, or hurt,' cannot be denied.

(11) नाधति I. P., याच्ञोपतापैश्वर्याशीष्षु.

The verb नाधति is given in the *Supplement* with the meaning 'to seek aid,' which corresponds to याच्ञा, and W. B. states that only the participles are found in literature. It is used in the sense of मिलायति, agreeing with Professor Westergaard's 'aegrotum esse,' in the Jâtakas,

[34] The true black Koil, which is really reared by the crows, utters three whistling notes in succession, among which the second is the highest and as the stress-accent. They may be rendered by *pihihu*.

[35] Compare *Pañchatantra*, I. 441-2 (Kosegarten) and *Indische Sprüche*, 2378-9.

Vol. V. p 90, verse 274, where a queen, who nurses her sick husband in the forest, begs her life from a Yaksha for the following reason:—

अहं च वनमुञ्छाय मधु मंसं मिगाविलं ।
यदा हरामि तं भक्खो तस्स नूनज्ज नाधती ॥ ति २७४ ॥

"When, searching the forest like a gleaner, I bring honey and flesh, the leavings of carnivorous beasts, that is his food; his (body), I ween, fades to-day."

The Commentary says, तस्स नूनज्जाति । तस्स मञ्ञे आहारं अलभमानस्स सरीरं आतपे पक्खित्तपदुमं विय नाधति उत्तप्पति मिलायति ॥

Professor Meringer points out to me that नाध् उपतापे is reflected by the Greek *νωθής*, *νωθρός* 'slow lazy,' *νωθρεύω* 'to be slow or lazy.'

(12) मङ्घते I. P., गत्याक्षेपे गतौ गत्यारम्भे निन्दारम्भजवेषु कैतवे च.

This verb, which Professor Whitney omits and B. W. marks with an asterisk, may either remain unchanged in Pâḷi or become मग्घति, just as, *e. g.*, लम्भेति (लम्भयति) becomes लभेति, वञ्झ becomes वज्झ and मङ्गल becomes in Aśoka's Edicts मंगल, *i. e.*, मग्गल. In the latter form the verb is found in the *Gaṇḍatinduka Jâtaka.* Pañchâla, the negligent king of Kâmpilya, the Jâtaka narrates, allowed his kingdom to be misgoverned by bad servants, who oppressed and plundered the inhabitants. Once, in consequence of the exhortations of a Dryad, he went out incognito, together with his domestic priest, in order to see for himself how matters stood. Some miles from his capital he came upon an old man, who during the day had lain hidden in the jungles, and returned home in the evening after the royal officials had left the village. In accordance with the custom still in use, the man had scattered thorns before the door of his house in order to protect the entrance. In the darkness a thorn entered his foot and, while he plucked it out, he cursed the king as the cause of his mishap. The king and the Purohita heard his words, and the latter answered the accusation with the following Gâthâ, Jâtakas, Vol. V. p. 102, verse 317:

जिण्णो दुब्बलचक्खूसि न रूपं साधु पस्ससि ।
किं अत्थ ब्रह्मदत्तस्स यं तं मग्घेय्य कण्टको ॥ति३१७॥

"Old art thou and weak of sight, thou doest not distinguish objects well. What is (*the fault*) of Brahmadatta in this, that a thorn has hurt thee?"

The Commentary explains मग्घेय्य by विज्झेय्य. The meaning 'to hurt' has apparently been developed from the meaning गतौ, given in the Dhâtupâṭha, because the thorn or any other object *entering* the foot or any part of the body *hurts* it. We have here another case, where a "go-root" is used हिंसायाम्, just as the Dhâtupâṭha asserts of many other verbs. The use of the Parasmaipada मग्घेय्य for the Âtmanepada मङ्घेत required by the Dhâtupâṭha, is accounted for by the circumstance that the latter occurs in Pâḷi less frequently than the former.

In conclusion I will give a case, where an inflexion, taught in the Dhâtupâṭha, but not as yet found in a Sanskṛit work, has been preserved in Pâḷi. रज्, it is stated there, makes रजति रजते and रज्यति रज्यते, which latter two inflexions have been verified.

In the Jâtakas, Vol. V. p. 84, verse 248, a Suparṇa grants to the Nâga Paṇḍaraka his life, with the following words:—

इन्दज्ज त्वं मुञ्च वधा दुजिह्व तयो हि पुत्ता नहि अञ्ञो अत्थि ।
अन्तेवासी दिन्नको अत्रजो च रजस्सु पुत्तञ्ञतरो मे अहोसी ॥ति२४८॥

"Well, from death I free thee now, oh snake with double tongue! For, (*there are*) three (*kinds of*) sons, a pupil, an adopted child and the offspring of one's own body — there is no

other. Rejoice, thou hast become a son (*of mine*) belonging to one (*of these classes*) ?"[36] Here we have रजस्सु, in Saṅskṛit रजस्स्व.

When a cursory inspection of five-sevenths of a single section yields such results, it is perhaps not too much to say that a search for roots, in other ancient portions of the Pâḷi canon of the Buddhists is at least desirable, and that probably it will not be bootless.

(*To be continued.*)

ON THE DATE OF THE RIG VEDA.

BY PROFESSOR H. JACOBI.

(*Translated from the German by Dr. J. Morison.*)

In the *Ṛig Veda* VII. 103, 9 it is said of the frogs:

Dêváhitim jugupur dvâdaśásya ṛitúm nárô ná prá minanty êtê' । *saṁvatsarê' prâvṛishy â'gatâyâm taptâ' gharmâ' aśnuvatê visargâm* ॥

Kaegi and Geldner translate: "Sie halten ein des Jahres heilige Ordnung, vergessen nie die rechte Zeit, die Männer, sobald im Jahr die Regenzeit gekommen die heisse Sonnenglut ein Ende findet." "They observe the sacred order of the year, they never forget the proper time, those men, as soon as in the year the raintime has come, the hot glow of the sun finds its end." Similarly Grassmann.

Here I take objection to the rendering of *dvâdaśá* with "year." **Dvâdaśá** is supposed to have this meaning, because it can also mean "with twelve parts," and in fact has this meaning in the technical expression *dvâdaśá strôtra* in the *Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa* and the *Taittirîya Brâhmaṇa.* But I should be inclined to doubt if *dvâdaśá* can have this meaning, standing alone without mention of the thing which has the twelve parts, for the ordinal will then always be understood in its proper sense. And so I také *dvâdaśásya* in our passage, understanding *mâsaḥ;* I translate accordingly: "they observe the sacred order, never forget the proper time of the twelfth **(month)** these men." We have hence for the *Ṛig-Veda* a year beginning with the rainy season, the most obvious and in general most regular division of time, from which the later Hindus called the year *varsha* or *abda* **(rain-giving).** The objection may be made, that if the year began with the rainy season, the beginning of the latter must fall in the first and not the last month of the year. But since the beginning of the rainy season, considering the variations of the lunar year, could not be determined with certainty, the simplest way was to count that month, whose former half was in the dry season, in with the old year and reckon the first markedly rainy month with the new year, also its beginning. Those sensible creatures (*naraḥ*) the frogs are therefore justly praised for never forgetting the right month, the twelfth, and with it the proper division of the seasons.

Since the Panjâb was the home of the earliest Vedic civilization we must keep its climatic conditions clearly before our eyes. Now in the northern part of the Pañjâb, where alone a wind of the specific character of the monsoon blows, the first rains come at the end of June, or say about the summer-solstice. It is an obvious hypothesis that these marked out, so to say scientifically, the beginning of the *varshâ* year. That this really was the case is probable from another passage of the *Ṛig-Veda.* In the *Sûryasûkta,* X. 85, 13, we read: sûryâ'yâ vahatúḥ prâ'gât savitâ yám avâ'sṛjat । aghâ'su hanyantê gâvô' rjunyô'ḥ páry uhyate ॥ The *Ath. Ved.* XIV. 1, 13, has the following variant: maghâ'su hanyantê gâ'vaḥ phalgunîshu vyúhyatê, "in Maghâ the kine are killed, in Phalgunî the marriage or procession — is held." It is clear, I think, without further argument, that when the marriage of the sun, or its procession into

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[36] सुस्स stands, according to the commentary, for सुस्सं, as a final Anusvâra, can be optionally omitted or elided in Pâḷi. The *dinnaka putta* is the *dattaka putra* of the Smritis. The meaning of the last line is, as the commentary points out, that the Nâga has become the Suparṇa's *antevâsî.*

its new house, is spoken of, this point of time can be referred only to the beginning of a new revolution of the sun.[1] And, since the Vedic year, as we have seen, began about the summer solstice, this latter must be assumed in accordance with the passage above to have been in Phalgunî at that time.

The full moon in Bhadrapadâ[2] belongs to the summer solstice in Phalgunî; the first rainy month was therefore Bhâdrapada or Praushṭhapada, since the summer solstice coincided, as we have seen, with the beginning of the rainy season. A trace of this has been preserved in later times in the directions in the *Gṛihyasûtras* as to the beginning of the study of the Veda, the *upâkarana*. It is fixed in the *Sâṅkh. G. S.* 4, 5, for the beginning of the rainy season, *ôshadhînâṁ prâdurbhâvê*. The rainy season, in which all out-of-door employment is at an end, is the natural time for study, and the Buddhists, too, hold, during this period, their *vassa*, though this, indeed, is devoted more to preaching than study. *Pâráskara G. S.* 2, 10, transfers the *upâkaraṇa* to the day of the full moon in 'Srâvaṇa, the first rainy month in Madhyadêśa, 2000 B. C., while the monsoon began as early as Âshâḍha[3] in the east of India, and a part of the Deccan at that period.

Accordingly, when in the *Gôbhila G. S.* 3, 3, the *upâkaraṇa* is fixed for the day of the full moon in Praushṭhapada, though at the same time the opening of the schools on the day of the full moon in 'Srâvaṇa is well known, the former must be a date hallowed by immemorial usage, which was not abandoned, even when it had long ceased to agree with the beginning of the rainy season. The same date is mentioned in *Râmâyaṇa* III. 28, 54: —

mâsi Praushṭhapadê brahma brâhmaṇânâm vivakshatâm ।
ayam adhyâyasamayaḥ sâmagânâm upasthitaḥ ॥

It was current, as can be proved, among the followers of the *Sâmavêda*; but must have been still more generally spread. For it was probably founding on this ancient custom that the Jainas fixed the beginning of their *pajjusaṇâ*, which corresponds to the Buddhist *vassa*, on Bhâdrapada su. di. 5.[4]

The opening of the schools, therefore, in Praushṭhapada, appears to go back to the earliest times of the *Ṛig-Veda*, for even then it is likely there was an official scholastic year, in which the sacred science was communicated orally, and for this as in later times the rainy period was probably chosen. In the hymn to the frogs the phrase *śâktásyeva vadati śikshamâṇaḥ* would contain a comparison, appropriate not only to the subject, but to the time of year.

As in the case we have just been discussing, an antiquated usage has been preserved down to times when the position of the heavenly bodies, and hence the division of the months among the seasons of the year, have undergone alteration, we shall expect to find similar traces of change in the more modern Vedic works. In these, as is well known, Kṛittikâ is always the first in order of the *nakshatras*. Here and there, however, we find indications, which are not in agreement with this arrangement, but which do agree with the position of the colours assumed by us. So, for example, the remark of the *Kaushîtaki Br.* V. 1, "that the *úttare phalgû* form the beginning (*mukham*), while the *pûrve phalgû* form the tail (*pucchham*) of the year,[5] and the note of the *Taitt. Brâhm.* I. 1, 2, 8 in which in the same way "the *pûrve phâlgunî* is called the last night, *jaghanyâ râtriḥ*, the *úttare phâlgunî* on the other

[1] So also Weber, *Ind. Skizzen*, p. 76, note. But in the *Vedischen Nachrichten von den Nakshatra*, II. 365 ff., he has departed from this opinion. The most of the facts about the *nakshatras* are borrowed from the above classical dissertation, which I need not, therefore, quote in every single instance.

[2] A glance at the table of Nakshatras at the end of this article will shew this. The position of the colures I have assumed for the period of the *Ṛig-Veda* is made clear to the eye by this table. It has only to be noted that the full moon is exactly 180° further advanced than the sun at the same time.

[3] The difference in fixing the rainy season in works which belong to the same epoch is a valuable criterion for determining the country of their authorship, which has not as yet been employed as it should have been.

[4] Kâlakâcharya puts it on the previous day.

[5] This same *Brâhmaṇa* XIX. 3 places the winter solstice in the new moon of Mâgha, and puts, accordingly, the summer solstice in Maghâ, which corresponds to the Kṛittikâ order.

hand is called the first night of the year.[6] Accordingly we can say, with more exactitude, that in the oldest period, from which we have here a tradition not a contemporary testimony, the colure went through Uttara Phâlgunî.

Hitherto we have treated only of the *varshâ* year. But it is probable that even then, as in India and Europe in the Middle Ages, various dates for the beginning of the year were current. Thus the counterpart of the *varshâ* year, which began with the summer solstice, would be a *himâ* year, beginning exactly six months earlier with the winter solstice, and its first month would accordingly be Phâlguna. This can be proved by *Taitt. S.* 7, 4, 8, 1, 2: **múkhaṁ vâ etát saṁvatsarásya yát phalgunîpûrṇamâsáḥ**, and *Panchaviṁśa Br.* 5, 9, 9, **mukham vâ êtat saṁvatsarasya yat phâlgunaḥ.**[7]

For this same period we may readily assume a *śarad* year, since even in the *Ṛig-Vêda* the year is often called simply *śarad* (along with *himâ*), and in historical times the year beginning with Kârttika is the commonest in Northern India. Such a *śarad* year must begin with the autumnal equinox, or with the full moon closest to it. Now at the time in which the summer solstice was in Uttara Phalgunî, and the winter solstice was in Pûrva Bhadrapadâ, the autumnal equinox was in Mûla, and the vernal equinox was in Mṛigaśiras. In this computation Mûla was accordingly the first *nakshatra*, and its very name *mûla*, *i. e.*, "root, beginning," seems to indicate this, just as its older name *vichṛitau*, "the dividers," seems to point to the beginning as the break in the series. The preceding *nakshatra*, which was therefore the last at that time is Jyêshṭhâ. The meaning of this name, "the oldest," corresponds with the position we have assumed for it, and its older name Jyêshṭhaghnî,[8] *Taitt. Brahm.* 1, 5, 2, 8, seems to indicate the star, Antares, as that which "kills," that is, closes the "old" year.[9]

Our conjecture is still more clearly supported by the name of the first month of the *śarad* year, Âgrahâyaṇa, "belonging to the beginning of the year," which is the name of Mârgaśira, whose full moon occurs in Mṛigaśiras. As at that time Mṛigaśiras denoted the vernal equinox, it follows that the autumnal full moon must occur in conjunction with the same sign and that the first month must be Mârgaśiras.

The three years we have discussed yield the following initial months for the three divisions, *Châturmâsyâni ṛitumukhâni*:—

Himâ year.	Śarad year.	Varshâ year.
I. Phâlguna (12)	II. Chaitra (1)	III. Vaiśâkha (2)
II. Âshâḍha (4)	III. Śrâvaṇa (5)	I. Praushṭhapada (6)
III. Kârttika (8)	I. Mârgaśira (9)	II. Pausha (10)

This difference is reflected in the contradictory Vedic statements about the *Châturmâsya* ceremony,[10] inasmuch as all the above three lists are recorded as existing side by side. For at the first glance we see that these periods of four months cannot be derived from the actual seasons, since it is sheerly impossible that within a single period, even if we extend it to a thousand years or more, one season can have begun in three successive months, as in fact is prescribed for each sacrifice which occurs at intervals of four months. The contradiction, however, disappears if we assume that the division of the year current at the epoch of the *Ṛig-Vêda*, the three kinds of year which have been proved to exist before, were in later times

[6] Weber, II. 329. [7] Weber, II. 339.

[8] The spelling of *Ath.* V. 6. 110, 2, Jyaishṭhaghnî seems to rest on a wrong tradition or intentional similarit with the month Jyaishṭha.

[9] *Taitt. S.* 4, 4, 10, 2, uses for Jyêshṭhâ the name Rôhiṇî, which usually denotes Aldebaran; this name is explained by the fact that both stars, Aldebaran and Antares, have a red light, as even Ptolemy noticed. And I believe that the well-known story that Sôma, the moon, dwelt only with her, is to be explained from the existence of two Rôhiṇîs, the brighest stars among the *nakshatras*, which moreover marked the termination of both halves of the circuit of the moon.

[10] Weber, 329 ff.

retained for liturgical purposes, as in other cases practices which have died out in daily life still survive in worship. Under this supposition the apparent confusion gives place to the most perfect order.

These combinations point in my opinion, without a possibility of error, to a position of the colures, such as we have given for the oldest period, that of the *Ṛiy-Vêda.* The later Vedic period introduced a correction, consisting in the transference of the opening point of the year from Mṛigaśiras to Kṛittikâ; and it is precisely this circumstance that gives a material significance to the determination, for it must have been approximately correct for the time of the correction. Now the vernal equinox was in Kṛittikâ and the summer solstice was in Maghâ about 2500 B. C., as may be seen from the following tables of Nakshatras, based on Whitney's *Sûrya-siddhânta,* p. 211. To allow for an error of observation on the part of these early astronomers, we may leave this date not exactly determined five centuries one way or the other. The statement of the *Jyôtisha,* as to the position of the colures, is much later; it corresponds to the fourteenth or fifteenth century B. C., and shews a repeated fixing of the colures. That, however, is less important for us now; the chief point is that the Vedic texts, properly so called, contain a determination of the colures, which was evidently correct for them, and was only corrected in the *Jyôtisha,* a determination that leads us to at least the beginning, of the three thousand years B.C. Considerably older than this, even, is the position of the colures, which we may infer for the *Ṛig-Vêdâ,* a position which, as our table shews, corresponded to reality about 4500 B. C. We can hardly venture, it is true, to place the *Ṛig-Vêda* so far back, but only the beginnings of the civilization, a mature, perhaps even late, product of which we possess in the hymns of the *Ṛig-Vêda.*

This period of civilization extended accordingly from about 4500 to 2500 B. C., and we shall perhaps not be far wrong, if we put the collection of hymns which has come down to us in the second half of this period.

Hitherto we have spoken only of one result of the precession of the equinox, namely the alteration of the colures. Another result is that, along with the gradual alteration of the celestial equator its north (and south) pole continued to move in a circle of 23½ semidiameter in a period of about 26,000 years, round the fixed poles of the ecliptic. In this way one star after another draws nearer the north pole and becomes **the north or pole star.** We shall distinguish these two names, which are now synonymous, by calling the bright star which at any time stands nearest the pole, the north star; the star whose distance from the pole is so slight, that for all practical purposes it may be called fixed **(dhruva)** we shall call the pole star. The following table[11] contains the north stars from 5000 B. C. till 2000 A. D.; for each star there is given the magnitude, minimum distance from the north pole, and the date of this minimum distance,

ι	Draconis	3·0 magnitude	4° 38′ polar dist.	4700 B. C.
α	,,	3·3 ,,	0° 6′ ,, ,,	2780 ,,
κ	,,	3·3 ,,	4° 44′ ,, ,,	1290 ,,
β	Ursae minoris	2·0 ,,	6° 28′ ,, ,,	1060 ,,
α	,, ,,	2·0 ,,	0° 28′ ,, ,,	2100 A. D.

The given polar distances shew that only two stars, α Draconis and α Ursae minoris (our pole star) deserve the name of pole star, since the rest at their minimum distance from the pole — spun round it in a circle of a diameter of at least 9 degrees — and hence could be easily recognized as movable by any observer, especially since the height of the pole was not great. All this harmonizes with the facts that the ancients did not commonly use the name pole star, and that navigators did not steer by one fixed star, but that the Greeks sailed by the

11 My colleague, Dr. Küstner, Professor of Astronomy, has had the kindness to make the calculations for me and has taken into account the proper motion of each star.

Great Bear, and the Phoenicians by the Little Bear;[12] further that the Indian astronomers do not name a pole star, and lastly that European writers in the Middle Ages, though they do mention the north star, do not term it the polar star, since at that time our pole star was still distant some 5 degrees from the pole.

Now when, in the Indian ritual of marriage, the pole star (called expressly "the immovable" *dhruva*) finds a place, the usage, though first mentioned in the *Gṛihya Sûtras* only, must date back to a very ancient period, when there was a real pole star. After what has been said above, it can only be α Draconis. More than five centuries ago, this star stood nearer the pole than our pole star does now. It was therefore long enough a pole star, in the narrower sense of the word, to be recognized as such by the Hindus, and become closely bound up with their views and customs. In addition its position was such as must lead to its recognition as a steadfast pole, round which the other stars revolved, and was therefore easy to find. It is placed equally distant from the angles of a somewhat irregular four-sided figure formed by ι and κ Draconis, β Ursae Minoris (called according to the *Pet. Dict.* Uttânapâda) and ζ Ursae Majoris (near which star stands Alcor-Arundhatî, which is likewise shewn to the bride).

Since therefore we must look upon α Draconis as the *dhruva* of the Vedic period, it follows from the table above, that **this took place some centuries before and after 2800 B. C.** This date coincides nearly exactly with that which we obtained above from the position of the colures in the Brâhmaṇa period, perhaps for its beginning. Thus both results, obtained in different ways, harmonize, and mutually confirm their correctness in the completest manner.

Many may be inclined to shake their heads at these conclusions, inasmuch as they stand in too decided opposition to the generally accepted views. But on what is the common view founded? Chiefly we think on the splitting up of the Vedic period into several successive divisions of literature, and a somewhat subjective guess at their duration. M. Müller assumes for the three last of his four strata of Vedic literature, in order to avoid a too extravagant estimate,[13] a minimum of 200 years. But it is easy to see that this estimate is far below the minimum of the possible period, during which in India a department of literature could take its rise, reach perfection, become obsolete and die out, to give place finally to a thoroughly new departure. For a Brâhmaṇa, for example, could only be widely spread by being learned by heart by a gradually extending circle of Brahmans, and with the size of the country this would certainly demand a long time. Every man, who learned such a work, became, so to say, a copy of it, and to carry out the figure, a written copy, to which no new work could be added. But several of such works must successively take the place of their predecessors, before the entire class of works in question became obsolete. I maintain that a minimum of a thousand, years must rather be taken for such a process, which in the conditions that prevailed in ancient India was of necessity a very slow one, especially when we take into consideration that in historical times the literature of the classical period remained for more than a thousand years nearly unaltered.

But I shall not continue these general arguments in order not to overstep the space allotted to me too greatly.

Concluding Note.

The previous investigation had been finished and communicated orally to others, when I got information of **the work of Prof. Bâl Gangadhar Tilak,** which leads to the same results. These investigations were put on paper in their present form before I saw his summary of the principal facts and arguments in the *Orion*. Nevertheless, I have determined to publish my arguments, as, in spite of our agreement in the main result, our methods are different.

[12] Aratus (*Phaen.* 37-39) and Eratosthenes (*Catasterismi*) do mention, it is true, a star below the square of the Little Bear (probably α not α) as the poles, round which the vault of heaven revolved. In the rest of the ancient literature it does not seem to be noticed.

[13] MM. *Rig-Vêda*, Vol. IV. p. vii. T. M.

Longitudes of the principal stars of the Nakshatras at various times.

No.	Name.	560 A. D.	0 B. C.	1000 B. C.	2000 B. C.	3000 B. C.	4000 B. C.	Name of Star.
27	Aśvinî	13°93	6°70	353°83	341°04	328°31	315°64	β Arietis
28	Bharaṇî	26·90	19·67	6·80	354·01	341·28	327·61	α Muscae
1	Kṛittikâ	39·97	32·74	19·87	7·08	354·35	341·68	η Tauri
2	Rôhiṇî	49·75	42·52	29·65	16·86	4·13	350·46	Aldebaran
3	Mṛigaśiras	63·67	56·44	43·57	30·78	18·05	5·38	λ Orionis
4	Ârdrâ	68·71	61·48	48·61	35·82	22·09	9·42	Beteigeuze
5	Punarvasu	93·23	86·00	73·13	60·34	47·61	34·94	Pollux
6	Pushya	108·70	101·47	88·60	75·81	63·08	50·41	δ Cancri
7	Âślêshâ	112·33	105·10	92·23	79·44	66·71	54·04	ε Hydrae
8	Maghâ	129·81	122·58	109·71	96·92	84·19	71·52	Regulus
9	P. Phalgunî... ...	141·25	134·02	121·15	108·36	95·63	82·96	δ Leonis
10	U. Phalgunî ...	151·61	144·38	131·51	118·72	105·99	93·32	β Leonis
11	Hasta	173·45	166·22	153·35	140·56	127·83	115·16	δ Corvi
12	Chitrâ	183·81	176·58	163·71	150·92	137·19	125·52	Spica
13	Svâtî	184·20	176·97	164·10	151·31	138·58	125·91	Arcturus
14	Viśakhâ	211·00	203·77	190·90	178·11	165·38	152·71	ι Librae
15	Anurâdhâ	222·57	215·34	202·47	189·68	176·95	164·28	δ Scorpionis
16	Jyêshṭhâ	229·73	222·50	209·63	196·84	183·11	171·44	Antares
17	Mûla	244·55	237·32	224·45	211·66	198·93	186·26	λ Scorpionis
18	P. Ashâḍhâ	254·53	247·30	234·43	221·64	208·91	196·24	δ Sagittarii
19	U. Ashâḍhâ	262·35	255·12	242·25	229·46	216·73	203·06	σ Sagittarii
20	Abhijit	265·25	258·02	245·15	232·36	219·63	206·96	Vega
21	Śravaṇa	281·68	274·45	261·58	248·79	236·06	223·39	Atair
22	Śravishṭhâ	296·31	289·08	276·21	263·42	250·69	238·02	β Delphini
23	Śatabhishaj	321·55	314·32	301·45	288·66	275·93	263·26	λ Aquarii
24	P. Bhadrapadâ ...	333·45	326·22	313·35	300·56	287·83	275·16	α Pegasi
25	U. Bhadrapadâ ...	349·13	341·90	329·03	316·24	303·51	290·84	α Andromedae
26	Rêvatî	359·83	352·60	339·73	326·93	314·21	301·54	ζ Piscium

Supplementary Tables.

I.

Degrees.	Years.	Degrees.	Years.
1° =	78	7° =	547
2 =	156	8 =	625
3 =	234	9 =	703
4 =	312	10 =	781
5 =	390	11 =	859
6 =	469	12 =	937

II.

Years.	Degrees.	Years.	Degrees.
100 =	1°28	600 =	7°68
200 =	2·56	700 =	8·96
300 =	3·84	800 =	10·24
400 =	5·12	900 =	11·52
500 =	6·40	1000 =	12·80

Note.—This table is based on that given by Professor Whitney in the *Sûrya Siddhânta*, for A. D. 560. The precession has been calculated according to Bessel. The Supplementary Tables serve to determine approximatively (1) the longitude for the intervals between the dates mentioned in the large table, and (2) the periods for longitudes not mentioned.

FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

No. 20. — *Dêvkî Rânî.*

Once upon a time there lived a farmer, who was rich in all earthly possessions, but had the misfortune to lose his wife and to find his only daughter motherless at a very tender age. After the death of her mother, the whole burden of the household duties devolved upon the little girl, and among other things she had to cook the daily food for her father and herself. In the art of cookery, however, the poor little girl was very deficient, and had, therefore, now and then to seek the advice of a neighbour, a woman who, though sweet of tongue and fair of form, was cunning and false hearted. She would often come into the house under pretence of directing the girl in her household duties, though in reality she made every endeavour to involve her more and more in difficulties, and painted her before her father as a girl hopelessly inefficient in every respect.

In doing this, the crafty woman had a double object. She wanted to ruin the poor girl in the estimation of her father, and to impress upon the old man the advisability of marrying a second wife, and that wife her own worthy self. Unfortunately for the poor motherless child, the plan succeeded, and the farmer married his fair neighbour one fine day. The little girl in her innocence welcomed her with every manifestation of delight, and she was duly installed mistress of the house.

Things went on smoothly for some days, but by degrees the false woman threw off her mask and revealed herself in her true colours. She treated her step-daughter very cruelly, and subjected her to all sorts of indignities. Somehow or other, the poor thing was always in trouble. Continual dropping will wear away a stone, and the complaints of her alleged misdoings were so frequent, that her father grew sick and tired of it all, and came to look upon his poor little daughter as a being utterly unworthy of his regard. She had, however, no one to whom she could tell her wrongs, and had, therefore, to bear her lot in silence.

The lapse of a year or two saw the birth of another daughter to the farmer, but this event only served to fill the cup of the poor child's misery to the brim, for the cruel step-mother, who had up to this time barely tolerated her step-daughter as a dependant in the house, now wished to get rid of her altogether. So one day she found out a pretext for sending her to the woods in the hope that some wild animal might devour her. She deputed to the poor creature the task of taking out an old cow of her dead mother's to graze: "Take her out with you," she said, "for I cannot trust her with anyone else, she is your mother's cow, and" — she added sarcastically — "*she* perhaps might put up with your ill-nature and your stupid ways, and rid me for a time at least of your troublesome company."

These words brought tears to the unfortunate girl's eyes, but she meekly went to the stables, and throwing a halter round the cow's head, took her away with her to the fields.

A crust of dry bread was all that the hard-hearted woman had given her for her noon-day meal. She ate it, and took a cooling draught from a spring hard by, and wandered about in childish freedom through the fields with her charge.

Day after day was the girl thus sent out with the cow, a bit of dry bread for her food and little or no clothing to protect her from the sun and the rain. But the child was patient by nature, and complained not, nor had she any friend to whom she could turn for sympathy. The old cow, however, evinced great love for her and shed many a tear in pity for her sad lot. At last, one day, Îśvara miraculously endowed the dumb creature with the power of speech, and she said to the girl: "My dear child, how your good mother must be weeping in heaven to see you so miserable! She was kind to me as well as to all around her, and Îśvara has for her sake given me the power to help you; so, do as I bid you. Place your dry crust of bread into my mouth, and see what follows." The girl did so, and rather regretfully watched the cow

gulp down the bread, for she was very hungry. But a moment after, the cow opened her large mouth again, when lo! it was filled with the daintiest and most wholesome food! The delighted child ate heartily of it, and being greatly refreshed, lay down beside the cow as she would have done by the side of her own mother.

Things went on like this for many months, and the child throve so well on the wholesome food thus strangely provided for her, that her shrewd step-mother noticed the change, and suspected some interference with her plans. So one day, she sent her own little girl after her half-sister to watch her movements, and the little spy came upon her just as she was removing the eatables from the cow's mouth and spreading them before her on some leaves on the ground prior to partaking of them.

Our heroine, suspecting nothing wrong in this unexpected visit of her younger sister, gave her a kind welcome, and invited her to a share of the tempting things spread on the ground. The crafty child readily sat down to the meal, and, when she had eaten her fill, rose to go. Before she left, however, the elder sister made her promise not to tell their mother what she had seen and done in the jungle that day. But the ungrateful little thing could not hold her tongue. She related to her mother all about the miraculous powers of the cow, at which the wicked woman flew into a terrible rage, and vowed to destroy the cow before she was a day older! Accordingly, when the farmer came home that evening, she complained of a severe headache, and said that a physician, who had visited her, had prescribed as a remedy the fresh hot blood of a cow to be applied to it. The farmer, thereupon, ran out to get a good cow, but she called him back, and suggested that they could not do better than use the tough old cow that had once belonged to his first wife, and had now grown utterly useless. It was all the same to the henpecked husband, and the poor cow's doom was sealed. The very next morning the butcher was asked to come round with his big sharp knife.

Now, the cow was as wise as any old woman, and when she saw her *protégé's* little sister trip into the fields, she knew what she was sent for, and felt sure that her end was near and inevitable. So she said to her little companion, as soon as the intruder's back was turned: "My child, it is all very well for you so long as I live, but something tells me that my end is approaching, and when I am gone, who will love you and tend you as I do?"

"Then, I, too, shall die," replied the child, weeping and throwing her arms round the old beast's neck, for certainly she was the only friend she had upon earth.

"No, no, it will not come to that," said the cow soothingly, "if you remember and follow my instructions. If ever I die or am killed, and my carcass thrown to the crows, do you take care, child, to collect some at least of my flesh, and bury it into the ground in some unfrequented corner of your father's land. Do not touch this spot for thirty-one days, but after that period is past, if you find yourself in any trouble, come and dig at the spot again, call on me by name, and I shall help you."

The next morning brought the butcher with his knife to the farmer's door, and before the girl could take the good motherly cow to the meadows, she was dragged out and slaughtered, and a pailful of her fresh warm blood was promptly carried to the mistress of the house, who had remained in bed nursing her headache. She immediately issued orders to the butcher to cut up the carcass of the dead beast into ever so many small fragments, and to scatter them to the four winds, so that no one may make the least attempt to put them together and bring her to life again! The butcher did as he was desired, but our little heroine, overwhelmed with grief and despair, stole quietly out of the house, possessed herself of a piece or two of the flesh and hurriedly buried it, as she had been instructed.

The poor cow had not been dead and gone many days, when the cruel stepmother again began to invent plans, by which to dispose of her husband's first-born. Among other things she would send her with a large basket into the jungle, and bid her bring it home with her in the evening filled with sticks for fuel.

One day, while going about on her errand, she placed her empty basket on a large stone, and went into a thicket in search of dry sticks, when a gust of wind suddenly swept the basket away. The poor thing beat her breast for fear lest she might lose it and incur her step-mother's displeasure, and ran eagerly in pursuit of it. But the wind was too strong for her, and it carried the basket further and further away, till at last she found herself in quite a strange place, and saw it roll up to the feet of a pious **Brâhmaṇ** engaged in his devotions. As the basket touched his feet, he took it up to the great dismay of our little heroine, who cried piteously and begged him to give it back to her.

Now the Brâhmaṇ was no other than Îśvara himself, who had come upon earth in this guise for some purpose of his own. He smiled graciously on the poor child, and said as he flung the basket back to her: "Here, **Dêvkî Rânî**, take back thy basket. The sun and the moon shall adorn thy brow, and Padam[1] deck thy feet. Thou shalt cast thy radiance wherever thou goest, shed pearls for tears, and throw out rubies with thy laughter!"

The young creature hardly comprehended the meaning of these strange words. To recover her basket was all that she desired, and away she flew home with it. But when she went into the presence of her step-mother, what an ejaculation of surprise she was greeted with! What could have worked that transformation in her poor despised step daughter! Her beauty sparkled like lightning and almost blinded the eye of the beholder! What could have brought about such a change in her! Surely the poor girl herself could not tell. But by threats and coaxing administered by turns, her step-mother got out of her the whole story of her adventure in the jungle, and persuaded her to take her half-sister with her to the woods the next morning, and get the same wonderful change worked in her, for be it mentioned the half-sister was as plain as plain could be, greatly to the detriment of her mother's pride. So the next morning our heroine started forth with her basket, accompanied by the younger girl, and duly placed it on the same stone. Presently a high wind arose and carried away the basket, and the younger girl ran after it till it reached the same Brâhmaṇ impersonation of Îśvara. He caught hold of it as before, but when the girl cried and begged it back, he called her **Mutkulî Rânî**, and tossed the basket back towards her with a curse! The words had a terrible effect upon the girl, for there and then she was transformed into a disgustingly ugly creature, with a horrible squint in her eye, and a frightful hump on her back!

Her elder sister, when she saw this, wept both for pity at her sister's misfortune, and for fear of her mother's resentment, and went up to the Brâhmaṇ to entreat him to restore her to her original shape, but to her great dismay he had disappeared! So the two wended their way homewards, and what was the disappointment and chagrin of the mother to see her much-loved daughter many degrees uglier than she had been! She rushed upon our little heroine, and would have killed her on the spot, had she not run away and hid herself for the night.

The next morning she rose betimes, and went to the place where she had buried some of the cow's flesh, for the prescribed period of thirty-one days had now passed. Upon removing the earth that she had piled upon the flesh, she, to her great surprise, discovered a flight of steps leading downwards, and when she came to the end of them, she found herself dragged into the passage by some unseen hand. Lower down and still lower she went, till at last she saw around her a large palace very richly and handsomely furnished, the presiding divinity of which was a middle aged motherly lady, who introduced herself to her as her old friend the cow. This good creature rejoiced greatly to see our young heroine there, and welcoming her cordially, invited her to stay with her for the rest of her life, which she was only too glad to do.

After some days the fame of the marvellous beauty of the cow's *protégé* reached the ears of the Râjâ of those subterranean regions, a handsome young man, and he sent messengers to ask the cow to give him her adopted daughter in marriage.

[1] The lotus.

The cow, for so we must still continue to call her, consented readily, for what man, short of a Râjâ, could be fit mate for one so beautiful, but she stipulated that she must obtain the consent of the girl's father before she could give her in marriage to him. So the Râjâ sent his men to invite the farmer into his presence that he might obtain his consent. The farmer's wife, however, felt so highly flattered at her husband being thus bidden into a Râjâ's presence, that she too went underground with the messengers, accompanied by her own daughter.

The farmer was duly presented before the Râjâ as the beautiful lady's father, and he humbly and most thankfully gave his consent to her marriage. Meanwhile his crafty wife remained with the cow, and, not knowing her in her transformed state, thanked her for befriending her step-daughter, and said that she had been very much grieved at the poor child's unaccountable absence from home, adding that she had always loved her, and had only chastised her occasionally for her own good. The cow, however, knew how much of this to believe, but she shook her head and said nothing, and even allowed her to do all the kind offices, which it is a mother's privilege to perform when her daughter is to be married.

And here the wicked woman saw her opportunity and seized it. On the day appointed for the wedding she herself elected to bathe and dress the bride, and, under pretence of applying some perfume to her head, she thrust a long sharp magic needle, that she had concealed about her person, deep into her head. The poor girl was speedily transformed into a bright little bird, and flew away into the air before any one could know what had happened, and her scheming step-mother at once installed her own daughter in her place, and quickly dressing her in the bridal clothes threw a *chhadar* round her as is the custom, and carried her in her own arms to the side of the bridegroom! The ceremony was then soon performed over them, and the princely bridegroom, without suspecting whom he had married, joyously bore his bride home.

In due course, however, the fraud was discovered, and poor Mutkulî Rânî soon found herself consigned to a dungeon, dark and dismal. But the Râjâ's disappointment at the loss of his charmer was so great that he nearly wept his eyes out, and caused every search to be made for her, but in vain. He also threatened the farmer, as well as the cow, with death if they failed to reveal what had become of her, but they protested their entire ignorance of her whereabouts, and the Râjâ had therefore to give her up for lost, and to bear his grief as best he could.

Some days after this it happened that a beggar came to the door of his palace and asked for alms, and his servants threw him a copper, as usual, for even a Râjâ cannot give more than a copper to each beggar, since thousands come to his door every day. That day, however, the beggar would not go away with what he had got, but said: "What anomalies are to be met with in this world! Within a stone's throw of this place lives a Dhôbî, and at his door I have just got a handful of pearls — real rare pearls — for alms; while here in a king's palace I have been given only a copper coin! Why, judging from what an humble subject of his has given me, I should at least get a cart-load of pearls, if not more, at the Râjâ's door! This must indeed be a strange country where a subject is richer or more generous than his sovereign!"

These words of the beggar fell upon the Râjâ's ears, and both startled him and wounded his pride. What must be the meaning of them! "Surely, that man's gains must be ill-gotten, since he gave away so lavishly," thought the Râjâ, and he forthwith sent his men and had the Ḍhôbî brought before him. And what a strange and romantic tale did this humble individual unfold to his sovereign! He said that he had long been doing the washing of the Royal household, and that it was not by robbing or killing any one that he had come by his wealth, but that it had pleased Îśvara to bestow his bounty upon him in a miraculous way. On being asked to explain himself, he proceeded in these words:—

"Of late, a little bird has taken to coming and perching on one of my hanging lines, each night exactly at the stroke of twelve, and every time it comes it puts this strange question to

me: 'Arê, Dhôbî, to whom belongs this Râj!' and with an involuntary impulse, for which I cannot account, my lips utter this reply, whether I be asleep or awake: 'To Dêvkî Rânî!' At this the bird laughs a sweet ringing laugh like that of a young lady, and with it throws forth from its mouth the rarest rubies that ever were seen."

The Râjâ listened with wrapt attention and surprise, while the Dhôbî continued:—"As soon as it has done laughing, I again hear its voice asking me another question. 'Arê, Dhôbî, who occupies the *gadî* now?' To which I am again compelled to reply instinctively: 'Mutkulî Rânî.' At this the little bird sobs and weeps and sheds numberless large bright pearls for tears. After this short dialogue it flies away and I sleep on, taking care to rise before day break and collect the jewels and pearls, for I believe that I have an exclusive right to them."

"Nobody dare dispute your right to them, Dhôbî," said the Râjâ re-assuringly after this frank avowal of the honest fellow, "but what I want is the little bird itself. So let me watch with you to-night, and see if I can contrive to get possession of the sweet prattler."

"O! that can easily be done, Mahârâj, by placing some bird-lime on the line, and throwing a handkerckief over the bird just as it has done speaking," suggested the Dhôbî readily.

That same night the Râjâ went to the Dhôbî's yard with a couple of his attendants, and laid himself down, covered from head to foot, in a sort of bower shaded over by a jessamine creeper, just underneath the very spot where the line on which the bird was wont to perch, was stretched. The Dhôbî had already smeared it with bird-lime, so that there was nothing for the Râjâ to do, but to lie in wait till the bird's arrival.

Exactly at the hour mentioned by the Dhôbî the bird came and perched itself on its favourite line just over the Râjâ's head, and at once began to ask the usual questions: "Arê, Dhôbî, to whom belongs this Râj!" And the Dhôbî, who had all the time been snoring regardless of the Râjâ's presence, replied as before: "To Dêvkî Rânî." And, sure as the Dhôbî had said, she laughed a light silvery laugh that went straight to the heart of the young Râjâ, and brought him out of the recess in spite of himself! But the bird heeded him not, and went on: "Arê, Dhôbî, who is the present occupant of the *gadî?*" The answer as before was: "Mutkulî Rânî!" And the bird began to sob and weep in a manner that very nearly broke the heart of her listener, and would have flown away, had it not found its tiny feet stuck to the line, and its body covered over with a large cloth thrown over it from behind!

In a twinkling it was a prisoner in the hands of the king, who pressed it to his heart, and walked away with it to his palace, leaving the Dhôbî to rise at his usual hour and collect the rubies and pearls that had dropped from the mouth of his nocturnal guest.

Never was the prince happier than on that morning, as he sat stroking the bird's head, for he felt an unaccountable regard and affection for it. All of a sudden, however, he discovered what looked like a needle stuck into the bird's head, and on pulling it out, what was his joy to find his feathered friend transformed into his own long lost bride!

Between her smiles and her tears — showers of rubies and pearls — Dêvkî Rânî related to her lover the trick that had been played upon her by her step-mother. The Râjâ was so angry at this that he forthwith ordered Mutkulî Rânî and her mother to be summoned before him, and having had their noses and ears cut off, banished them his kingdom.

He then took Dêvkî Rânî into the presence of her kind friend and guardian, the cow, and with her consent, soon celebrated his nuptials with the beautiful lady with due pomp and *èclat*, and lived happily with her ever afterwards.

MISCELLANEA.

SANSKRIT WORDS IN THE BURMESE LANGUAGE. A REJOINDER.

The first of the objections of Mr. Taw Sein-Ko to what was said under the above head *ante*, Vol. XXII. p. 162, is a reiterated assertion that the words in dispute are in common use. He wisely, however, only quotes in support of this a small number of them, and, even of these, there are but one or two, on which I do not still join issue with him. Surely, Mr. Taw Sein-Ko does not mean to assert that the ordinary Burman uses **chaṅkram** when he says he is going for a walk, or **drap** when he hints that his neighbour's ideas as to his position in society are not warranted by the facts of the case. In the first word (**adhvan**) taken *seriatim* Mr. Taw Sein-Ko practically gives his case away, for the only case he is able to adduce of this word in conversation is in a purely theological connection, and that too in one, which, unless the Burmese think a great deal more about their prospects after this life than strikes the ordinary non-Buddhist observer, is hardly likely to be of every-day occurrence. Moreover, there are plenty of more common equivalents for the meaning mentioned for *adhvan*.

There is, of course, a certain vagueness in the expression "common use," and words that may by one person be considered to fall under this head may by another be considered to be of but rare occurrence, the confusion arising from the exact meaning to be applied to "common." To take an example at random from the English language the word "eleemosynary" is one understood by persons possessing a good education and in certain circles (those connected with the administration of charities, as well as those taking an interest in the social problems of the day): it may even be said to be in 'common use.' At the same time it cannot be said to be so as regards the mass of the people generally, and as a matter of fact it would not be understood by the majority of those to whom the word 'educated' can fairly be applied. My contention is that the Sanskṛit words under discussion occupy very much the same position, *i. e.*, they are understood and are, perhaps, in common use in a few small educated circles; but that the great majority are truly "*caviare* to the general."

As regards the word **amraik**, Mr. Taw Sein-Ko has not given a tittle of evidence in support of his assertion that *amrita* became *amrôk* in Northern India, nor has he in any way attempted to controvert my argument, based on philological grounds, as to its late introduction. Had he done so, it might have been worth while to discuss seriously the original sound in the Burmese language of that vowel, which is now sounded as *ô* when final and *ai* when penultimate. There are excellent grounds for supposing that neither of these two sounds represent the former pronunciation, but it is scarcely necessary to enter on the matter here.[1]

Coming to the next word (**abhishêka**), Mr. Taw Sein-Ko's disparagement of my argument as being "based on the mere morphology of words," is not very clear, nor does he appear to have, in any way, controverted it. My position in reference to this, as well as to other words, is that the Burmese language has changed its pronunciation since it was reduced to writing, and that foreign words, transliterated according to the first pronunciation, were introduced before those transliterated according to the later one, and no amount of assertions as to the use of particular words avails, in any way, to controvert this argument. The only adequate reply to it possible would be the production of an old, extensive, and fairly popular literature, the approximate dates of the different works being known, proving the contrary, and there seems little possibility of such a literature ever being unearthed.[2]

Merely observing that the two examples quoted of the 'common use' of **chakrâ** by Mr. Taw Sein-Ko shew evidently, as has been suggested above, that his ideas and mine as to what words can be legitimately so described are widely different, I would pause to inquire his objection to my expression "the old speakers of Pâḷi." Perhaps "those who spoke Pâḷi in former times" might be better turned, but is not this purely verbal quibbling?[3]

The authorities as to the supposed Sanskṛit word **chaṅkram** seem to be divided. Perhaps some

[1] As regards *môr* in Mrangô *môr*, I rather doubt whether it is really an equivalent for *Mêru*. The *r* is probably added; *cf.* the spelling *môgh* = the sky, where the *gh* is added on a false analogy to the Pali *mêgha*. [Mr. Houghton will find it difficult to persuade scholars of the truth of the last assertion: *e. g.*, Bur. Râjagrô = Skr. Râjagṛiha. — ED.]

[2] [Does not this argument cut both ways? If the literature which will disprove Mr. Houghton's argument is wanting, the proof of it must also be wanting. — ED.]

[3] [But did Mr. Taw Sein-Ko mean any verbal quibbling? Was he not poking fun at Mr. Houghton for supposing that there were "old speakers of Pâḷi," or "those who spoke Pâḷi in former times," in such a connection as the present? — ED.]

of the readers of the *Antiquary*, who have made a speciality of the study of Saṅskṛit, may be able to enlighten us on the subject. Mr. Taw Sein-Ko has completely misstated my argument concerning the relative antiquity of Sanskṛit and Pâḷi derivatives. It is briefly that where one is found to be in common use and the other is relatively rarely used, the former must be inferred to have been the first introduced into the language.[4] This argument is not, of course, a conclusive one, but its validity is in no wise impaired by the two or three isolated words quoted in this connection by him.

The allusion to Arakan is not very happy, as 'although it is not now a seat of learning' it is notorious that the Arakanese have, from their isolation, preserved better the older pronunciation of the language than the Burmese proper. The matter is, however, the more beside the point, as I went out of way to shew from cognate languages a legitimate example of the change of final *l* in *n*.

I cannot admit, except to a very limited degree, the argument from the employment of Sanskṛit derivatives in certain Burmese translations of Indian works on religion, etc. It is notorious, in English and other languages, that learned people have a weakness for the most recondite words available, preferring Greek to Latin, and Latin to Anglo-Saxon, and there is no reason to suppose that the Burmese *literati* were or are exempt from this weakness.

The question as to whether the Saṅskṛit derivative **parissad** was first brought into common use by political rather than religious influences is one which it is impossible to decide without further evidence, and no useful purpose can, therefore, be served by a further discussion now of this word.

As regards the remarks under the word **Ṛishi** I must disclaim any intention to impute "pride or conceit" to Buddhist monks in particular, they being in my estimation a very estimable and well-conducted body of men according to their lights. At the same time they are only human, and the maxim, *homo sum, nihil humanum ab me puto*, applies to them as well as to other people. I admit that the use of the word "monk" in this connection in my former article was somewhat loose ("holy person" would have been better), but the argument is not affected thereby.

The existence of Saṅskṛit and Pâḷi derivatives together is, of course, susceptible of the explanation given by Mr. Taw Sein-Ko, but it would seem much more probable that they are formed on the analogy of the linked words so common in the Burmese, Chinese and cognate languages, sometimes to express a new shade of meaning and sometimes merely to help out the "accentual rhythm" of the sentence. Anyway their existence does not help out the argument one way or the other.

As regards **samuddarâ**, there are plenty of books in which the vernacular *pinlè* is used for "sea," and not this word. Further, I do not think that even Mr. Taw Sein-Ko will assert that it is in common use in conversation rather than *pinlè*. In granting that *samuddarâ* is occasionally used in its literal sense instead of *pinlè* in books, there is no comparison as to the relative use of the two words in Burmese. Now, the latter people did not push their way down to the sea until comparatively recent times, long after the introduction of Buddhism (I speak subject to correction, not having a book of reference by me), so that, if the Saṅskṛit word in question had really been introduced at an early epoch, it is difficult to understand why it should not be the current word now for "sea" or "ocean." From the direction of the Burmese immigration, it is evident, indeed, that the word *pinlè* can only be a (comparatively) recently coined one, and, in the absence of direct testimony to the contrary, it must be presumed, under the circumstances, that there was no word previous to it to express the same idea.

As regards **sattvâ** I still affirm the probability of my previous argument, and fail to see what the occurrence of this word, in a by-no-means particularly ancient[5] inscription, has to do with the case.

In assuming that Mr. Taw Sein-Ko was the first to entitle **Sakra** the "Recording Angel of Buddhism," it appears that I was in error, but two blacks do not make a white, and the fact remains that the said "Recording Angel," if he can be called such, is simply the old Hindu god Indra metamorphosed.[6]

The reply of Mr. Taw Sein-Ko is interesting on two grounds, the first being the theories put forward by him on the source of Burmese Buddhism. The possible truth of these theories I

[4] [Then if Skr. deriv. *drap* is a synonym of the Pâḷi deriv. *gôn* (*ante*, Vol. XXII. p. 162), it is a good instance to quote because their relative "common use" is a point capable of being tested. — ED.]

[5] [That depends upon what is called "ancient:" in Burma the date quoted, 1223 A. D., is important. — ED.]

[6] [But did not this occur before Buddhism came into Burma at all — whether from the North or the South? — ED.]

have no intention of controverting, but it certainly seems to me that the linguistic evidence on which they rest is of the flimsiest description, and points, so far as it goes, directly the other way. It is quite possible that further research may modify, if not altogether change, the complexion of that evidence as at present known to us, or, again, that the theories mentioned may represent what actually happened, and yet the prior use of the Sanskṛit books have left no trustworthy traces in the language. It is a common-place fact that in analytical reasoning we must be very careful of our facts and of the inferences legitimately deducible from them before we can safely found any general hypothesis on them, and in no department is this caution more necessary than in the science of language. Bearing this in mind, it certainly seems to me that the linguistic arguments in favour of a prior use of Sanskṛit are neither sufficiently numerous nor trustworthy at present to support any inferences whatever in that direction; but this, of course, does not refer to other evidence, such as that relating to the form of pagodas, etc.

The second point of interest in Mr. Taw Sein-Ko's paper is the somewhat startling light it throws on the proceedings of the Text-Book Committee. The facts related under the heading of *parissad* might well have been inserted elsewhere under the heading of "Folk Etymology," but, joking apart, it is certainly preposterous that the future spelling of Burmese should be laid down by a majority of *sayâs*, whose ideas in philology were of the kind mentioned. There are grave grounds for doubt as to whether the scientific study of the Burmese language had reached that point when an authoritative statement on the spelling of doubtful words might advantageously have been made, or, at any rate, care might have been taken to form the committee of a majority of persons with some training in philology. Perhaps even now, if Mr. Taw Sein-Ko, or other member of the committee, will favour the public with further disclosures as to the arguments used by the native *sayâs* in cases where their opinion over-ruled the more intelligent part of the committee, it may not be too late by means of a free discussion to get the spelling altered.[7]

BERNARD HOUGHTON.

A CUMULATIVE RHYME ON THE TIGER.

Text.

Taliâ maliâ wâgô mâṅzâ pâniâ ḍêvalâ gê,
Pâniê piunî wâgô mâṅzâ santôsû zhâilâ gê,
Santôsû hôûnî wâgô mânzâ ḍhôliê baisalâ gê,
Ḍhôliê baisûnî wâgô mâṅzâ gazrâûṁ lâgalâ gê,
Gazrâtaṁ gazrâtaṁ wâgô mâṅzâ pânêrnîn dêkhilâ gê,
Pânêrnîn dêkhûnî wâgô mâṅzâ pâradiâ sâṅgilâ gê,
Pâradiâ sâṅgûnî wâgô mâṅzâ bandûkhê nêmilâ gê.
Bandûkhê nêmûnî wâgô mâṅzâ gôliê mârilâ gê,
Gôliê mârûnî wâgô mânzâ dharniê pârilâ gê,
Dharniê pârûnî wâgô mâṅzâ rasiê bândilâ gê,
Rasiê bândûnî wâgô mânzâ âriê ghâtalâ gê,
Âriê ghâlûnî wâgô mânzâ khândiê ûchlilâ gê,
Khândiê ûchlûnî wâgô mâṅzâ darbârântu nêlâ gê.

Translation.

To the tank my tiger for water descended;
Drinking water, my tiger felt happy;
Feeling happy, my tiger in the cave sat;
Sitting in the cave, my tiger began to play,
Playing, playing, my tiger the water-woman saw;
The water-woman seeing my tiger, the hunter was informed;
The hunter being informed, my tiger with the gun was aimed at;
Aimed at with the gun, my tiger with a bullet was killed;
Killed with the bullet, my tiger on the ground was thrown;
Thrown on the ground, my tiger with a rope was bound;
Bound with a rope, my tiger on a pole was slung;
Slung on a pole, my tiger on the shoulders was lifted;
Lifted on the shoulders, my tiger to the *darbâr* was carried.

This is a popular song among the East Indians in Salsette, and is sung on festive occasions, including marriages and christenings.

Bombay. GEO. FR. D'PENHA.

CORRESPONDENCE.

VADDAVARA.

In connection with the discussion (*ante.* Vol. XXII. pp. 111 and 251) as to what day of the week is indicated by the term **Vaḍḍavâra**, and the meaning of *vaḍḍa*, I would draw attention to the following interesting passage from Kanaḍa literature, which has been brought to my notice by B. Śrînivâs Ayyangâr, one of my assistants.

[7] [It may help the present controversy for me to state here that by far — by very far — the two oldest inscriptions yet unearthed at Pagan are: (1) in North Indian 7th or 8th Century characters; this is filled with Sanskṛit words and expressions mixed with those in another language not yet determined: (2) in Gupta characters and dated in the second Gupta Century, = 400-500 A. D.; this is in Sanskṛit. I hope in due course to have the publishing of both inscriptions in this *Journal.* — ED.]

It occurs in Ranna's poem called *Sâhasa-Bhîma-Vijaya*, or *Gadâ-yuddha*, written at the end of the tenth century, the hero of which is the Châlukya prince Satyâśraya. The quotation forms the 26th *padya* of the 3rd *âśvâsa*.

Kalaśajan intuṁ kolisida ।
khalane gaḍaṁ Dharmma-nandanaṁ krûra-dinaṁ- ॥
gaḷa pesaṟaṁ maṟeyisi Maṁ- ।
gaḷavâraṁ **Vaḍḍavâram** embante valaṁ ॥

'Having so caused Kalaśaja to be slain, is not the son of Dharma base? Even as disguising the name of evil (or unlucky) days in calling them Maṁgalavâra and **Vaḍḍavâra**.'

The reference is doubtless to a common saying that Tuesday, which is *amaṁgala* or inauspicious, is called Maṁgaḷavâra, and that Yudhishṭhira, who was (in this instance) *adharma* or unjust, is called Dharma-râja. But as far as the meaning of Vaḍḍavâra is concerned, the passage demands that it should be a name of auspicious import applied to a day which is really inauspicious. Now these conditions are exactly fulfilled in the case of **Saturday (not Friday)**, provided we can interpret *vaḍḍa* as a word of good omen. On the analogy, therefore, of *baḍḍi* (interest on money) from *vṛiddhi*, we may derive *vaḍḍa* from *vṛiddha*, which signifies 'old, full-grown, large, augmented,' &c. This is sufficient for our purpose, for growth and increase are recognized signs of prosperity and good fortune. The idea of maturity is also not inappropriate as applied to the last day of the week. We seem, therefore, justified in concluding that **Vaḍḍavâra means Saturday.**

The terms *vaḍḍa* thus explained will equally, apply to a great merchant, to the principal taxes or to a famous village, — the various connections in which it appears in inscriptions.

LEWIS RICE.

Bangalore, 10*th January* 1894.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

BUDDHIST CAVES IN MERGUI.

Referring to my "Notes on Ramannadesa," *ante*, Vol. XXII. p. 327 ff., I have lately been sent, through the kindness of Mr. H. G. Batten, Deputy Commissioner of Mergui, three ancient images of the Buddha found in that District. One is of wood, very much eaten away; one of iron or bell metal, so eaten away as just to prove by its appearance that it was an image of the Buddha; and one of some such mixture as the "tutenague,"[1] or white copper, of the old travellers. This last is still in good preservation, and had been either cast or stamped. All three bear a strong family likeness in general shape to those found by myself in the Caves about Maulmain.

These three images were found in the extreme south of Burma on the banks of the Lênyà River and in a Cave, and so are valuable to prove the spread of the cult of the Buddha in Caves.

The finder was Maung Maung, a Township Officer of the Mergui District, who writes of the find thus:—

"In the Pratàn Caves on the left tributary of the Lênyà River I found these remains. Tradition asserts the existence in this neighbourhood of the site of an ancient City, called Kosambi,[2] which was destroyed about the middle of the 14th Century A. D. by the Great Thai (Shân) Race, who invaded the country from the north-east. I found vestiges of cultivation, but no remains beyond those now sent."

R. C. TEMPLE.

[1] See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* Tootnague.

[2] [There are "Kosambis" all over Burma. They merely refer to the habit of giving classical names to old sites in order to give a home to classical stories in their own land, which is so strong in the Burmese.—R. C. T.]

SANSKRIT WORDS IN THE BURMESE LANGUAGE.

Râjagṛiha — Yâzajô.

The Burmese word for the famous Buddhist site is written **Râjagrô** and pronounced **Yâzâjô**. The Sanskṛit name of the place is, of course, **Râjagṛiha** and the true Pâḷi name is **Râjagaha**. The Burmese *grô* cannot be got out of *gaha*, though it is the natural representative of *gṛiha*.

Here then seems to be a clear instance of a famous name in constant use, connected with religion in Burmese, the Sanskṛit form of which is preferred to the Pâḷi, pointing almost certainly to a Sanskṛit usage anterior to Pâḷi usage in Burmese.

Bigandet, *Life and Legend of Gaudama*, Or. Ser. Ed., Vol. II., p. 181, practically admits the Sanskṛit form when he writes: — "**Radzagio** or **Radzagihra**, was the capital of Magatha or South Behar." Compare with the above statement the following from Fausböll's *Jâtaka*, Vol. I. p. 143, Lakkhaṇajâtaka:—"Atîtê Magadharaṭṭhê **Râjagahanagarê** êko Magadharâjâ rajjaṁ kârêsî," which Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. 195, paraphrases:— "Long ago, in the city **Râjagaha**, in the land of Magadha, there ruled a certain king of Magadha."

This instance seems dead against Mr. Houghton's argument, *ante*, p. 165, and *J. R. A. S.*, 1894, p. 411 f., that Môr does not, in Burmese, represent Mêru and that *môgh* does not represent *mêgha*, for there we have *grô* representing *gṛiha*.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE SAMACHARI-SATAKAM OF SAMAYASUNDARA AND PATTAVALIS OF THE ANCHALA-GACHCHHA AND OTHER GACHCHHAS.

BY JOHANNES KLATT.

(*Revised with Additions*[1] *by Ernst Leumann.*)[2]

1. The Sâmâchârî-śatakam.

THE **Sâmâchârî-śatakam** was composed in Saṁvat dvi-muni-shaṭ-prâleyarochis 1672 (*A. D.* 1616) in the city of Meḍatâ by **Samayasundara-gaṇi.** The author was a pupil of Sakalachandra of the Rîhaḍa-gotra, whose preceptor was Jinachandra-sûri, from Saṁvat 1612 to 1670 sûri of the Bṛihat-kharatara-gachchha. The work was begun in Siddha-purî (Mûlatrâṇapura) in Sindhu-deśa and was finished three years later in Meḍatâ (Sukhakara) under Jinasiṁha-sûri, from Saṁvat 1670 to 1674 sûri of the same gachchha. It contains 5 prakâśas and 100 chapters (252 leaves). The date of the MS. is "vidhu-vasu-rasa-śaśin" 1681 (A. D. 1625) and it was written in the reign of râula-Kalyâṇadâsa by Thâharû, son of Śrîmalla.

The text begins with the śloka :

Śrî-Vîraṁ cha guruṁ natvâ smṛitvâ gachchha-paraṁparâṁ ।
Praśnottara-śata-granthaṁ vakshye śâstrânusârataḥ ॥ 1.

This verse proves that the work has also the title of **Praśnottara-śata.**

A number of the chapters have special names, *viz.* : — 11, dvidalagrahaṇâdhikâra. 12, saṁgarapha-pramukhâṇâṁ dvidalatvâdhikâra. 13, śrâvakâṇâṁ pânakâkâra-nishedha. 15, śrâvakâṇâm ekâdaśa-pratimâ-vahana-nishedhâdhikâra. 21, jâta-mṛitaka-sûtaka-piṇḍa-nishedhâdhikâra. 22, tassa dhammassa kevali-pannattassa nishedhâdhikâra. 36, sâmâyika-vaisaṇâdhikâra. 38, 45-âgama-sthâpana. 39, jina-pratimâ-pûjâdhikâra. 40, jina-pratimâ-sthâpanâdhikâra. 41, jina-pratimâ-pûjâ-phala. 44, deva-sthiter api puṇyatvâdhikâra. 45, yogopadhâna-vahanâdhikâra. 48, pûrvâchârya-grantha-saṁmati. 49, śrâvakâṇâṁ mukha-vastrikâ. 50, dvitîya-

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[1] Chiefly derived from the newly acquired Berlin MSS. which I examined in the Autumn of 1893. I have also arranged alphabetically the list of quotations from the *Sâmâchârîśataka* (see *post*, p. 170, l. 4 from bottom to p. 174), which Klatt had prepared in the order of the leaves (1*b*, 2*b*, etc.)

[2] I cannot publish this paper of my friend, Johannes Klatt, without noting that it is, with the 'Note' attached to it, and published *post*, p. 183, the last contribution that can come from his pen. Besides these he has left behind him the *Jaina-Onomasticon*, a huge composition, for which, I am sorry to say, I have as yet not been able to do more than to arrange the parts and have them bound into eight stately volumes. Klatt himself was never able to do more towards the publication of this great work than to prepare finally for press a sample of work, which (prefaced by our common master, Prof. Weber) appeared under the title :—'Specimen of a literary-bibliographical Jaina-Onomasticon, by Dr. Johannes Klatt, Leipzig, 1892, printed by O. Harrassowitz.'

In thus taking leave of the eminent Indianistic Chronicler and Bibliographist, we are the more sensible of the irreparable loss caused by his disappearance from Literature, as a year or two more of work would have allowed him to complete what has been slowly growing into shape in his study during the past ten years. Meanwhile it is some satisfaction to point to the other results of Klatt's Librarianship and scholarship, and to be able to state that, short as his career was, his unwearied zeal has resulted in work of capital importance to the Indian Department of the Royal Library at Berlin, to Indian Bibliography, and particularly to Jain Studies.

The chronology of his life, presented by way of one of the *Paṭṭâvalîs* so happily brought to light by his researches, is as follows :—Johannes Klatt : born 1852 A. D. as the son of the postmaster of Filehne (in the Prussian province of Posen); *dîkshâ* (matriculation) at the Berlin University 1868 ; after four years' study there, he took his Doctor's degree by presenting (see Boehtlingk's *Indische Sprüche*, 2nd ed., Part III. Preface) a paper on 'Châṇakya's Sentences' to the University of Halle ; 1873 'Volunteer' at the Berlin Royal Library (still earning his living for a couple of years as official stenographist in the Prussian House of Commons), 1880 'Custos,' 1888-92 (nominally also 1893) 'Librarian.'

He contributed papers to the following periodicals : *Journal* of the German Oriental Society, *Vienna Oriental Journal*, *Indian Antiquary*, *Transactions* of the Royal Academy of Berlin, *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*. For the German Oriental Society he also wrote, in its *Yearly Reports* for 1880 and 1881, the article 'Vorderindien' (Upper India), and for the same Society he compiled, with Prof. Ernst Kuhn, the 'Oriental Bibliography' from 1883 to 1886 (one volume per annum). The eminent services of Klatt to the Royal Library at Berlin can only be fully appreciated by one who has for some time worked in its rich stores of Indian prints and manuscripts. For the acknowledgment of Klatt's contributions to Prof. Weber's *Second Catalogue* the reader is referred to the Preface of its Third Part, p. viii.

vandana-pradâna. 51, kulâni. 52, maṅgala. 54, śṛiṅgâṭakâ. 55, prâsuka-vichâra. 56, sachittâchûrṇa-vichâra. 59, daivasika-râtrika-pratikramaṇaṁ kiyat-kâlaṁ yâvach chhudhyati vichâraḥ. 60, pañchamyâḥ parvatva. 62, Jinavallabha-sûri-sâmâchârî (40 v.). 63, Jinadatta-sûri-sâmâchârî (30 v.). 64, Jinapatti-sûri-sâmâchârî (69 v.). 65, vyavasthâ-patra. 69, pada-sthâna-vyavasthâ-vidhi. 70, anuyoga-dâna-visarjana-vidhi. 71, bhavana-devatâ-kâyotsarga. 73, locha-kârâpaṇa-vidhi. 79, asvâdhyâya-vichâra. 80, chaitra-pûrṇimâ-deva-vandana-vidhi. 81, guru-stûpa-pratishṭhâ-vidhi. 82, śrâvakâṇâṁ devatâvasara-sthâpanâ-pûjâ-vidhi. 83, kalpa-trepottâraṇa-vidhi. 84, pratikramaṇânukrama. 85, paushadha-karaṇânukrama. 86, dîkshâ-dâna-vidhi. 87, vâchanâ-vidhi. 88, utkshepa-vidhi. 89, nikshepa-vidhi. 90, nitya-kartavyatâ. 100, śânti-vidhi.

One of the most interesting chapters (f. 35*b*-37*b*) is that detailing the **dispute between Jinachandra-sûri** (Saṁvat 1612-70, Kharatara) and **Dharmasâgara** (Tapâ) in Saṁvat 1617, kârttika sudi 7 śukra-vâre, in Aṇahilla-pattana, where the preceptors of the 84 gachchhas assembled, as to whether **Abhayadêva**, the author of commentaries on the 9 aṅgas, belonged to the Kharatara-gachchha. The chapter names the following gachchhas and preceptors: sâsha-bhaṭṭâraka-Karmasundara-sûri 1. Siddhântiyâ-vaḍa-gachchhâthî śrî-Thirachandra-sûri 5 (!). śrî-Kalyâṇaratna-sûri 6. Siddhântiyâ-vaḍa-gachchhâ śrî-Mahîsâgara-sûri 8 (!). Pimpaliyâ-gachchhe Vimalachandra-sûri 9. Trâṅgaḍiyâ-pûnamiyâ-gachchhe śrî-Udayaratna-sûri 10. Ḍhandheriyâ-puṁnamiyâ-gachchhe śrî-Saṁyamasâgara-sûri 11. Katabapurâ-tapâ-gachchhe Vidyâprabha-sûri 12. Bokaḍîyâ-gachchhe Devânanda-sûri 13. Siddhântiyâ-gachchhe puṇyâsa-Pramoda-haṅsa 14. Pâlhaṇapurâ-gachchhe śâkhâ Tapâ-gachchhe vâ Raṅganidhâna 15. Âñchala-gachchhe Bhâvaratna 17 (!). Chhâpariyâ-puṁnamiyâ-gachchhe paṁ° Udayaratna-râja 18. Sâdhu-punamiyâ-gachchhe vâ° Nâgâ 19. Maladhârâ-gachchhe paṁ° Guṇatilaka 20. Osavâlâ-gachchhe paṁ° Ratnaharsha 21. Dhavalîparva-âñchaliyâ-gachchhe puṇyâsa-Raṅgâ 22. Chitrâvâla-tapâ-gachchhe vâ° Kshamâ 23. Chintâmaṇiyâ-pâḍâ vâ° Guṇamâṇikya 24. Âgamiyâ upâdhyâya-Sumatiśekhara 25. Vegaḍâ-kharatara paṁ° Padmamâṇikya 26. Vṛihat-kharatara vâ° Muniratna 27. Chitrâvâla-jâṅgîvâḍai paṁ° Râjâ 28. Koranṭavâla-tapâ-gachchhe chelâ-Hâṁsâ 29. Vichaṁvandaṇîkashi Râluyâ 30. Âgamiyâ Mokala 31. Kharatara upâdhyâya-Jayalâbha 32. Sâshi-osavâlâ-gachchhe paṁ° Sîhâ 1. Âñchala-gachchhe śrî-Lakshmînidhâna 2. Vṛihach-chhâlî-ya-tapâ-gachchhe śrî-Saubhâgyaratna-sûri 3. Vaḍa-gachchhe upâdhyâya-śrî-Vinayakuśala 4. Koranḍavâla-gachchhe paṁ° Padmaśekhara 5. Pûrṇimâ-pakshe paṁ° Ratnadhîra-gaṇi 6. Bharuyachchhâ-gachchhe paṁ° śrî-Ratnasâgara 7. Maladhârâ-gachchhe Kshamâsundara 8. Âñchaliyâ Pûrṇachandra 9.

The names of 17 paṭṭâvalîs are also quoted, *viz.*:—1. śrî-Tapâ-gachchhîya-śrî-Hemahaṅsa-sûri-kṛita-Kalpântarvâchya. 2. Bhâvahaḍâ-kṛita-Guru-parva-prabhâvaka-grantha. 3. Tapâ-laghu-śâkhâ Laghu-śâkhâ-paṭṭâvalî. 4. Tapâ-kṛita-Âchâra-pradîpa (by Ratnaśekhara-sûri). 5. Saṁdeha-dolâvalî Kharatara-grantha. 6. Kumâragiri-sthita-Tapâ-sâmagrî-sâdhu-paṭṭâvalî. 7. śrî-Jinavallabha-sûri-kṛita-Sârdha-śataka-karmagrantha. 8. śrî-Chitrâvâla-gachchhîya-śrî-Dhaneśvara-kṛita-vṛitti-paraṁparâ-sâdhaka (composed Saṁvat 1171). 9. Kalyâṇa-karatna-sûri-chirantana-ṭippanaka-dvaya. 10. Chhâparishâ-puṁnamiyâ-paṭṭâvalî. 11. Sâdhu-punamiyâ-paṭṭâvalî. 12. Guru-parvâvalî-grantha. 13. Prabhâvaka-charitra (śloka 15). 14. śrî-Abhayadêva-sûri-charitra (55 thî 95 sîma). 15. Pallîvâla-gachchhîya-bha°-Âmadêva-sûri-Prabhâvaka-charitra. 16. Pimpaliyâ-Udayaratna prârambheṇa Jîvânuśâsana. 17. Tapâ-śrî-Soma-sûri-râjye kṛitopadêśa-sattarî-grantha (composed Saṁvat 1412 by Somadharma-gaṇi).

In the remaining chapters of the compilation the following works, authors and dates (presented here in alphabetical order) **are quoted**:—

20*a*, Ajita-sûri, 90*a*, Ajitadêva-sûri, of the Chandra-gachchha, composed Yoga-vidhi-prakaraṇa, s. 1273, tri-saptaty-adhika-dvâdaśa-śata-varshe.

30*a*, Abhaya(dêva)-sûri's of the Rudrapallîya-gachchha Vijayanta-vijaya-kâvya (122 ślokas), composed Saṁvat 1278, ashṭa-saptaty-adhika-dvâdaśa-śata-varshe.

23*b*, Ambaḍa-muni's Ârâdhyatvena-stuti, under the name of Shaṭ-kalyâṇaka.

92*a*, Ṛishabhadêva-śishya's Ashṭâpada-pratishṭhâ.

67*a*, Ânanda-sûri's vṛitti on Pravachana-sâroddhâra-gâthârdham.

242*b*, Ârâdhanâ-patâkâ.

3*a*, Âvaśyaka-laghu-vṛitti and pûrvâchârya-vinirmita-śrî-Âvaśyaka-chûrṇî.

35*b*, Upadeśa-taraṁgiṇî.

72*b*, Upâsaka-pratimâ-prakaraṇa.

91*a*, Umâsvâti-vâchaka's Pratishṭhâ-kalpa. 197*b*, U.'s Pûjâ-prakaraṇa.

22*a*, Kalpâdhyayana-nirukta, composed Saṁvat 1325, tattva-guṇendu-varshe by śrî-Vinayendu (*i. e.*, Vinayachandra). This notice is exact as may be seen from the Poona MS. of the gloss (Kielhorn's *Report*, 1880-81, p. 76, No. 371). It is a short commentary (of 418 Granthas only) on the so-called Kalpasûtra, *viz.*, on the Paryushaṇâ-kalpa (published by Jacobi); its full title (at the end of the Poona MS.) is *Paryushaṇâkalpâdhyayanasya katichid-durgapada-nirukta.*

58*a*, Kâlakâchârya-kathâ atijîrṇâ, 369 ślokas.

58*b*, Kâlakâchârya-kathâ, Aṇahilla-pattane Pimpalîyâ-kharatara-bhâṇḍâgârântarvartinî, tat-prati-prânte cha punar idam api likhitam asti, yathâ śrî-Kharatara-gachchhe śrî-Jinachandra-sûri-paṭṭe śrî-Abhayadêva-sûri-hetau sâdhu-Jayasiṁhena śrî-Kalpa-pustikâ likhâpitâ.

52*b*, 62*a*, 88*b*, Tapâ-gachchhâdhirâja-bhaṭṭâraka-śrî-Hîravijaya-sûri-prasâdîkṛita-Praśnot-tarasamuchchaya, tach-chhishya-paṇḍita-Kîrtivijaya-gaṇi-samuchchita, paṁ° Vishṇarshi-gaṇi-kṛita-prathama-praśna, paṁ° Guṇavijaya-gaṇi-kṛita-navama-praśna, paṁ° Jagamâla-gaṇi-kṛita-trayodaśa-praśna.

24*b*, Avachûri on the Kalpa-sûtra, by Kulamaṇḍana-sûri of the Tapâ-gachchha, and 59*a*, K.'s Vichârâmṛita-saṁgraha.

25*a*, Guṇachandra-gaṇi's Vîra-charitra (22*b*, Hîra-charitra, prâk.), pañcha-viṁśaty-adhika-dvâdaśa-sahasra 12025-pramâṇa, composed Saṁvat 1139, ekona-chatvâriṁśad-adhikaikâdaśa-śata-varshe. 25*b*, Guṇachandra, pupil of Sumati-vâchaka, pupil of Prasannachandra-sûri, pupil of Abhayadêva-sûri navâṅga-vṛitti-kâra. (Peterson, III. *Rep.* p. 17, App. p. 305-6, has Guruchandra, which is a mistake).

91*b*, Gautama-pṛichchhâ-ṭîkâ.

14*a*, Chandra-sûri's vṛitti on Shaḍ-âvaśyaka. 167*ab*, Ch.'s Yoga-vidhi. 18*a*, śrî-Śrîchandra-sûri's vṛitti on Pratikramaṇa-sûtra (chapter sâmâyikâdhikâra).

69*b*, Charcharî-grantha.

70*a*, Chaitya-vandanaka-vṛitti; see also Dharmakîrti.

23*a*, Sulasâ-charitra (sarga 6 with the name Samyaktva-parîkshaṇa), 700 ślokas, by Jayatilaka-sûri of the Âgamika-gachchha.

72*a*, Jina-kalpa-vyavachchheda.

5*b*-6*a*, "Jiṇagutto Navakârâ-purassaraṁ kâûṇa Nisîhiaṁ."

67*ab*, Jinadatta-sûri's Utsûtra-padodghaṭṭana-kulaka.

69*b*, Jinadatta-sûri's Prabodhodaya-grantha.

69*b*, Jinapatti-sûri's Prabodhodaya-grantha.

20*b*, Jinapatti-sûri (died Saṁvat 1277) of the Khar.-gachchha, Dvâdaśa-kulaka-vṛitti (v. 1-12 communicated). 63*b*, J.'s Sâmâchârî.

92*b*, Jinaprabha-sûri's Yoga-vidhi, composed Saṁvat 1273, tri-saptaty-adhika-dvâdaśa-śata-varshe.

99*a*, Jinaprabha-sûri's (Saṁvat 1349-69) Siddhânta-stava.

15*a*, Jinavallabha-sûri's Paushadha-vidhi-prakaraṇa.

79*b*, Vallabhajina(= Jinavallabha)-sûri's Paushadha-vidhi-prakaraṇa.

85*a*, Jinavallabha-sûri's bṛihad-vṛitti on Saṁgha-paṭṭaka. 166*b*, J.'s Śrâddha-kulaka.

64*a*, śrî-Jeśalameru-bhâṇḍâgâre saṁ° 1215 likhita-pustikâ.

105*a*, âchârya-Valabhya's (!) Jyotiḥ-karaṇḍaka-sûtra. 104*b*, -vṛitti.

58*a*, śrî-Kâlikâchâryair âchîrṇatvât yad uktaṁ Ṭhâṇâ-vṛittau śrî-Hemâchârya-guru-śrî-Dêvendrachandra-sûribhiḥ.[3]

71*b*, Taruṇaprabha-sûri's bâlâvabodha on Shaḍ-âvaśyaka.

72*a*, śrî-Tilakâchârya's Sâmâchârî-grantha. 187*b*, śrî-Til.'s Âvaśyaka-vṛitti.

35*b*, granthân śrî-Tilakaś chakâra vividhâṅś Chandraprabhâchâryavat.

40*b*, Dêva-sûri's Sâdhu-dina-charyâ. 60*a*, -vṛitti; see also s. v. Sthânâṅga.

4*b*, Devagupta-sûri's chirantana-vṛitti on Nava-pada, composed Saṁvat 1070, saptaty-adhika-sahasra-varshe.

—— Dêvachandra-sûri, see s. v. Ṭhâṇâ-vṛitti and Sthânâṅga.

31*ab*, Dêvabhadrâchârya's Pârśvanâtha-charitra, 11167 ślokas, composed Saṁvat 1168, vasu-rasa-rudra-varshe, first copy written by Amalachandra-gaṇi. Succession list: Chandra-kule Vardhamâna, etc., up to Prasannachandra-sûri, pupil of Abhayadêva-sûri. P.'s pupil Sumaty-upâdhyâya, author of Saṁvega-raṅga-śâlâ (Peterson, III. *Rep*. App. p. 64, l. 4 fr. b., has mâlâ instead of śâlâ), Vîra-charita, Kathâ-ratna-kośa. Dêvabhadra, Saṁvat 1168.

47*b*, Dêvendra-sûri and Vijayachandra-sûri, pupils of Jagachchandra-sûri, Tapâ, Saṁvat 1285 in Vîjâ-pura.

7*a*, Devendra-sûri (of the Tapâ-gachchha), vṛitti on Śrâvaka-dinakṛitya-sûtra, and Viśesha-vishaya, and 9*b*, vṛihad-vṛitti on Dharmaratna-prakaraṇa.

30*b*, Dêvendra-sûri (of the Rudrapallîya-gachchha), vṛitti on Praśnottara-ratna-mâlâ, composed Saṁvat 1429, ekona-triṅśad-adhika-chaturdaśa-śata-varshe.

119*b*, Dêvendra-stava.

236*b*, Dhanapâla-paṇḍita-râja-paramârhata's Śrâvaka-vidhi.

34*b*, Dhaneśvara-sûri of the Chitrâvâla-gachchha, composed a vṛitti on Sârdha-śata, Saṁvat 1171, eka-saptaty-adhikaikâdaśa-śata-varshe.

7*a*, Dharmakîrti-mahopâdhyâya, pupil of Dêvêndra-sûri, composed Chaitya-vandanaka-bhâshya-vṛitti under the name of Saṁghâchâra.

78*b*, Dharmakîrty-upâdhyâya's (Tapâ) vṛitti on Saṁghâchâra.

31*b*, Dharmaghosha-sûri, Abhayadêva-sûri-saṁtânîya, erected Saṁvat 1293 a statue of Śântinâtha.

35*a*, vâdi-Dharmadêva-sûri of the Chitrâvâla-gachchha.

58*a*, Dharmaprabha-sûri's Kâlakâchârya-kathâ, 56 gâthâs, composed Saṁvat 1389, aṅkâshṭayaksha-varshe.

9*b*, Dharmabindu-vṛitti.

12*b*, Dharmavidhi-prakaraṇa-vṛitti (chapter Kâmadêvâdhikâra).

64*b*, Nami-sâdhu, pupil of Śâlibhadra-sûri, composed a vṛitti on Śrâvaka-dharma-prajñapti Saṁvat 1122, dvâ-viṅśaty-adhikaikâdaśa-śata-varshe, and a vṛitti on Shaḍ-âvaśyaka, Saṁvat 1112.

86*b*, Nârachandrîya-dvitîya-prakaraṇa.

20*b*, Pañchâśaka-chûrṇi-vṛitti. 90*b*, Pañchâśaka-chûrṇi; see also Yaśodêva.

39*ab*, A complete Paṭṭâvalî of the Tapâ-gachchha.

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[3] Plur.! A Prâkṛit passage from the *Ṭhâṇâ-vṛitti* is quoted by Dharmasâgara in his commentary on *Kupakshakauś*. III. 59; see also below *s. v.* Sthânâṅga.

26b-27a, Padmaprabha-sûri's Munisuvrata-svâmi-charitra, composed Saṁvat 1294, vêda-graha-ravi, chatur-navaty-adhika-dvâdaśa-śata-varshe. Chândra-kule Vardhamâna-sûri, pupil Jineśvara-sûri and bandhu Buddhisâgara-sûri, Jineśvara's 3 pupils Jinachandra, Abhayadêva (9 vṛitti) and Jinabhadra; chakre śrî-Jinachandra-sûri-gurubhir dhuryaḥ Prasannâbhidhas, tena granthachatushṭayî-sphuṭa-matiḥśrî-Dêvabhadra-prabhur Dêvânanda-munîśvaro, Dêva-prabhu, Vibudhaprabha-sûri Chhatrâpallîyî, his pupil Padmaprabha-sûri Saṁvat 1294.

90a, Paramânanda, pupil of Abhayadêva-sûri, composed Yoga-vidhi, Saṁvat 1240, chatvâriṅśad-adhika-dvâdaśa-śata-varshe likhita.

173a, Paryushaṇâ-chûrṇi.

174b, Paryushaṇâ-parvan.

91b, Pâdaliptâchârya's Pratishṭhâ-kalpa.

208b, Pârśvanâtha-laghu-stavana.

167ab, Pûrṇabhadra, pupil of Jinapati-sûri (+ Saṁvat 1277), composed śrî-Kṛitapuṇya-charitra.

22a, Pṛithvîchandra-sûri's ṭippanaka on Paryushaṇâ-kalpa. P., pupil of Dêvasena-gaṇi, pupil of Yaśobhadra-sûri, pupil of Dharmaghosha-sûri who converted the king of Śâkambharî, pupil of Śîlabhadra-sûri of the Chandra-kula.

123a, 127a, Pratimotthâpaka-mataṁ triṅśad-adhika-pañchadaśa-śata 1530 varshe prâdur bhûtaṁ.

81b, Dêvendra-sûri's Pratyâkhyâna-bhâshya.

68a, Vṛitti on Pratyâkhyâna-bhâshya, composed Saṁvat 1183, try-aśîty-adhikaikâdaśa-śata-varshe.

165b, Nâgapurîya-gachchha-Pratyâkhyâna-bhâshya.

83a, Praśama-sûtra-vṛitti.

71a, Prasaha-sûri.

20b, Bṛihad-gachchhîya-Sâmâchârî; see also Sâmâchârî.

57b, Bhâvadêva-sûri's Kâlakâchârya-kathâ, 100 gâthâs.

108b, 110b, 136b, Manomati-śishya.

20b, Mânadêva-sûri's Kulaka (v. 5-15 communicated).

55a, Vinayachandropâdhyâya-Munichandra, pupil of Sarvajñadêva-sûri of the Bṛihad-gachchha, composed a vṛitti on Upadêśa-pada, Saṁvat 1174, abdhi-muni-rudra-varshe.

52b, 171b, Munisundara-sûri, pupil of Somasundara-sûri (Tapâ), composed Shaḍ-âvaśyaka, bâlâvabodha, Śrâddha-pratikramaṇa-sûtra.

97b, Mêrusundaropâdhyâya's Sâdhika-śata-praśnottara-grantha, composed under Jinachandra-sûri (Saṁvat 1514-30), successor of Jinabhadra-sûri (Saṁvat 1475-1514). 162a, M.'s Shaḍ-âvaśyaka-bâlâvabodha. 171b, M.'s Vârttika-praśnottara-śataka.

5a, Yaśodêva-sûri's chûrṇi on Pañchâśaka.

157a, Yaśodêva-sûri's Vandanaka-chûrṇi.

17a, 4a, Yaśodêvopâdhyâya in the succession (saṁtâna) of Kekudâchârya of the Ukeśa-gachchha, composed a vṛitti on Nava-pada, Saṁvat 1165, pañcha-shashṭy-adhikaikâdaśa-śata-varshe.

94a, Yoga-niryukti-bhâshya.

35a, Ratnaprabha-sûri of the Ukeśa-vaṅśa.

52a, Ratnaśekhara-sûri's (Tapâ-gachchha) vṛitti (Vidhi-kaumudî) on Śrâddha-pratikramaṇa. 79a, R.'s Śrâddha-vidhi-viniśchaya.

95a, Lalita-vistarâ-vṛitti.

95a, Laukika-ṭippanaka.

5b, Vardhamâna-sûri, pupil of the navâṅga-vṛitti-kâra Abhayadêva-sûri, composed Kathâkośa (chapter pañcha-aṇu-vrata-phala-varṇanâdhikâra), Saṁvat 1141, and 26ab, Âdinâtha-charitra, ekâdaśa-sahasra 11000-pramita, Saṁvat 1160, shashṭy-adhikaikâdaśa-śata-varshe, under Jayasiṅha-narendra.

216*a*, 234*b*, Vardhamâna-sûri of the Rudrapallîya-gachchha, in the saṁtâna of Abhayadêva (9 vṛitti), composed Âchâra-dinakara.

216*b*, Vardhamâna-stuti-traya.

19*b*, Vasuhiṇḍa (ekonavinśati-lambha).

152*a*, Vichâra-sâra-grantha.

156*b*, Vichârâmṛita-grantha.

157*b*, Vichârâmṛita-saṁgraha.

70*a*, Vidhi-vichâra-sâra-kulaka.

152*a*, Vivâha-chûlikâ.

47*a*, Vihâra-nishedha-sûtra.

182*b*-183*b*, Vyavasthâ-pattra, 33 v.

208*b*, Śakra-stava.

7*a*, Shaḍ-âvaśyaka-vṛitti and Dinakṛitya-vṛitti.

27*b*-28*ab*, Saṁghatilakâchârya's (Rudrapallîya-kharatara) vṛitti (Tattva-kaumudî) on Samyaktva-saptatikâ, composed Saṁvat 1427, adri-nayanâmbhodhi-kshapâkṛit (Peterson, I. *Rep.* p. 53, gives, by mistake, 1422, dvi instead of adri), sapta-vinśaty-adhika-chaturdaśa-śata-varshe in Sârasvata-pattana, dîpotsave, at the request of Dêvendra-muni; Somakalaśa-vâchaka was his sahâya, and Yaśaḥkalaśopâdhyâya wrote the first copy. The succession list is: Chandra-gachchhe Vardhamâna (Dharaṇendra-vandya-charaṇaḥ), Jinêśvara, Abhayadêva (9 vṛitti), Jinavallabha, Jinaśekhara gaṇadhara, Padmachandra-sûri, Vijayachandra-sûri, a second Abhayadêva-sûri, founder of the Rudrapallîya-gachchha, Dêvabhadra-sûri, Prabhânanda-sûri, tat-paṭṭe śrîmat Śrîchandra-sûri and Vimalachandra, tach-chhishya Guṇaśekhara-sûri, whose pupil was Saṁghatilaka, Saṁvat 1427. In a Rudrapallîya-kharatara-kṛita-prabandha is the succession: Chândra-kule Abhayadêva (9 vṛitti), Jinavallabha, Bhavadêva- sûri, Dêvabhadra, Prabhânanda, author of Vîtarâga-stavana, the first copy written by Harshachandra-gaṇi.

22*b*, Saṁgha-pattaka-bṛihad-vṛittau Chaitrakûṭîya-praśasti.

244*a*, Dêvendra-sûri's bṛihad-vṛitti on Saṁghâchâra.

90*b*, Vaḍa-gachchhîya-jîrṇa-Sâmâchârî; see also Bṛihadg.

67*a*, Siddhasêna-sûri's vṛitti on Pravachana-sâroddhâra.

35*a*, Somadharma-gaṇi, pupil of Châritraratna-gaṇi-mahopâdhyâya, pupil of Somadêvasundara-sûri (38*a*, Somasundara-śishya) of the Tapâ-gachchha, composed Upadeśa-saptatikâ, Saṁvat 1412, dvâdaśâdhika-chaturdaśa-śata-varshe.

66*ab*, Somasundara-sûri, pupil of Dêvasundara-gaṇi (Tapâ), bâlâvabodha on Yoga-śâstra.

59*a*, Dêva-sûri's vṛitti on Sthânâṅga, corrected (śodhitâ) by Nêmichandra-sûri.

59*a*, Dêvachandra-sûri's vṛitti on Sthânâṅga.

1*b*, Haribhadra-sûri's Âvaśyaka-vṛihad-vṛitti.

2*b*, H.'s Śrâvaka-dharma-prajñapti-vṛitti.

71*b*, H.'s Daśama-śrâvaka-vidhi-pañchâśaka.

241*b*, H.'s Pañchaka-vastuka-vṛitti.

95*a*, Jayachandra-sûri's (Tapâ) Hetugarbha-grantha.

23*a*, Hema-nyâya-sûtra.

35*a*, Hemarâja and Guṇachandra (digambara).

79*a*, 89*b*, Hemahaṅsa-gaṇi, his succession list: Tapâ-gachchhe Somasundara-sûri († Saṁvat 1499), Jayachandra-sûri, Ratnaśekhara-sûri, Udayananda-sûri, whose pupil Hemahaṅsa-gaṇi composed a bâlâvabodha on Shaḍ-âvaśyaka śrâddha-varâbhyarthanayâ.

35*a*, Hemahaṅsa-sûri (of the Tapâ-gachchha), Kalpântarvâchya (?), (chapter gachchha-prabhâvakâdhikâra).

2. Paṭṭâvalî of the Añchala-gachchha.

The Paṭṭâvalî of the Añchala-gachchha[4] is printed in "Śrîmad-Vidhipaksha-gachchhîya śrâvakanâṁ daivasâdika pâñche pratikramaṇa sûtra," Bombay, Nirṇayasâgara Press, Saṁvat 1945, 1889, pp. 478-519.

The names of the sûris agree, up to the 35th (or 38th) **Uddyotana-sûri** with those given in the Tapâ- and Kharatara-Paṭṭâvalîs. Also in the Añchala-Paṭṭâvalî Uddyotana's date is 1464 after

[4] See W. Miles, on the Jainas of Gujerat, in *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Soc. of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 3 (London, 1835) pp. 365-7. Bhâṇḍârkar, *Report*, 1883-84, pp. 14-5, 319-23. Merutuṅga's *Prabandha-chintâmaṇi* (ed. Bombay, 1888), preface, pp. 10-13.

Mahâvîra, or Vikrama-saṁvat 994 (see *ante*, XI. 253*a*, n. 35), in which year **Sarvadêva-sûri**, one of Uddyotana's 84 pupils, was installed as the 36th sûri of the A. The latter's successor was the 37th **Padmadêva-sûri**, likewise one of Uddyotana's 84 pupils and the first peculiar to the A. After his conversion of the Sâṁkhya-darśaninas, he received a second name, **Sâṁkhya-sûri**. The new gachchha obtained the name of **Saṅkhesvara-gachchha** from Śaṅkheśvara-grâma,[5] a place consecrated to Śaṅkheśvara-Pârśvanâtha.

38. Udayaprabha-sûri.

39. Prabhânanda-sûri. Under him arose the name **Nâṇaka-gachchha**,[6] called so either because the śrâvakas of Nâṇaka-grâma[7] celebrated his visit, or because much money (nâṇaka) was expended.

40. Dharmachandra-sûri.
41. Suvinayachandra-sûri.
42. Guṇasamudra-sûri.
43. Vijayaprabha-sûri.
44. Narachandra-sûri.
45. Vîrachandra-sûri.
46. Jayasiṅha-sûri.
47. Âryarakshita-sûri.

Bhâṇḍârkar, *Report*, 1883-4, p. 321, has the following succession :—Uddyotana, Sarvadêva, Padmadêva, Udayaprabha, Prabhânanda, Dharmachandra, Sumaṇachandra, Guṇachandra, Vijayaprabha, Narachandra, Vîrachandra, Munitilaka, Jayasiṅha, Âryarakshita.

Mêrutuṅga, preface, p. 10, has :—Uddyotana, Sarvadêva (note: Dhanapâlaḥ Vi°. 1029) Padmadêva, Udayaprabha, Narachandra, Śrîguṇa-sûri, Vijayaprabha, Narachandra, Vîrachandra, Âryarakshita.

Âtmârâmjî's list, communicated to me in a letter from Dr. Hoernle, makes the following statement:—"In the time of Sarvadêva-sûri there arose eight śâkhâs — Sarvadêva, Padmadêva, Udayaprabha, Prabhânanda, Dharmachandra, śrî-Vinayachandra, Guṇasamudra, Vijayaprabha, Jayasiṅha, Narachandra, Vijayachandra, Âryarakshita."

47. Âryarakshita-sûri, born Saṁvat 1136 in Dantrâṇâ-grâma (Mêrut. p. 11: Dantâṇî-), mûla-nâman Godu (Mêrut. Godaü), son of the vyavahârin Droṇa of the Prâgvâṭajñâti, dîkshâ Saṁvat 1146 (Mer. 1141, Śatapadî-samuddhâra 1142), obtained from the guru the name Vijayachandropâdhyâya,[8] sûri Saṁvat 1202 under the name Âryarakshita-sûri, + Saṁvat 1236 at the age of 100 (Mêr. and Sat. 1226 and 91). Under him the gachchha, having a vision of Chakreśvarî devî, received Saṁvat 1169 the name Vidhipaksha-gachchha (see Bhâṇḍ. *Rep.* 1883-4, p. 130, 442, v. 1). Â. gave the dîkshâ to 2100 sâdhus and 1130 sâdhvîs, the âchârya-padam to 12 sâdhus, the upâdhyâya-padam to 20, the paṇḍita-padam to 70, the mahattarâ-padam to 103 sâdhvîs (Samayaśrî and others), the pravartinî-padam[9] to 82 sâdhvîs, the total number of sâdhus and sâdhvîs being 3517.

48. Jayasiṅha-sûri, son of koṭi-dravya-dhanin Dâhaḍa-śeṭha and Neḍhî, born Saṁvat 1179 Kuṅkaṇa-dêśe Sopârâ-pura-pâṭaṇe, dîkshâ 1193 (Mer. and Śat. 1197), sûri 1202, âchârya 1236, + 1258, 79 years old. Bhâṇḍ. 1883-4, p. 323, gives, in reference to him, the date Saṁvat 1249, and v. 2 of the praśasti at the end of the Upadêśa-chintâmaṇi (*ib.* p. 442) reads:

maulîṁ dhunoti sma vilokya yasya niḥsaṅgatâṁ vismita-chitta-vṛittiḥ ı
śrî-Siddharâjaḥ (Saṁvat 1150–99) sva-samâja-madhye so 'bhûttataḥśrî-Jayasiṅha-sûriḥ ‖ 2

49. Dharmaghosha-sûri, son of Chandra vyavahârin in Mâhava-pura-nagara (Maru-dêśe) and of Râjalade, born Saṁvat 1208, dîkshâ 1216, âchârya 1234, composed Śatapadî (ashṭâdaśa-praśnottara-rûpâ) Saṁvat 1263 (see Peterson, I. *Rep.* p. 63, App. p. 12); + 1268 at the age of 59.

50. Mahendrasiṅha-sûri, son of śreshṭhin Dêvaprasâda (Mêr. sâṇa Dêvaprasâda) in Sara-nagara and of Khîradêvî (Śat. Sthiradêvî), born Saṁvat 1228 (Mêr. 1220), dîkshâ 1237, âchârya

[5] Place of pilgrimage, near Radhanpur (Bombay Presidency), see J. F. Baness, *Index Geogr. Indicus*, alph. ind.
[6] See Weber, *Verz.* II. p. 926, ll. 8-9.
[7] Nâṇa Bîra in Godewar, see Miles, *loc cit.* p. 365.
[8] This explains the last error in Âtmârâmjî's list (*Vijayachandra* instead of *Vîrachandra*). So it might be that also Bhâṇḍârkar's 'Munitilaka' is simply a juvenile name of 46. Jayasiṅha.
[9] See Weber, *Verz.* II. p. 837, 1, and p. 938 on v. 59.

1263, gachchha-nâyaka 1269, + 1309, at the age of 82. He composed, Saṁvat 1294, a commentary on his preceptor's Śatapadî (see *ib.*), and the Tîrtha-mâlâ-stavana in 111 prâkṛit verses, which is printed in Vidhipaksha-Pratikr. Bombay, 1889, pp. 229-77.

51. Siṅhaprabha-sûri, son of śreshṭhin Arisiṅha in Vîjâ-pura and of Prîtimatî, born Saṁvat 1283, dîkshâ 1291, âchârya and gachchha-nâyaka 1309 (Mêr. 1308); + 1313, 30 years old.

52. Ajitasiṅha-sûri, son of Jinadêva-śeṭha and Jinadêvî in Doda-grâma (Mêr. and Śat. Koka-grâma), born Saṁvat 1283, dîkshâ 1291, âchârya 1314 in Aṇahila-pura, gachchha-nâyaka 1316 in Jâlora, converted the king Samarasiṅha of Suvarṇa-nagarî (inscr. Saṁvat 1342 and 44, Kielhorn, *ante*, Vol. XVI. pp. 345-55; Vol. XX. p. 137; Jaina inscr., *J. A. S. B.* Vol. 55, Part I. p. 47) and gave the âchârya-padam to 15 pupils; + 1339, 56 years old.

53. Dêvendrasiṅha-sûri, son of Sântû-śeṭha of the Śrîmâli-jñâti in Pâlaṇa-pura, mother Saṁtoshaśrî (Śat. sa° Toshaśrî); born Saṁvat 1299, dîkshâ 1306 in Thirâdra-grâma, âchârya 1323 in Timira-pura, gachchha-nâyaka 1339, + 1371 in Aṇahila-pura, 72 years old.

54. Dharmaprabha-sûri, son of Limbâ-śeṭha in Bhinnamâla and of Vijalade, born Saṁvat 1331, dîkshâ 1341 in Jâlora, âchârya 1359, gachchha-nâyaka 1371 in Aṇahila-pura. The **Bhuvanatuṅga-sûri-śâkhâ** arose at his time. He had intercourse with râula Kheṅgâra in Junâgaḍh, (Kh. IV. reigned Saṁvat 1336-90 in J., see *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.* II. pp. 164-5), and with pâtasâha Mañjûrîyâta. He received the other name Prajñâtilaka-sûri and died Saṁvat 1393 in Âsoṭi-grâma, at the age of 63. He composed a Kâlikâchârya-kathâ in the year aṅkâshṭa-yaksha 1389, see Jayasoma's Vichâra-ratna-saṁgraha (Jacobi's MS. f. 57*a*) and Samayasundara's Sâmâchârîśat. (my own MS. f. 58*a*, l. 1, see above p. 172, *s. v.* Dharmaprabha). The tale has been edited from the India Office MS. by Leumann, *Journal Germ. Or. Soc.* XXXVII. 505-9. Meanwhile a second MS. has reached Europe: No. 1737 of the Berlin Collection, it omits the last four Âryâs which were also unknown to Samayasundara.

55. Siṅhatilaka-sûri, son of Âśâdhara śeṭha in Aîca-pura Maru-dêśe (Mêr. and Śat. Âdityavâṭaka), and of Châmpalade; born Saṁvat 1345, dîkshâ 1352, âchârya 1371 in Ânanda-pura, gachchha-nâyaka 1393 in Pâṭaṇa, + 1395 in Stambhatîrtha, at the age of 50.

56. Mahêndraprabha-sûri (Śat. °prabhu), son of Âśâ śeṭha (Mêr. parîkha Âbhâ) in Vaḍa-grâma, and of Jîvaṇâdê, born Saṁvat 1363, dîkshâ 1375 (Mêr. 1369, Śat. 1365) in Vîjâ-pura, âchârya 1393 (Mêr. 1389) in Aṇahilla-pura, gachchha-nâyaka 1398 in Khambhâta-bandara (Stambhatîrtha). Under him the śâkhâchârya Abhayasiṅha-sûri erected Saṁvat 1432 an image of Pârśvanâtha (see Bhâṇḍârkar, *Rep.* 1883-4, p. 323). M. died Saṁvat 1444 (Mêr. and Śat. 1443), at the age of 81.

57. Mêrutuṅga-sûri, son of vorâ Vairasiṅha in Nâṇî-grâma, and of Nâhûṇadê, born Saṁvat 1403, dîkshâ 1418, âchârya 1426 in Śâla, gachchha-nâyaka 1446 in the same place, + 1471, at the age of 68. He composed in Lolâḍa-grâma, in defence of a snake, the Jîrikâpallî-Pârśvanâtha-stavana (printed in Vidhip. Pratikr. pp. 348-53, 14 v. Sansk.) Imitating Kâlidâsa and Mâgha, he composed some kâvyas, *viz.*: (1) Nâbhi-vaṅśa-saṁbhava-kâvya, (2) Yadu-vaṅśa-saṁbhava-kâvya, (3) Nemidûta-kâvya; besides he wrote navîna-vyâkaraṇa, Sûri-mantra-kalpa (see Peterson, III. *Rep.* pp. 364-5) and other works. He, moreover, composed Mêghadûta-kâvya, see *ib.* p. 248, Śatapadî-samuddhâra composed in the 53rd year (of his age = Saṁvat 1456, or of the century = Saṁvat 1453), a commentary on Śrî-kaṅkâlaya-rasâdhyâya (see Weber, *Verz.* I. p. 297, n. 964). —— Prabandha-chintâmaṇi, Upadeśa-śata and Kâtantra-vyâkhyâna have been composed by the older Mêrutuṅga of the Nâgêndra-gachchha.

In M.'s time lived Jayaśekhara-sûri śâkhâchârya, who composed (in Śêkaḍâ-grâma) Upadeśa-chintâmaṇi in 12000 ślokas (date of the work Saṁvat 1436, see Bhâṇḍ. *Rep.* 1883-4, p. 130 442-3), Prabodha-chintâmaṇi (see Kielhorn, *Rep.* p. 95), Saṁbodha-sattarî (see Peterson, I. *Rep.* p. 125, n. 275), Âtmâvabodha-kulaka and other works (altogether twelve in number) along with

some smaller compositions, such as the Bṛihad-atichâra, printed in Vidhip. Pratikr. pp. 88-228, and the Ajita-śânti-stavana, 17 v. sansk., *ib.* pp. 357-66.

M.'s pupil, the śâkhâchârya Mâṇikyasundara-sûri, composed Guṇavarma-charitra, see Bendall, *Journ.* p. 64, Sattara-bhêdî-pûjâ-kathâ, Pṛithvîchanda-charitra (see Weber, *Verz.* II. p. 175), Chatuḥ-parvî-kathâ. He also wrote Śuka-râja-kathâ (see *Rep.* 1880-1, p. 27), Malayasundarî-kathâ (Peterson, I. *Rep.* p. 123, n. 262), Saṁvibhâga-vrata-kathâ (Mitra, *Not.* VIII. pp. 237-8).

58. Jayakîrti-sûri, son of Bhûpâla śeṭha in Timira-pura, and of Bhramarâde, born Saṁvat 1433, dîkshâ 1444, sûri-pada 1467 in Khambâyata-bandara, gachchha-nâyaka 1473 in Pâṭaṇa, + 1500 at the age of 67.

His pupil Śîlaratna-sûri composed Saṁvat 1491 a commentary on Mêrutuṅga's Mêghadûtakâvya (see Peterson, III. *Rep.* pp. 249-50. Also *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 366).

59. Jayakêsari-sûri, son of Devasiṁha śeṭha in Śrî-thâma-nagara (Pâñchâla-dêśe), and of Lâkhaṇade, born Saṁvat 1461, mûla-nâman Dhanarâja, dîkshâ 1475, âchârya 1494, gachchha-nâyaka 1501 in Châmpâner, + 1542 at the age of 81.

60. Siddhântasâgara-sûri, son of Sonî(gotra)-Jâvaḍa in Pâṭaṇa, and of Pûralade, mûla-nâman Sonapâla, born Saṁvat 1506 in Sâla, dîkshâ 1512, âchârya 1541, gachchha-nâyaka 1542, + 1560 at the age of 54.

61. Bhâvasâgara-sûri, son of vorâ Sâṅgâ in Narasâṇî-grâma (Mâravâḍa-dêśe), and of Siṅgâradê, mûla-nâman Bhâvaḍa, born Saṁvat 1510, dîkshâ 1520 in Khambâyata-bandara by Jayakêsari-sûri, âchârya and gachchheśa 1560 in Mâṇḍala-grâma, + 1583 at the age of 73.

Under him Vinayahaṅsa composed Saṁvat 1572 a vṛitti on Daśavaikâlika, see Mitra, Not. VIII. pp. 168-9.

62. Guṇanidhâna-sûri, son of Śrîmâli-jñâti-muguṭa-maṇî Nagarâja śeṭha in Pâṭaṇa, and of Lîlâde, mûla-nâman Sonapâla, born Saṁvat 1548, dîkshâ 1552 by Siddhântasâgara-sûri, sûri and gachchheśa 1584 in Stambhatîrtha, + 1602 at the age of 54.

63. Dharmamûrti-sûri, son of śâ-Haṅsarâja vaṇik in Trâmbavatî, and of Hâṅsalade, mûla nâman Dharmadâsa, born Saṁvat 1585, dîkshâ 1599, âchârya and gachchha-nâyaka 1602 in Amadâvâda, + 1670 in Pâṭaṇa at the age of 85. He is called tyâgî. Under him a MS. of the Uttarâdhyayana-dîpikâ was written Saṁvat 1643-4, see Weber, *Verz.* II. p. 718, and a MS. of the Vyavahâra-sûtra, Saṁvat 1665, *ib.* p. 638. He composed the Vṛiddha-chaitya-vandana (which is printed in Śrâvaka-pratikramaṇâdi-sûtra, Bombay, 1886, pp. 48-55) and the Pradyumna-charita, see Kunte, *Rep.* 1881, p. 44, n. 205.

64. Kalyâṇasâgara-sûri, son of Koṭhârî-Nâniga in Lolâḍâ-grâma, and of Nâmilade, mûla-nâman Koḍaṇa, born Saṁvat 1633, dîkshâ 1642 in Dhavala-pura, âchârya 1649 in Amadâvâda, gachchheśa 1670 in Pâṭaṇa, converted the king of Kachchh, + 1718 in Bhuja-nagara, at the age of 85.

Under him Jâtaka-paddhati-vṛitti was composed Saṁvat 1673 (Jacobi's Collection of MSS.), and a commentary on Abhidhâna-chintâmaṇi, Saṁvat 1686 (see Weber, *Verz.* II. p. 257). Inscriptions Saṁvat 1675 and 1683 (*Epigr. Ind.* II. 39).

His pupil Vinayasâgara composed Bhoja-vyâkaraṇa (see Weber, *Verz.* II. pp. 203-4, cf. p. 1206).

65. Amarasâgara-sûri, son of Śrîmâlî-jñâti Śodharî-Yodhâ in Udaya-pura (Mevâḍa-dêśe), and of Sonâ, mûla-nâman Amarachandra, born Saṁvat 1694, dîkshâ 1705, âchârya 1715 in Khambâyata, gachchheśa 1718 in Bhuja-nagara (Kachchha-dêśe), + 1762 in Dholaka, at the age of 68.

During his spiritual reign a MS. of Upadêśa-chintâmaṇi was written Saṁvat 1739, see Bhâṇḍârkar, Rep. 1883-4, p. 443.

66. Vidyâsâgara-sûri, son of śâ° Karmasiṅha in Khîrasarâ-bandara (Kachchha-dêśe), and of Kamalâde, mûla-nâman Vidyâdhara, born Saṁvat 1747 âśo vadi 3, dîkshâ 1756 phâlguna śudi 2, âchârya 1762 śrâvaṇa śukla 10 in Dholaka, bhaṭṭâraka 1762 kârttika vadi 4 budha-vâre in Mâtara-grâma, + 1797 kârttika śudi 5, at the age of 50.

A Vidyâsâgara-sûri-stavana (6 v.), composed by Nityalâbha, is printed in Vidhip. Pratikr. Bombay, 1889, p. 451.

V.'s pupil Jñânasâgara-gaṇi composed Guṇavarma-charitra (see Mitra, *Not.* VIII. pp. 145-6) and Chotrîsa atiśayano chhanda, printed in Jaina-kâvya-prakâśa, I. Bombay, 1883, pp. 74-5.

For Satyasâgara-gaṇi see No. 69.

67. Udayasâgara-sûri, son of śâ° Kalyâṇajî in Navâ-nagara, and of Jayavantî-bâi, mûla-nâman Udayachanda, born Saṁvat 1763, dîkshâ 1777, âchârya 1797, gachchheśa in the same year, mârgaśira śudi 13, + 1826 âśvina śukla 2 in Surata-bandara, at the age of 63.

He composed Snâtṛi-pañchâśikâ (see Peterson, III. *Rep.* App. pp. 236-9); in the date, v. 6, read varshe 'bdhi-khâhîndu-mite = 1804, instead of abdhi-khâgnîndu = 1304.

For Kshamâsâgara-gaṇi see No. 69.

68. Kîrtisâgara-sûri, son of Osa-vaṅśa-jñâtîya-sâha-Mâlasiṅha in Dêsala-pura (Kachchha-dêśe), and of Âsa-bâi, mûla-nâman Kumarajî, born Saṁvat 1796, became 1804 śishya of Udayasâgara-sûri, dîkshâ 1809 in Mâṇḍavî-bandara, âchârya-pada 1823 in Surata, at which occasion śâ° Khuśâlachand and Bhûkhaṇadâs spent 6,000 rupees, on the preparation of a mahotsava, gachchheśa 1826 in Añjâra, + 1843 bhâdravâ śudi 6 in Surata-bandara, at the age of 48.

69. Puṇyasâgara-sûri, son of gâma-śrî-Vaḍoda-râna-Poravâḍa-jñâtîya-śâ° Râmasî in Gujarâta, and of Mîṭhî-bâi, mûla-nâman Pânâchanda, born Saṁvat 1817, became 1824 pupil of Kîrtisâgara-sûri, dîkshâ 1833 in Bhuja-pura, âchârya and gachchheśa 1843 in Sûrata, the mahotsava being prepared by śâ° Lâlachand. He died 1870 kârttika śudi 13 in Pâṭaṇa, at the age of 53. Inscr. Saṁvat 1861 (*Epigr. Ind.* II. 39).

Tejasâgara wrote, in Sûrati-bandira, the MS. or. fol. 2013 of the Berlin collection Saṁvat 1844 varshe Śâke 1709 pravartamâne âshâḍha śudi 5 budhe. This Tejasâgara was a pupil of Kshamâsâgara-gaṇi (who was a pupil of Satyasâgara-gaṇi) who was a pupil of (No. 65) Amarasâgara-sûri.

70. Râjêndrasâgara-sûri, born in Sûrat, + Saṁvat 1892 in Mâṇḍavî. Inscr. Saṁvat 1886 (*op. cit.* 39, n. 21).

71. Muktisâgara-sûri, son of Osavâla-jñâtîya-śâ° Khîmachanda in Ujjayaṇî, and of Umêda-bâi, mûla-nâman Motîchanda, born Saṁvat 1857, dîkshâ 1867 vaiśâkha śudi 3, âchârya- and gachchheśa-pada 1892 vaiśâkha śudi 12 in Pâṭaṇa, the mahotsava being arranged by the śeṭha-nathu-Gokalajî. In the jina-chaitya, established in Nalina-pura by śeṭha Narasiṅha-nâtha (Laghujñâtîya Nâgaḍâ-gotrîya), M. made Saṁvat 1897 mâhâ śudi 5 the pratishṭhâ of Chandra-prabhu, and Saṁvat 1905 mâhâ śudi 5 he consecrated the Mahâvîra-chaitya, established by śâ° Jîvarâja-Ratnasiṅha; + Saṁvat 1914 at the age of 57. Inscr. Saṁvat 1905 (*Epigr. Ind.* II. 39).

72. Ratnasâgara-sûri, son of śâ° Lâḍaṇapachâṇa in Mothârâ-grâma (Kachchha-dêśe), and of Jhûmâ-bâi, born Saṁvat 1892, dîkshâ 1905, âchârya and gachchheśa 1914. Under him the Laghu-Osa-vaṅśîya-śeṭha Narasiṅha-nâtha became an Añchala-gachchha-śrâvaka. R. died Saṁvat 1928 śrâvaṇa śudi 2 in Sutharî-grâma, at the age of 36. Inscr. Saṁvat 1918 (see D. P. Khakhar, *Report*, province of Kachh, p. 75): Saṁvat 1921 (*Epigr. Ind.* II. 39).

73. Vivêkasâgara-sûri, the present sûri. Inscr. Saṁvat 1940, *ib.*, his portrait in the beginning of Vidhipaksha Pratikr., Bombay, Saṁvat 1945, 1889.

3. Paṭṭâvalî of the Goyaraksha-śâkhâ.

In the Poona MS. Collection of 1884-86, No. 609, f. 2*b*. (Paṭṭâvalî of the Añchala-gachchha) the 61st (62.) sûri Bhâvasâgara (Saṁvat 1560-83) is followed by **Sumatisâgarai-sûri**, with the remark: ataḥ śrî-Goyaraksha-sthâpanâ (see Miles, *Trans.* III. p. 366: Gowraca). To Sumatisâgara (63.) succeed: 64. Gajasâgara, 65. Puṇyaratna, 66. Guṇaratna, 67. Kshamâratna, 68. Lalitasâgara, 69. Mâṇikyasâgara (his pupil Jñânasâgara Saṁvat 1737), 70. Prîtisâgara, 71. Lakshmîsâgara, 72. Dhanasâgara, 73. Harshasâgara, 74. Nyâyasâgara, 75. Gulâbasâgara.

4. Paṭṭâvalî of the Tapâ-gachchha.

The Gurvâvalî of Dharmasâgara-gaṇi (Saṁvat 1629) is printed in Weber, *Verz.* II. p. 997-1015. This is the original edition of Dh. All the Poona MSS. contain the revised edition, made Saṁvat 1648 by the order of Hîravijaya-sûri. Preceding works are the Gurvâvalî of Munisundara-sûri, composed Saṁvat 1466, and the last chapter, called śrî-guru-parva-krama-varṇanâdhikâra, of Guṇaratna-sûri's Kriyâ-ratna-samuchchaya was composed likewise Saṁvat 1466 (Jacobi's MS. f. 91*b*-93*b*, 66 verses).

Later works are:—

The **Paṭṭâvalî** contained in Sarga IV. of Devavimala's Hîravijaya-charitra, see *Journ. Germ. Or. Soc.* Vol. 47, p. 315.

The Paṭṭâvalî-sâroddhâra (Deccan C. p. 147, n. 409), composed by **Ravivardhana-gaṇi** under Vijayaprabha-sûri between Saṁvat 1739 and 1749, gives many new informations and continues the list up to Vijayaprabha-sûri (last date Saṁvat 1739).

The Gurvâvalî (sûrîṇaṁ parivâḍî) of **Jayavijaya-gaṇi**, pupil of Vimalaharsha-gaṇi, composed Saṁvat 1680 (Deccan C. p. 39, n. 392 and p. 147, n. 402, erroneously: Dharmasâgara) does not yield any further information. The same author J. composed Saṁvat 1677 a commentary (called Kalpadîpikâ) on the Kalpa-sûtra (Gött. *Orient. MS.* 213[10]). The Gurvâvalî (27 âryâs with sansk. commentary) begins:

panamia Vîra-jiṇindaṁ guṇa-nilayaṁ paṇaya-vâśava-narindaṁ ।
tassâ 'haṁ sîsâṇaṁ thuṇemi bhattîi parivâḍiṁ ॥ 1.

5. Paṭṭâvalî of the Vijayânanda-sûri-gachchha.

The V. is a sub-division of the Tapâ-gachchha (see Miles, *Trans. R. As. Soc.* III. 360: founded about Saṁvat 1656, but according to Âtmârâmjî Saṁvat 1699). Vijayasena (+ Saṁvat 1671) is succeeded, not by Vijayadêva, but by Vijayatilaka-sûri,[10] under whom 3 gachchhas arose, the Poravâḍa-gachchha, the Osavâla-gachchha and Saṁvat 1671 the Sâgara-matam. The following Sûris belong to the **Poravâḍa-gachchha.**

61 (62). Vijayânanda-sûri[11] (Ânanda-sûri), Rosalotarâ-vâsî Poravâḍa-jñâtîya Śrîvanta pitâ, Saṇagâradêvî mâtâ, śrî-Hîravijaya-sûriṇâ gṛihîta-dîkshaḥ, saṁ 1717 divaṁ gataḥ.

62 (63). Vijayarâja-sûri[12] (the other MS. Virâjavijaya-sûri), Kaḍî-vâsî Śrîmâlî-jñâtîya sâ Shîmoyîlâ pitâ, Gamalâde mâtâ, Saṁvat 1742 nirvâṇa.

63 (64). Vijayamâna-sûri, Poravâḍa-jñâtîya sâ Vâghajî pitâ, Vîramade mâtâ, Saṁvat 1707 janma, 1717 dîkshâ, 1736 âchârya Sîrohyâṁ, sâ Dharmadâsenotsavaḥ kṛitaḥ, 1742 paṭṭa, Ghaṇâjîva-pratibodhaka, 1770 phâlguna vadi 4 divaṁ gataḥ.

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[10] Vijayatilaka composed the *Âdinâtha-stavana* (see Kunte, *Rep.* 1881, pp. 42, 46, n. 185, 216). At the beginning of the commentary of Bhânuchandra on the *Kâdambarî* (ed. Bomb. 1890) Sûrachandra is named as pupil of Vijayatilaka, and Bhânuchandra as pupil of Sûrachandra.

[11] Vijayânanda's pupil Vijaya-gaṇi composed *Śabdârtha-chandrikoddhâra* (Mitra, *Not.* VIII. pp. 186-7). In the English text the mistake Kaṁsavijaya-gaṇi for Vijaya-gaṇi is repeated in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*.

[12] Under Vijayarâja (and Vijayamâna as designated successor) *Dharma-saṁgraha* was composed Saṁvat 1738, (Bhâṇḍ. *Rep.* 1883-4, pp. 114, 458, v. 2-6). Vijayarâja's pupil Dânavijaya composed *Śabda-bhûshaṇa* (Bhâṇḍ. 1882-3, p. 226).

64 (65). Vijaya-ṛidhi-sûri.

65 (66). Vijayasaubhâgya-sûri and (67) Vijayapratâpa-sûri.

66 (68). Vijayodaya-sûri.

69. Vijayalakshmî-sûri, author of Pañcha-jñâna-stutayas (5 v. guj.), printed in Jaina-kâvya-prakâśa I. p. 44-5.

70. Dêvachandra-sûri. Inscr. Saṁvat 1860 śrî-Vijaya-Ânanda-sûri-gachchhe śrî-Vijaya-Dêvachandra-sûri-râjye (Bühler, *Epigr. Ind.* I. 377).

71. Mahendra-sûri.

72. Surendra-sûri, Saṁvat 1908.

In Merutuṅga's Prab.-chint., ed. Bombay, 1888, preface, p. 3, l. 7, Guṇaratna-sûri is mentioned as the present sûri of the Ânanda-sûri-gachchha. The Poona MS. Coll. of 1869-70, No. 47 (Decc. C. p. 8), contains the preceding names.

6. Paṭṭâvalî of the Vijaya-śâkhâ.

In the Poona MS. Coll. of 1875-6, No. 743 (Decc. C. p. 116), **Vijayaratna-sûri** comes in as 61. paṭṭadhara after 60. Vijayadêva-sûri, under whom also Vijayasiṅha-sûri and Vijayaprabha-sûri (+ Saṁvat 1749) are named. Under Vijayaratna-sûri, Keśaravimala composed Saṁvat 1754 Sûktamuktâvalî, printed in Prakaraṇa-ratnâkara II. pp. 110-24, Nyâya-sâgara Saṁvat 1766 and Samyaktvavichâra, printed *op. cit.* pp. 737-89.

62. Vijayakshimâ-sûri (*sic*) (in Jaina-tattvâdarśa, Bombay, 1884, p. 594: Vijayakshamâ). Under him (here Vijayakshema) Mohanavijaya composed Saṁvat 1783 in Râja-nagara (Ahmedabad) Chanda râjâno râs (print Bombay, 1888).

63. Vijayadayâ-sûri. Under him Uttamavijaya composed Saṁvat 1799 in Sûrat Saṁyama-śreṇî-stavana, printed in Prak.-ratnâk. II. pp. 699-719.

64. Vijayadharma-sûri, + Saṁvat 1841 kârttika vadi, see Samarâditya-kevali-râs, Bombay, 1882, p. 462, v. 8. Under him Labdhivijaya composed Saṁvat 1810 Haribala-machchhîno râs (print Bombay, 1889), and Padmavijaya, Saṁvat 1814, Siddha-daṇḍikâ-stavana, printed in Jaina-kâvya-prakâśa, I. Bombay, 1883, pp. 363-5. The MS. ends here, but in Jaina-tattvâdarśa, p. 594, Vijayadharma is succeeded by 65. (here 67.) (Vijaya-)Jinendra-sûri, installed as sûri Saṁvat 1841. Under him Padmavijaya composed Saṁvat 1842 Samarâditya-kevali-râs, Bombay, 1882, and Saṁvat 1858 Jayânanda-kevali-râs, *ib.* 1886, Yaśovijaya Saṁvat 1849 Vîra-jina-vichâra-stavana, printed in Prak.-ratnâk. III. pp. 569-696. Inscr. Saṁvat 1845 (see *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* No. XI. Burgess Lists, p. 127).

66. (68). (Vijaya-)Dêvendra-sûri. Under him Vîravijaya composed Saṁvat 1896 in Râja-nagara Dhammila-kumâra-râs, Bombay, 1886, and Dîpavijaya Rohiṇî-tapaḥ-stavana, printed in Jaina-kâvya-prakâśa, I. 1883, pp. 133-7.

67. (69). Vijaya dharaṇendra-sûri, at the time of the edition of Prakaraṇa-ratnâkara, Saṁvat 1933-37, and of Jaina-tattvâdarśa, Saṁvat 1940.

68. (70). Vijayarâja-sûri, the present paṭṭadhara (see Hoernle, *ante*, XIX. p. 234). Also named Râjêndra-sûri, he composed Saṁvat 1940 a bâlâvabodha on Kalpa-sûtra, Bombay, 1888, Rasika-stavanâvalî, Ahmedabad, 1886, and Tattva-viveka, *ib.* 1889.

7. Paṭṭâvalî of the Vimala-gachchha.

In the Poona MS. Coll. of 1871-72, No. 388 (Decc. C. p. 38), the 55. paṭṭa-dhara, Hema-vimala-sûri, is succeeded not by Ânandavimala-sûri (Saṁvat 1570-96), but by Saubhâgyaharsha-sûri, Saṁvat 1583 sûri-pada. His successors are Somavimala-sûri, Hemavimala-sûri, Vimalasoma-sûri, Viśâlasoma-sûri, Udayavimala-sûri, Gajasoma-sûri.

Âtmârâmjî (in Dr. Hoernle's letter) says :—"With the sûri śrî Hemavimala (Tapâ No. 55) arose the Vimala Śâkhâ. In the time of Vijayadêva-sûri (Tapâ No. 60, Saṁvat 1656-1713) the Sûri Jñânavimala lived in the Vimala-gachchha."

From colophons we draw the following information: Under Somavimala-sûri a MS. of Ogha-niryukti was written Saṁvat 1598 (see Weber, *Verz.* II. p. 817). The same sûri composed Daśa-drishṭânta-gîtâ (Decc. C. p. 34, n. 290), and Śreṇika-râja-râsa (Bhau Daji *Mem.* p. 91). His pupil Pramoda-śîla composed Vaitâla-pañchâśikâ (Peterson, I. *Rep.* p. 130, n. 337). Under Hemasoma-sûri (= Hemavimala), the successor of the Tapâ-gachchha-nâyaka Somavimala-sûri, a MS. of Śrâddha-pratikramaṇa-sûtra-vṛitti was written Saṁvat 1646 (Peterson, III. *Rep.* App. p. 227).

8. Paṭṭâvalî of the Pârśvachandra-gachchha.

In the Poona MS. Coll. of 1871-72, No. 392 (Decc. C. p. 39) a leaf contains the succession list of the sûris of the **Nâgapurîya-Tapâ-(afterwards Pârśvachandra-sûri-)gachchha.** The list agrees up to the 43. paṭṭa-dhara Munichandra-sûri (Tapâ No. 40) with that of the Tapâ-gachchha. As 44. not Ajitadêva-sûri succeeds, but vâdi-Dêva-sûri (born Saṁvat 1143, sûri 1174, + 1226), the other pupil of Munichandra-sûri, who is also named in the Tapâ-paṭṭ. (see Weber, *Verz.* II. pp. 207-8).

45. Padmaprabha-sûri Bhuvana-dîpaka-grantha-kartâ (a jyotiḥ-śâstra, printed Bombay, 1885; 1887, here the author does not name his teacher).

46. Prasannachandra-sûri, under whom the Nâgorâ(Nâgapurîya)-tapâḥ arose.

47. Jayaśekhara-sûri.

48. Guṇachandra-sûri. In the colophon of Chandrakîrti's Sârasvata-dîpikâ: Guṇasamudra-sûri (Weber, *Verz.* II. p. 207, b. 3 fr. b).

49. Jayaśekhara-sûri, saṁ° 1301 varshe gotra 12 pratibodhaka. He was honoured (archita) by the king Hammîra (Bhâṇḍârkar, *Rep.* 1882-3, p. 43, 227, v. 1). An Ajita-śânti-stotra, Jaina-kumâra-saṁbhava, Tribhuvana-dîpaka, Saṁbodha-saptatikâ are attributed to a Jayaśekhara (?).

50. Vajrasena-sûri, saṁ° 1342 âchârya, 1000 gṛiha-pratibodhyâ (?), Loḍhâ-gotra. Honoured (sad-vâsaḥ-phuramâna-dâna-mahitaḥ) by 'Alâu'ddîn Khiljî (A. D. 1295-1316), (*op. cit.* p. 43, 227, v. 1).

51. Hematilaka-sûri.

52. Ratnaśekhara-sûri, saṁ° 1399 varshe Pîroja-sâha-pâsa pra° Ḍhîlîiṁ. Honoured by Peroja-sâhi (Fîrôz Shâh who reigned in Dehlî A. D. 1351-88), *ib.* p. 43, 227, v. 2. Jayaśekhara, Vajrasena and Hematilaka are named in Ratnaśekhara's Laghu-kshetra-samâsa (Weber, *Verz.* II. p. 859), Bṛihad-gachchhîya-Vajrasena and Hematilaka in Ratnaśekhara's Guṇa-sthâna-prakaraṇa (Aufrecht, *Bodl.* p. 397*a*). In both places Ratnaśekhara calls Vajrasena and Hematilaka his teachers. Śrîpâla-kathâ is also a work of Ratnaśekhara's whose pupil Hemachandra wrote the MS. Saṁvat 1428 (Weber, *Verz.* II. pp. 1022-3). R. composed also a Chhandaḥ-kośa (Peterson, III. *Rep.* App. p. 404, n. 591).

53. Hemachandra-sûri,

54. Pûrṇachandra-sûri, saṁvat 1424 varshe Hîgaḍa-gotre.

55. Hemahaṅsa-sûri, saṁvat 1453 varshe Khaṇḍeravâla-jñâtîya. (Hoernle: Hemachandra.)

56. tat-śishya Lakshmînivâsa-sûri.

57. Puṇyaratna-paṇnyâsa.

58. Sâdhuratna-paṇnyâsa.

59. **Pâsachandra-sûri,** Hamîra-pura-vâsi-Poravâḍa (Jacobi's MS. of Sthânâṅga-dîpikâ f. 237*a*, Prâgvâṭîya)-jñâti Vimalâ sâ pitâ, Vimalâde mâtâ, saṁ 1565 varshe kriyoddhâri-yuga-pradhâna-biruda, + 1612. According to the Tapâ-gurv. he founded Saṁvat 1572 the matam,

called after him (see *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 256*b*, n. 55; Weber, *Verz.* II. p. 1014, ll. 1-3; Bhâṇḍârkar, *Rep.* 1883-4, pp. 155, 456, l. 4 fr. b.), but Saṁvat 1565 in Sirohî (Miles, *Trans. R. As. Soc.* III. p. 367). He composed

Saṁvat 1597 a vârttika on Chatuḥ-saraṇa (Peterson, III. *Rep.* App. pp. 214-5),

a bâlâvabodha on Âchârâṅga, ed. Calc. Saṁvat 1936,

a bâlâvabodha on Sûtrakṛitâṅga, ed. Bombay, Saṁvat 1936,

a commentary on Sthânâṅga, MS. Saṁvat 1575, Bik. p. 702,

a vârttika in bhâshâ on Aupapâtika (Weber, *Verz.* II. pp. 533, 542),

a bhâshâ-commentary on Taṇḍula-veyâliya (Peterson, II. *Rep.* App. p. 15, n. 292),

a bâlâvabodha on Ratnaśekhara's Kshetrasamâsa (Brit. *Mus. MS.* 2118*a* and Add. 26374; Berlin MS. or. fol. 1748).

(P.-gaṇi) a bhâshâ-commentary on Chaitya-vandana (Peterson, I. *Rep.* p. 124, n. 264),

Sthâpanâ-dvipañchâśikâ,

Sura-dîpikâ-prabandha (Bhau Daji *Mem.* p. 31),

Hasta-kâṇḍa (*op. cit.* p. 35),

Keśi-Pradêśi-prabandha (*op. cit.* p. 46).

His pupil Brahma-muni composed (apparently between Saṁvat 1600 and 1620) in Aṇahila-pura, a commentary on Jambûdvîpa-prajñapti; correct accordingly the date given in Bhâṇḍ. *Rep.* 1883-4, p. 143, 448-9. A good MS. also in Berlin: MS. or. fol. 1779 (dated Saṁvat 1624). The commentary, together with the original text, measures 17,280 *granthas*.

60. Samarachandra-sûri, âbâla-brahmachârî Śrîmâlî-jñâtî Pâṭaṇa-nagara-vâsî, saṁ 1626 varshe śrî-Shambhâ (Stambhatîrtha)-madhye svargaḥ.

61. Râyachandra-sûri, saṁ 1626 vaiśâkha vadi 1 dine ravi-vâre sâ° Somajî pada (-sthâpanâ) śrî-Stambhatîrthe dosî-Jâvaḍa (pitâ), mâtâ Kamalâde.

Râjachandra composed a vârttika in bhâshâ on Aupapâtika, ed. Calc. Saṁvat 1936, 1880, v. 1, different from that of his predecessor Pârśvachandra. Vâchaka-Megharâja, pupil of ṛishi-Śravaṇa, composed under R. a ṭabâ on Râjapraśnîya (ed. Calc.), and Saṁvat 1659 a dîpikâ on Sthânâṅga, Jacobi's MS. (his predecessor is here named Âjichandra, synonym of Samara-chandra). Muni-Premachandra, pupil of Hîrânandachandra, pupil of R., composed a ṭabâ on Jñâtâdharmakathâ, ed. Calc. Saṁvat 1933, 1876, pp. 1476-7.

62. Vimalachandra-sûri, Saṅghavî (-gotre) Ahamadâvâda-vâsî.

63. Jayachandra-sûri, Usavâla-jñâtî Riṇî-g(r)âma-vâsî. J. in the succession of P,sâ-chandra-sûri (Bṛihat-tapâ-gachchha) and preceptor of Pramodachandra, colophon of Upamita-bhava prapañchâ, Poona MS.

64. Padmachandra-sûri, śrî-Śrîmâlî-jñâtî Ahamadâvâda-vâsî.

65. Munichandra-sûri, Sonî-gotra Jodha-pura-vâsî, saṁ 1744 śrî-Staṁ(bha)tîrthe âchârya-padaṁ, saṁ 1750 svargaḥ.

66. Nemichandra-sûri, Nâhara (Nâhaṭâ)-gotrî Sûrapura-vâsî Usavâla-jñâtî.

67. Kanakachandra-sûri, Mahaṇota-gotre.

68. Śivachandra-sûri, Śrîmâlî-jñâtîya Mâṇḍala-grâma-vâsî.

69. Bhânuchandra-sûri, Osavâla-jñâtîya Bhaṇḍasâlî-gotre.

70. Vivekachandra-sûri, Osavâla-jñâtîya Siṅghavî (above Sa°)-gotre.

Hoernle: Labdhichandra, Harshachandra, Hemachandra.

9. Note on an inscribed Statue of Pârśvanâtha.

There is a statue of **Pârśvanâtha**, which came to my knowledge through Dr. M. Buchner, in the Ethnographical Museum in Munich. It is of bronze and is 189 millimeters in height. It belongs to a large collection brought from India by the French traveller N. Lamare-Picquot (born about 1785, see *Nouv. Biographie Générale*, t. 29, 1859, col. 65-7). The statue is, on the back, **inscribed as follows** :—

Text.

Sa° 1503 varshe mâgha vadi 4 śukre u° goshṭika Âhlâ bhâ° (bhâryâ) Siṁgârade suta Sûd(?)âkena bhâ° (bhâryâ) Sûh(?)avade sa° (sahitena) âtma-śreyase śrî-Pârśvanâtha-biṁbaṁ kâri° pra° (kâritaṁ pratishṭhâpitaṁ) Jâ(î)râpallîya-śrî-Sâlibhadra-sûri-paṭṭe śrî-Udayachandra-sûribhi(ḥ) ।। śubhaṁ bhavatu ।।

Translation.

In Saṁvat 1503 **mâgha** vadi 4 śukre (= A. D. 1447, 6th January, Friday, as Jacobi and Kielhorn have calculated) Sûd(?)âka, son of u° gosht(h)ika Âhlâ and his wife Siṅgârade, together with his (Sûdâka's) wife Sûh(?)avade, has erected to their salvation the statue of Pârśvanâtha. Consecrated by **śrî-Udayachandra-sûri**, successor of **śrî-Sâlibhadra-sûri, of the Jîrâpallî(-gachchha)**. May there be prosperity !

Similar Jaina inscriptions are published in *Arch. Survey of West. India*, No. XI.; J. Burgess, *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Pres.* Bombay, 1885, p. 186. The names of the two sûris mentioned in this inscription are not known from any other sources.

The Jîraulâ (= Jîrâpallî) is called the 12th of the 84 śâkhâs of the **Bṛihad-gachchha,** founded by Sarvadêva-sûri (S. 994), see Poona MS. of Bṛihad-gachchha-gurvâvalî, Coll. of 1873-4, No. 245, f. 15 = Decc. C. p. 66. In the MS. Gachchha-nâmânukramaṇî, Poona Coll. of 1873-4, No. 145 = Decc. C. p. 61, the Jîraulâ-gachchha is the 3rd among the 84 gachchhas. Tod, *Ann. of Râj.* I. p. 121 has Jeerunwal. Miles, *Trans. R. As. Soc.* III. p. 370, has Jerâwâli (No. 2). Wilson, *Works*, I. p. 345, has Jolura. *J. B. B. R. A. S.* X. p. 114, has Jîranwâl, No. 32.

Jîrâpallî-tîrtha (Jârâ°) founded Saṁvat 1109, see Bhâṇḍârkar, *Rep.* 1883-4, p. 322, l. 3 fr. b. Jîrikâpallî-Pârśvanâthastotra, 14 v. sansk., by Merutuṅga-sûri (S. 1446-71), printed in Vidhipaksha-Pṛatikr., Bombay, 1889, pp. 348-53. Jîrâpallî-Pârśva-stavana, 15 v. sansk., by Jinaprabha-sûri (Saṁvat 1363), printed in Prakaraṇa-ratnâkara, II. p. 268-9, beg. Jîrikâ-purapatiṁ. Jîrâpallî-maṇḍana-Pârśvanâthastava, Peterson, I. *Rep.* p. 128, n. 316. Jîrâpalli-stha-Pârśva-stuti by śrî-Karṇa, Peterson, III. *Rep.* App. p. 213, n. 34. Other stavanas Bhâṇḍârkar, *Rep.* 1883-4, p. 180*b*, n. 136, p. 187*a*, n. 94, p. 243*b*, n. 5.

THE DEVIL WORSHIP OF THE TULUVAS.

FROM THE PAPERS OF THE LATE A. C. BURNELL.

(Continued from page 99.)

BURNELL MSS. — No. 12.

SARALA JUMADI.

Original, in the Kanarese character, occupies, text and translation, leaves 143 to 148 inclusive of the Burnell MSS. Translation according to the Burnell MSS.

Translation.

There is a village called **Sara-Beliyûr,**[1] in which there was a shed. In this shed **Sarala Jumâdi** washed his feet in water from a pot made of bell-metal ; he washed his face in water

[1] A village of a thousand people, *i. e.*, houses.

from a silver pot; he chewed betel from nuts placed at the door. A feast is performed to him at the shed, which was built at the cost of a thousand people!

Sarala Jumâdi left Sara-Beliyûr and came to Brahmâ's abode, and passed it by. Soon afterwards he came to the abode of a god at **Kariya**, and passing on he visited the **Bhûta Sittîsvarî**, residing in a *guḍi* at **Kandel.** He then passed by a temple, built by Brâhmaṇs, and by the plain at **Adda**, and went on to **Mugêrnâḍ**, where he visited six Bhûtas and two gods. He passed by the *bîḍu* at **Bardala**, and the banian tree at **Mantame**, and the rock at Adda, and came to the *châvaḍi* at **Yirandabettu.** He took possession of a *matham* at **Alaṅgar**, and passed on by the *tîrtha* of **Yill Bhavo**, near the *matham* there. He came to the sand-bank at **Panimugêr**, and visited a god at **Panumbûr** in the west. He also visited a god at **Nandar** in the east, and three Brahmâ Bhûtas at **Urimanel.** He crossed over the sand-bank at Panimugêr, and passed by a *basti* (temple) built by a Śeṭṭi, and a temple built by a Brâhmaṇ, and by the **Kañchikar Keri.** He passed along the cobbler's street, and came to the garden called **Nandana Vaṇa**, where he spread disease among the houses of **Kujumba Dêre** and **Taṅkara Baidya.** They caused a man to refer to the *praśna*-book, and in it was found the words :—

"It is the **Bhûta Jumâdi** who has spread disease."

Also it was found :—"If a festival be performed to him in this village, the disease will be cured."

The people of three quarters in the village gathered together, and under the jack-tree, where the cock-fights are held, they offered a sacrifice to Jumâdi in a shed.

"It is sufficient for me, is this feast; but I want a *sânam* also," said Jumâdi.

The people of the three quarters had a committee and built a *sânam* for Jumâdi at Nandana Vaṇa. A flag was raised, a car was made, and a feast was performed at Nandana Vaṇa.

Sarala Jumâdi left that *sânam* and came to **Sara-Puliṅkadimâra**, where there are a thousand houses. He passed by **Kalla-Botti-Kayeri**, by the stream **Ummana**-Botti-Târa, and by the old fort at **Ambadâḍi**, and came to a banian tree at Mantame. He had with him **his servant Baṇṭa**, and went on to the *bîḍu* at **Nandar-Bettu**, where lives **Kochaḷva Ballâḷ.** Jumâdi spread disease in that house. Then the Ballâḷ made a reference to the *praśna*-book, from which it was known that Jumâdi had arrived and had made the people sick.

"If the disease is to be healed, food must be given to Jumâdi, and a *pûja* with flowers must be performed," said the *praśna*-reader.

The Ballâḷ promised all to the Bhûta, and soon afterwards the disease was cured. After this Kochaḷva Ballâḷ regularly performed the feast of Jumâdi.

In the next year Jumâdi said to Kochaḷva :—"It is not proper for you to perform the feast alone. It will be better for you and the people of Ambadâḍi Mâgṇe to build me a *sânam* together."

Kochaḷva Ballâḷ and the people of Ambadâḍi Mâgne built a *sânam* together on a rock at a place called **Lâker**, where a feast is performed once a year.

In the year following Jumâdi said :—"This place is not fit for a *sânam*, therefore I want another one."

So the people of Ambadâḍi Mâgne and the Ballâḷ built a *sânam* at another place called **Maṅgalimâra**, and a feast was performed there.

In the year after that Jumâdi left that village and came to **Kodigrâma** Mâgne, and going to a place called **Parari-guttu**, he made the people sick. They referred to the *praśna*-book, and it was found that it was Jumâdi, who had made them all sick.

They at once asked of the *praśna*-reader :—"What is to be done now?"

Said the *praśna*-reader:—"A *sânam* in your village is wanted: this is his desire!"

Upon this an appropriate gathering was held by the householders.

"Sickness is spread in our houses, because Jumâdi wants a *sânam*. So is it found in the *praśna*-book," said they to the villagers.

Then the villagers folded their hands and besought the Bhûta, and said to the householders:—"This sickness is now in your houses, tomorrow it will be spread over the whole village. Therefore you of Parari-guttu and we of Kodigrâma Mâgne must build a *sânam* together."

On the **hill at Parari** a *sânam* was built, and a festival was performed there.

In the next year Jumâdi left Kodigrâma Mâgne and passed by **Jumbê.** There is a place called **Kolla-Botti-Sânam,** where there was a woman named **Dêvî Baidyatî,** a toddy-drawer by caste. Jumâdi made the people of her house sick. She referred to the *praśna*-book, and it was found in it that the evil was due to Jumâdi. She cried out to the villagers, and they all came to her house and saluted the Bhûta. The sickness in her house was healed, and accordingly the villagers promised the Bhûta a *sânam* on her land. Thus was that sickness cured! A *sânam* was built on Dêvî's land by Dêvî herself with the assistance of the villagers, and a feast was made.

Jumâdi left that *sânam*. There is a temple to the god **Varadêśwara at Parangi-Petta.** He passed by that temple. There is a place called **Somanâth Katte.** He passed by that, too, and came to **Adyan-guttu,** where there was **a Baṇṭ named Dugga Baṇḍâri.** Jumâdi made all his household sick. The Baṇṭ referred to the *praśna*-book, and it was known that the evil was the deed of Jumâdi. The Baṇṭ called the villagers together, and then spake Dugga Baṇḍâri to the villagers:—"My household became sick, and when I referred to the *praśna*-book I came to know that it was Jumâdi's doing. He wants a *sânam*. What is to be done for this? I cannot do anything without your permission."

"The sickness came to-day to your house; tomorrow it will come to ours. Therefore let us build a *sânam* together," said the villagers.

All of them together built a *sânam* at a place called **Sara-Bari** on the banks of a water-course, where a feast was performed. Jumâdi left that *sânam* in the following year and came to the *bîḍu* at **Kannûr,** where he spread disease. The people there are Ballakulu by caste, and, they referred to the *praśna*-book, and from it they came to know that it was Jumâdi's doing; and moreover, it was found that if the sickness was to be cured Jumâdi wanted a swing to swing on at the *bîḍu*. Then the Ballâḷ of the place promised the Bhûta that he would get him a swing at his house when the disease was cured. The sickness ceased, and a swing was hung up. The Ballâḷ began to make *pûja* there with only flowers.

Jumâdi left the *bîḍu* and reached **Jappu, near Mangalore,** where there is a ferry called **Kanê-Kariya,** but which was then called **Nuppamâra-guttu.** The ferry was managed by two brothers named **Kocharal and Syâmparal.** When Jumâdi arrived, he went to their house and made all the people sick. They referred to the *praśna*-book, and it was known that Jumâdi had done the evil, for which the remedy was to build a *sânam* for him.

They called the villagers and said:—"Our household is sick and it is known from the *praśna*-book that it is Jumâdi who has made them sick, because he wants a *sânam*. Therefore we inform you."

"Whether the sickness, which is in your house, will come to us or not, we cannot say: therefore let us build a *sânam* together," said the villagers.

All of them together built a *sânam* for Jumâdi at the place called Kanê-Kariya, and gave a feast to him.

In the next year he left that place and came to **Attâvar**, where he entered a *sânam* at **Pergadê-bettu**, and then went into the treasury, and made the people there sick. They referred to the *praśna*-book, and came to know that it was due to Jumâdi.

Then the head of the house asked :—"What is to be done?"

"If you want to let your people get better, you should build a separate *sânam* of your own," said the *praśna*-reader.

Then the treasurer sent for his neighbours, and when they had all come he said to them :—

"In my house the people are all sick, and it is known to be Jumâdi's work, because he wants a *sânam*. What are you going to propose?"

"We cannot say whether the sickness which is spread abroad in your house will come to us or not. Therefore let us build a *sânam* together," said the villagers.

They all prayed the Bhûta to heal the sickness, in return for which they built a *sânam*. Then the sickness was cured, and they all built a *sânam* together, where a feast was performed. And a feast is performed there once a year to this day!

BURNELL MSS. — No. 13.

MUDADER (KALA-BHAIRAVA).

Original in the Kanarese character. Original, text and translation, occupies leaves 149 to 158 inclusive in Burnell's MSS. Translation according to the Burnell MSS.

Translation.

There were **four Bairâgis**, who said to each other :—

"We have seen the ocean in the East, and now we want to see the ocean in the West."

So they put on ashes, took a bag and went a-begging. **Their family Bhûta was Kâla-Bhairava.**

They went to **Mugêrnâḍ**, and passed by the **Bardala-bîḍu**. They passed by the rock at Addala, and the *châvaḍi* at **Yirauda-bettu**, where they saw the sun set, and where there is a tank called **Dîndu-kîrê**. There they stopped that night. They built up three stones for a fire-place, and cooked, and took a meal there. Early in the morning they rose and bathed in the tank, and put on ashes.

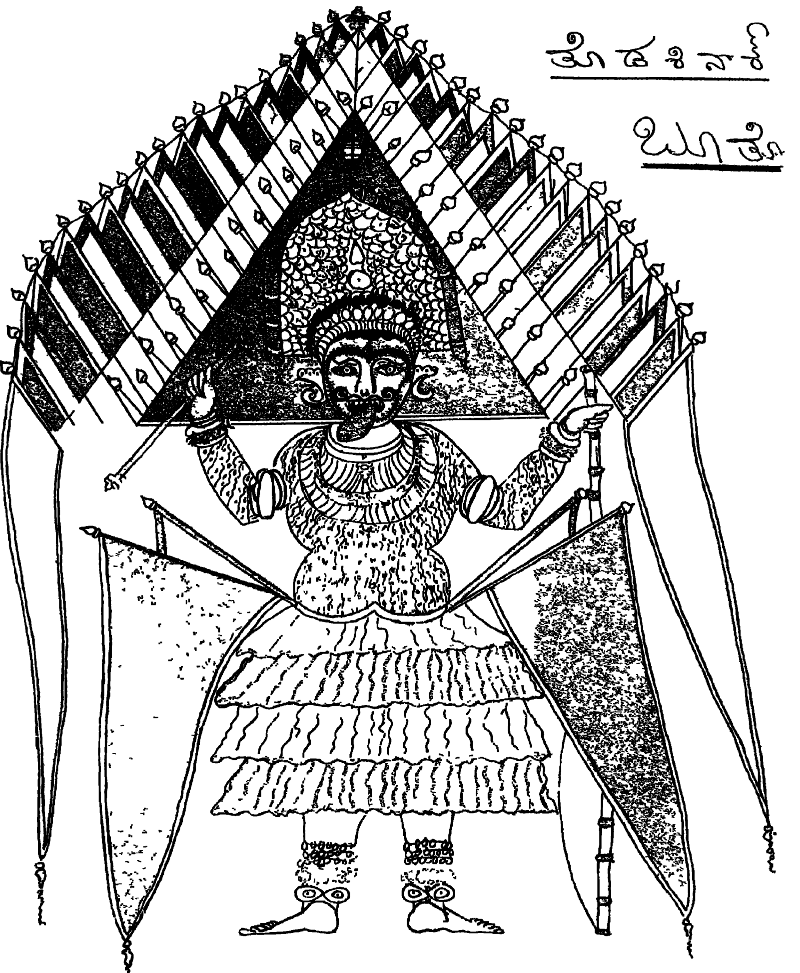
The Bhûta Kâla-Bhairava, who had followed them, **became a reddish cow**, and they met her grazing. When the four Bairâgis saw her, they said they would milk her, and so they took a rope and tied her up. Then they brought a vessel, and milked the cow. While they were milking her, they saw water coming from one of her teats, from a second came milk, from a third blood, and from the last nothing.

They referred to the *Sâstras*, in which they found, that the Bhûta Kâla-Bhairava had followed them, and that the cow was the Bhûta. They thought awhile, and brought one of the three stones, of which they had made a fire-place and established it as a place of prayer. And they prayed to the Bhûta :—

"You had better make the acquaintance of the neighbouring villagers and get your food, and living from them."

They also told the Bhûta to remain in the stone; and then they left the place, and passing by Dîndu-kîrê went to **Pangûr**. They passed by a *basti* (temple) built by the Sêttis, and by a temple built by Brâhmans, and they passed by the Kañchigar-keri, and the cobbler's street.[3]

[3] A street occupied by workers in bell-metal.





III.—The Devil Worship of the Tuḷuvas.

Sankara Baidya's house was at Nandana Vana, where they put up. A dream came to the Bairâgîs, while they slept that night, in which the Bhûta Kâla-Bhairava said:—"I want a *sânam* here."

They got up next day, brought one of the three stones from the fire-place in which they had cooked, and established that Bhûta in the stone and prayed to him:—

"You had better make the acquaintance of the villagers here and get your food, and offerings from then."

They left that place and passed by Nandana Vana, and came to a place called **Pulinkedimâr**, where there was an old fort, which they passed by. There was a *bîḍu* at a place called **Nandere-bettu** in the village of **Ambadâḍi**, which they passed through, and then they came to **Kudigrâma Mâgne**. They passed by the temple at **Perivedi**, by the village of **Tumbai**, and came to the village of **Tujer**. They passed by **Kiroḍibannakutê Barke**, where there was a nameless tree, under which they put up. That night they had a dream that the Bhûta wanted a *sânam* and that a feast was to be performed. They arose next day and prayed to him:— "Take your food and have a feast in your honour here."

They established there a stone, which was one of the three stones from their fire-place. Then they left the Kiroḍibannakutê Barke and passed by the **Varadêśvara Temple**, and by the water-course at **Arkula**, and then by **Addyara Mâgne**. They passed by a stream at Maikal, and then by Sarakula Janana Bîḍu, where there was a *kambla*,[3] and they visited the hut of a **Bhûta called Mañjagabbe Dêva** in the corner of the field. A **Bhûta called Giravu** met them at **Ganada-bettu**, and they saw him. Then they passed by **Nantûr Kari Bettu**, and came to a tank called **Kattalê Puvêdi Keḍu**, which is at **Bazâl**, where they took a bath, washed away their ashes, and left as soon as they had bathed. They saw sone girls at Bajâl [(?) Bazâl], and they stood awhile at the ferry of Bajâl. Then they sat down in the boat which came first, and crossed the Bajâl ferry. They went to **Pariyâla Mâgne**, and leaving it passed by a stone which was used for putting flowers on. They passed by **Bolma Yerandale Patta**, and by **Mulara-guṭṭu**, and by the *kamblâ* at Mulara. Then they ascended the hill of **Kallada**, and passed by **Mair Mendyar**, visiting the **Bhûta of the Badamakula at Badûr.**

At that time the sun was setting, and so they lodged at a Kotakâr's house, where one **Sankaru Baidyadi** had put some rice in a pot and was washing it. When the four Bairâgîs came she stopped washing the rice, ran to the house, and gave them a handful of rice in a flat basket. When they saw it, they said:—

"We are not beggars; we are travellers going to Malabar in the South. You had better give us five *kondê* of rice[4] out of what you are washing."

She gave it them and they put it into a vessel, boiled it and ate it up. They also made their beds there. In the morning they rose and called Sankaru Baidyadi, and told her to come near to them. She did so, and they asked her how many sons she had. She replied:—

"I have only one, named **Siddamarda Baidya.**"

On which they said:—"We go to Malabar and shall return, and in the interval your son should not be married. On our return, we will teach him the details of our *śâstram*, and give him a *mantra* about a Bhûta. Until then he should not be married."

Having said thus, they went away in the morning. When they came to Sankaru she was poor, but no sooner had they gone than she became rich. Then the people of her village agreed together and also those of her caste, and having collected together they called Sankaru Baidyadi, and they said to her:—

"We wish to have your son married: what do you say to it?"

[3] A large paddy field.

[4] Four *kondês* = one *sêr*.

Then she replied:—"Four Bairâgîs have gone to Malabar in the South, and before they return the marriage cannot be performed."

"You accept the advice of boys begging in four houses, but not that of your own caste," said they. "The advice of the beggars cannot be accepted."

So the people of the caste married him by force. In the year after the marriage the Bairâgîs, who had gone to Malabar, returned, and they reached her house, 'Saṅkaru's daughter-in-law, the wife of **Siddamarda**, was washing rice. They came up to her and stood in the yard, and said to her:—

"You were not here last year, but you are here now. What family do you belong to? Whose wife are you?"

"I am 'Saṅkaru Baidyati's daughter-in-law and the wife of Siddamarda Baidya," said she.

They became angry, and just then the sun set. They descended the steps of the yard, and went to **Maṅgar (Bober) Ferry at Ullâl.**

They stood awhile by the ferry. In the meanwhile the wife of Siddamarda, having washed the rice, went inside, and informed her mother-in-law that four beggars had come.

"They inquired who I was, and I answered that I was the daughter-in-law of 'Saṅkaru Baidyati and the wife of Siddamarda Baidya. When they heard this, they went away and descended the steps of the yard."

Then 'Saṅkaru Baidyati came to understand that the mendicants were the Bairâgîs who had come the year before.

"They advised me not to marry my son when they came last year, but my caste people have him married by force. And now they have come again, and, having heard of this, they have gone away." Thus thought she.

It was evening, and the Bairâgîs sat awhile at the Bangar ferry, because there was no boat in which to cross the river. Then by their enchantments the waters separated and left them a way for passing over. Thus they crossed the river. Then came 'Saṅkaru running and crossed the river, in which the water was as high as a man's neck, and went to the Bairâgîs, bowed down to their feet and their hands, touched their chins and heads and prayed to them:—

"Do not heed the faults which I have committed. Every mistake is mine!"

The Bairâgîs, who had set their faces to the North, did not turn them to the South, but as they could not bear her persistence, they tore off a *japâsara*[5] of Vignêśvara, and, taking it in the left hand, gave it to her behind their backs. She took it home and put it on her son's neck. As the *saram* (rosary) had been presented with blessings, his mother gave him the name of **Upadêsi-Marda Baidya**, and she made the people build a *sânam* called the Kotêkâr's Sânam, and appointed her son to do the *pûja* there and made him perform it.

In the following year she called all the villagers together and said:—

"Four Bairâgîs were travelling to Malabar in the South, and passed by here. When they first came to me, I was poor, as is known to the whole village. They came to me while I was washing rice. I thought over the matter to myself awhile, and as they had come in the evening, I offered them as much rice as I could give, according to my ability. But they did not take it, and said:—'We are not Bairâgîs who beg in four houses, but we are going to Malabar in the South,' and moreover they said:—'It is better that you give us five *kondês* of rice out of that which you have been washing.' I gave it them, and that day they put up in my house. They rose early in the morning next day and said to me:—

"'How many sons have you?'

[5] = *japmâlâ*, a rosary necklace.

" 'Only one, named Siddamarda Baidya,' I replied.

" They said : —

" 'Your son should not be married until we return from the Southern parts. As soon as we return we will teach him the details of our *śâstram*, and after that he may be married.'

"They went on to Malabar, and after their departure I became somewhat rich. The matter was inquired into by my caste people, the Kotêkârs, and they gathered together in my house, and made me marry my son by force. In the following year the same Bairâgîs came back to my house, and when they arrived, the wife of Siddamarda Baidya was washing rice on the brink of the well. While she was still washing it, they came up to her and said : —

" 'When we came here last year you were not here, and now you are here.'

"They also asked her whose wife she was. She replied that she was the daughter-in-law of Saṅkaru Baidyati and the wife of Siddamarda. Having heard this the Bairâgîs went away angry. They started to cross the ferry at **Jappu**, and I went after them running, and took hold of their feet and hands, asking pardon for every mistake I might have made. They did not turn their faces to the South, having set them to the North. A *japâsara* of **the god Vignêśvara** was torn off one of their necks and given me behind their backs and also **the Bhûta Mudatâya.**[6] They told me to take them, give them to my son, and set him to worship according to my own ideas. I did as I was told and put the *saram* round my son's neck and gave him the name of Upadêsi Marda Baidya.

" Acting under their orders, I had to build a *gunda*[7] for the god (Vignêśvara) and a *sânam* for the Bhûta (Mudatâya), and I now wish to hold a feast in honour of the Bhûta. I cannot do this without you villagers. In your presence and according to your ideas the festival must be held."

Thus said she to the villagers, and having heard her they all held a feast together. From that day to this the feast is held in honour of the Bhûta Mudatâya **at Kotâra near Sômêśvara.**

A feast was held at Kotâra, and **the Bhûta** went to visit the god at Sômêśvara, circumambulated the god at noon, and then he **became a cock** and crowed on the top of the temple.

Then the god said : — " This Bhûta, eating flesh and drinking liquor, does not leave me room to turn round."

The Bhûta replied to the god : — " I live by taking flesh and liquor, and I live without them too."

He descended from the temple of Sômanâtha [Sômêśvara], and passed by nine tanks. There were two places on the way, called **Karmarkaḍ** and **Uṅghermath,** and he passed by them, too. He passed by **Posa Aṅgaḍi,** and came to a palace at **Ullâḷ.** Here he saw one **Chanta,** who had two riding elephants to ride, and he made the elephants sick. They neither drank water nor ate the grass given them. Then Chanta referred to the *praśna*-book, and found that the evil had been caused by **Mudatheye** [Mudader]. Then Chanta asked his servants who was the proper man to exorcise the Bhûta.

" There is one Siddamarda Baidya at Ullâḷ. He should be sent for," said the servants.

Chanta sent for him, and the messenger said : — " Siddamarda, your Bhûta has made Chanta's elephants sick, and we have found from the *praśna*-book that you can exorcise him."

The Baidya came with the messenger, and Chanta said to him : — " Your Bhûta has made my elephants sick, and you must pray to the Bhûta."

Then the Baidya took a pot of water to the elephants' stable, and Chanta said:—" If the elephants get better I will hold a feast in honour of your Bhûta at the elephants' stable."

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[6] = Mudader. [7] A small temple.

Then the Baidya took the water in his hand and sprinkled it on the elephants and prayed to his Bhûta to stop the elephants' sickness at once. Then the elephants, which were lying down, stood up immediately, drank the water poured out for them, and ate up the food that was prepared for them. Then Chanta held a feast at the elephants' stable.

One **Saka Kôchal of Ullâḷ-guttu** came to this feast, and said to Chanta after it:—"It is not proper at all to hold a feast to a toddy-drawer's Bhûta with all the musical instruments. One horn and a drum are enough! I will not take even a flower and any *sandal* from a toddy-drawer's Bhûta. It is not proper at all to make music with all the instruments."

He returned home and when he reached Ullâḷ-guttu, Mudadêyê made his sister-in-law sick with small-pox! Then he referred to the *praśna*-book, in which it was found that the evil had been caused by Mudadêyê.

"To atone for the mistake I have made, I offer a single horn to that Bhûta to be placed in his *sânam*," said Kôchal.

The sickness departed and the horn was offered.

After this the Bhûta crossed by the ferry at Ullâḷ, and also by the ferry at **Mangar**, and went to **the Temple of Mangala Dêvî**, and visited her. Then he went to **Pandêśwar**, where he found **the god Mahâlingêśvara** walking round the temple at noon. He became a cock and crowed on the top of the temple.

Then the god said: — "This Bhûta, eating flesh and drinking liquor, does not let me take a turn round my temple in peace."

Mudadêyê replied: —"I can live both with, and without, flesh and liquor."

There was a **Brahmaṇa called Kêśava Bhaṭṭa** at that temple and he became possessed by Mudadêyê.

Some Bhaṭṭas said to him: — "If you are a powerful Bhûta get back a piece of land for us at **Pachanaḍi Niru Barke**, where our home is, and then we will build a *sânam* there and hold a feast in your honour."

Then the man possessed by the Bhûta was released and the piece of land was obtained back by them. A feast, even to this day, is accordingly held in his honour.

The Bhûta went to **Attâvar** after that, where dwelt **Manadiya and Karnika**, who had twelve milch-buffaloes. He made the buffaloes disappear, as they were out grazing, with his enchantments. For seven whole days the buffaloes were not to be found, though they were searched for everywhere. Then the people referred to the *praśna*-book and it was known to be Mudadêyê's doing, so they said that they would build a *sânam* in the village, if they found their buffaloes. On the eighth day all the twelve buffaloes were found swimming in a tank. So a *sânam* was built on the banks of the tank.

After the *sânam* was built, the Bhûta killed the whole family of **Pergade Bannakulu** at Attâvar, and it was known by the *praśna*-book that it was Mudadêyê's doing.

Said Pergade: — "Though the persons subject to death are dead, I shall build a *sânam* at **Pergade-bettu** if you will protect those that are still alive." They were protected and a *sânam* was built there. A feast even to this day is performed there.

BURNELL MSS. — No. 14.

ATTAVAR DAIYONGULU.

Original in the Kanarese character. Original, text and translation, occupies leaves 159 to 167 inclusive in Burnell's MSS. Translation according to the Burnell MSS.

Translation.

There is an ocean of water, an ocean of milk, an ocean of dirty water, an ocean of blood, and an ocean full of lotus. There is a palace built in the midst of seven oceans.

In the palace in **Nâgalôka**, a son was born as beautiful as a *nâgakannikê*. In Dêvâlôka another son was also born as beautiful as a daughter of the gods. They were produced, one by a heap of *mallika* flowers piled up as high as a man's neck, and the other by a heap of *sampika* flowers piled up as high as a man's middle.

About seven, or seven and a half, years passed over them that were so produced, and beards grew on their beautiful faces!

"Who is the barber that should shave us and make smooth our faces?" asked they.

"In the town of **Ejanagar** [(?) Bîjanagar], on the Ghâṭs, there is such a barber," said their attendants.

They sent a man to **Udda-bettu**, and made him bring short and good palm-leaves, which were spread in the morning sun and were heaped together in the evening sun. Then both the top and the bottom were cut off, and a letter was written to the barber. The letter was given to a servant to take, who was paid for his trouble. The bearer of the letter took it and left the palace in Nâgalôka, and went to the town of Ejanagar, on the Ghâṭs, and to the barber's house, and gave the letter to the barber.

The bearer read it, and found there was written in it:—"You must start at once without taking a meal or attending to your dress."

He opened his box of razors, put a looking glass, round scissors, an European razor, and a water cup in it, and followed the bearer. He saw the boy born at the palace in Nâgalôka, and saluted him.

Then the boy said:—"It is well that you have come. You had better do your duty."

An English chair with four legs was placed in the middle of the *châvaḍi*, two *jagana jôti* lamps were placed at the left and the right of him, and a *sêr* of rice and a cocoanut were placed before him. A *chaṅk*-shell was blown, and fly brushes were waved on both sides of him. The two boys sat there in undress, while pearls were sprinkled over them and a light adorned with corals was turned towards their faces. So all the ceremony was performed.

Then the barber came, and, placing a cup of water ready, he stood on the left side, and shaved the right side, and then he went to the right side, and shaved the left side, and also cut off the ends of the moustaches. He made a line for the eyebrows, and put the sign of the sun and the moon on their hearts, and of **Bhîma Rakkasa** on their backs. He polished their toe-nails and cut their finger-nails. In this way did he shave them correctly from head to foot.

Then asked the servants: — "What is to be done for putting away the sin of touching a barber."

"Oil should be rubbed on and washed off again with water," said the boys.

A **Jatti**[8] was sent for and oil was rubbed on them. A large pan, four hands in breadth, was placed under a white *kadika* tree near a tank built by one of the boys. A thousand pots of water were poured in and were warmed with twelve bundles of firewood, and a thousand pots of warm water were poured on their heads, and then a thousand pots of cold water. Thus were they rubbed with oil and washed in water.

Then their hair had to be rubbed with cloth made of silk, of the following kinds:—*kaber*, black silk; *bober*, white silk; *sopu kambati; yîr madurê;* the silk which is so light that it flies off three hundreds *gavuds*[9] at a breath; the silk that is soaked by a tear; and the silk which may be concealed between the finger and the nail. All these silks were brought out, and their hair was rubbed with them.

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[8] A person employed to rub on oil.

[9] 1 *gavud* = 12 miles.

Then the boys asked to be dressed. Dresses were brought out of seven boxes. Jewels were also brought out of seven boxes, and bottles of scents as well. Neck-ornaments round their necks, waist-jewels round their waists, *chaṅkalis* in their ears, a *chakkrasarams* on their necks, pearls lustrous as the sun on their fingers, and a signet ring, and large rings round their arms. Thus they were adorned from head to foot.

Soon after this the boys wished to descend to the **Tuḷu Country,** through the *ghâṭs*, and to see the Tuḷu people.

For the elder boy a white elephant, like one of Airavat's, was brought out, and the elephant's keeper was sent for. The elephant was washed at the watering place called **Anegundi,** and was tied up in the elephant's stable. Then it was saddled. The elder boy sat on the elephant and spoke in **the Ârya Language.**

A white horse was brought out for the younger boy, and a groom was sent for. Then the people made the groom wash the horse at the water channel called **Kuduregundi.** The horse was fastened in the stable, and was saddled. The younger boy mounted the horse, and spoke in **the Gujjara Language.**

The elder boy's elephant and all his following started and the younger boy's horse and his following, too. They asked the way down the *ghâṭs* to the Tuḷu country.

Said the boys:—"**The god Chikkarâya at Shiraḍi** will not let us descend, nor will **the god of Mala,** nor will **the god Nârâyana at Rêsôl.**"

By tricks and cunning they descended to the abode of **the god Kukke Subbarâya,** who saw them descending, and said: —

"Whose umbrella and palanquin are coming? Are they Bhûtas, or gods, or Nâgas, or Brahmâs?"

Then he made his servants build a fort of *addana* shields around his temple, and place crossed swords on the fort. But the boys destroyed the fort and swords, and came down. The younger and the elder stood awhile at the abode of the god Subbarâya, and walked three times round the temple. Then the elder arranged with the younger for a battle between them and the god.

For the first day's battle the elder brother went forth and shot an arrow, which broke Subbarâyas flagstaff in the front of his temple into three pieces. For the next day's battle the younger went, and shot an arrow which broke the top of Subbarâya's temple into three pieces. After this they left the abode of Subbarâya, and passed by the rivers **Kumardarê** and the **Matsya Tîrtha.** They passed by the fort at **Iṅglika,** and the place named **Mugger in the** village **Balagaṇḍ.** Then, passing by the abode of the god of **Kodipâḍi,** they came to the **Kapâḍi Ghâṭ.** In the meantime they saw the army of **Bil Sultân** and **Vîrappa Naikar,** and met it, and killed the whole army of Vîrappa Naikar!

Soon after this they went to a place called **Baretimâra in Yênûr,** where the elder youth with his elephant and the younger with his horse, and their following, stayed the day. They spread a blanket under a white *aśvattha*-tree, and the elder and the younger sat down on the blanket. Here the younger lay down, resting his head on the elder's leg, and slept in peace.

The elder said: — "I will test the virtue of my brother."

So he made his servants build a ship, with a silken sail and a mast of pearl, and it was loaded with cargo. He caused his following and his elephant to embark in the ship, and left his brother at Baretimâra, in the village of Yênûr, and started on a voyage. Then he went to the Eastern Mountain, **Tirupati,** where he was invited by **the god Timmappa** on to the mountain.

This god's servant's name was **Kâla Bhairava,** whom the elder brother saw. Passing by that mountain, he went to the Eastern Ocean, and then reached the Southern Ocean through the Eastern Ocean, and then the Western Ocean through the Southern. The ship was anchored

in the **Gulf of Kambalê,** whence the elder brother went to the *b'ḍu* at **Aḍka Janana.** All his people remained in the ship, and he went on alone.

In this place were **Udda Kottari, Ballaya Pergade and Nattuṇḍa Maranayagê.** They had a nephew, one **Kañjambu Kulyar.** Kañjambu Kulyar went early in the morning to the plain of **Sîre** to fetch some leaves for preparing cakes. The elder brother followed him, and while Kañjambu Kulyar was cutting the leaves in the plain of Sîre, the elder brother became a white cock and crowed !

Kañjambu Kulyar said : — "This may be useful for a cock for fighting."

He tried to seize the cock, but it was not to be caught. It looked near, while it was far from the hand. In the plain Sîre his fate was unfortunate and his cunning vain, so Kañjambu Kulyar fell to the ground, and he who had gone out in the morning had not returned at sunset. Then a man was sent to search for him, and found him lying on the plain of Sîre, whence he was carried to the *bîḍu* of **Aḍka.** When this matter was sought for in the *praśna*-book, it was found to be the elder brother's doing ! Then Kañjambu Kulyar's uncles asked what was the matter with the Bhûta, and the astrologer said that a *matham* ought to be built. As the elder brother had came to the *bîḍu* at Aḍka, he was named **Aḍka Chakrapâḍi Bîra Marla.**

Soon after that he pushed the ship onward from the bay of Kambalê, and anchored the ship in the **Bay of Mañjêśvar,** so as to be able to land all his following. **Bobbaria** was in front of Mañjêśvar. He broke a palm tree and put it on his shoulder, and broke another and was turning round, when he saw the elder brother and his following, and said : — "Whose people are these ? "

He caused the bay to be inundated, and when the elder brother saw this he said :—" Do not do so, Bobbaria."

Then his people landed on the shore, and a *matham* was built for him in this place.

"At the time of performing a feast in your honour in your *sánam,* I shall come one day to visit you, Bobbaria," said the elder brother, and it was when Bobbaria heard this, that he decreased the water in the bay. So the elder brother and his people crossed the bay of Mañjêsvar, and came to the shore. He sat on a verandah at **Kanne Sirta.**

In the meantime the younger brother, who had been sleeping at Baretimâr in Yênûr, arose, and when he looked for the elder he was not to be found. He became very angry and said :— "Ah ! my brother left me in the forest and went away. I will go and search for him."

He and his people started and passed by Yênûr Baretimâr, and came to the village of Kottari, where he was called **Bobbaria.** He passed by **Mugêrnâḍ,** and crossed the river at **Panyûr,** and then he passed by the *paṭṭa* at **Baṇṭwâl** and by the *magnê* of **Kannûr** and went to **Mangalore.** He sat in **Alake,** where he was called the **Brahmâ of Alake.**

From that place he and all his people started and stayed at the ferry of **Maṅgar,** and afterwards crossed it and passed by **Sarlapaṭṭa (Ullâḷ)** and went to the temple of **the god Sômanâtha at Sômêśvar** and visited him. He then sat on a rock at **Uddu,** while **the Bhûta Mudadêya** from **Kotarsâna** was on a visit to Sômanâth, and while the youth was sitting down, Mudadêya asked him :—

"Where do you come from ?" Whither are you going ? "

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

A TELUGU SUPERSTITION.

In every *gaṛhâ* of water, which the Telugu women carry to and fro from wells, is to be seen a stalk of grass dancing close to the brim. Enquiry will elicit a smile intimating that the custom is based on a superstition. Further enquiry will lead to the information that the stalk is used to prevent the water from spilling over the brim of the *gaṛhâ*. But the state of the carrier's *chôlî* (a portion of the *sâṛî*), and of her hair, will usually testify to the baselessness of the superstition.

Samastipur. M. N. VENKETSWAMY.

BOOK-NOTICE.

THE BURMA CENSUS REPORT, 1892; CHAPTER VIII, "Languages."

Perhaps in no part of the *Burma Census Report* is that thoroughness and minute attention to detail, which is so cónspicuous a feature of it as a whole, more clearly displayed than in the Chapter devoted to the Languages of Burma. *De minimis non est disputandum* is certainly not a maxim, which has commended itself to Mr. Eales in any part of his work, and the result is that, while the proportions of the latter are perhaps somewhat larger than was necessary for it, viewed merely as a *Report*, its value as a work of reference, which, after all, is one of the chief uses of a *Census Report*, has been much enhanced. To philologists this is especially advantageous, since the relative importance of languages and dialects is by no means measured by the numbers of those speaking them, and the tongue of a few obscure hill-men may not infrequently supply the key to puzzles, which the most careful study of more civilised and widely extended languages has failed to elucidate. The absence of written records of any great antiquity, together with the extraordinarily rapid ebb and flow, — evolution and decay, — which are marked characteristics of the Tibeto-Burman family, have contributed to render the exact relationships of its languages and dialects obscure; and, although progress is being made in this branch of philology, it is very far indeed as yet from approaching finality. Mr. Eales has, however, taken great pains to bring the subject up to date, and the present chapter may be taken as a very fair *résumé* of the facts, so far as they are known, and should certainly be studied by all who wish to be 'up to date' in the languages of Burma proper. It would have been well indeed if Mr. Eales had confined himself solely to facts, but of this more hereafter.

One of the first points, which is noticeable in the results now set forth, is the marked increase in the numbers of those speaking many of the non-Burman languages, — an increase which Mr. Eales has very rightly ascribed to better enumeration. The Burman language possesses a great power of superseding others, and it is certain that, had the previous censuses been as accurate as is the present one as regards the wilder parts of the country, the percentages of increase, now shewn, would have been very different Even now it is more than probable that in some cases a large percentage of the people living in these parts escaped enumeration. At least this is the only inference that can be drawn from the very peculiar figures in the present *Report* for the Arakan Hill Tracts, where the population is shewn as almost stationary instead of increasing, as it must have done in the past ten years, according to the normal ratio.

To turn to the **grouping of the various languages and dialects.** As regards the six which have been grouped as **dialects of the Burmese,** besides objecting to the inclusion in this group **Kudô,**[1] I would also object to the inclusion of **Danû** in the absence of further evidence[2] as regards this tongue. At any rate it should only be grouped provisionally under Burmese. I may add here that, from inquiries lately made as to **Yaw,** it would appear to be merely a slightly archaic form of Burmese; and no evidence is forthcoming to support the assertion of Maung Bâ Tû as to its relationship to the **Palaung.**

Putting aside Mr. Eales' **theory of tones** for the present, it is to be observed that **he has classified the languages of Burma under four main heads**:—(1) the Mon-Khmer or Mon-Annam, — the latter is Capt. Forbes' designation, and I think, the better one; (2) the Taic-Shan, (so does de la Couperie, but is not "Taic" sufficient?); (3) the Karen; and (4) the Tibeto-Burman. **The three languages under the first head are declared to have tones,** mainly on the assertion of Maung Bâ Tû that Talaing, the principal one, possesses these adjuncts. Capt. Forbes, however, as well a missionary, Mr. Haswell, who has written a Talaing Grammar and Vocabulary, **deny that tones exist in Talaing,** and it is at least possible, even if any such now exist, that their introduction may have been due to Burman influence, and that they are only now in process of establishing themselves. A good grammar and vocabulary of Palaung are much wanted for purposes of comparison, and the need is the more urgent, as these people are being fast obliterated by the flowing wave of the Kachins.

Much new information is given for the first time as regards the **Taic family in Burma,** mainly from the pen of Dr. Cushing, with whose theory as to the connection of the Chinese, Shân and Karen languages I cannot, however, agree. The inferences to be drawn from a study of the languages of Burma, so far, support the classification

[1] See *ante*, Vol. XXII. p. 129 ff. "The Kudos of Katha and their Vocabulary."

[2] Mr. Eales has kindly forwarded me some words quoted by Maung Bâ Tû in support of his assertion, but these differ very much from those in this vocabulary. They are apparently corrupted.

of the languages of the Far East adopted by de la Couperie, who has studied them, however, from the Chinese point of view.[3]

The Karens, who are closely allied to the Tibeto-Burmans, are, as usual, divided into the Sgaw, Pwo, and Bghai, which are undoubtedly the main tribes, though other and smaller ones exist in Karennî. It would, by-the-bye, be better to write Sgau, Sgaw and Bghai, Bgè or Bwè. The latter is on the analogy of Pwo, which is really written Pgò. The minute sub-divisions urged by certain missionaries have been rightly discarded.

In the languages classified under the Tibeto-Burman group, "Thet" (as the Burmese pronounce 'Sak'), has been accidentally included under the Chin-Lushai sub-division, though Sak is rightly included under that of the Kachin-Nagas.

Besides classifying the various languages of Burma, which have been returned in the Census Schedules, Mr. Eales has given many interesting facts concerning each, a large portion of this information being now for the first time made public. The slight decrease amongst those returned as speaking Arakanese, is, it appears, due to the fact that "no return of dialects was enforced," though, nevertheless, "enumerators were not ordered to enter those who returned Arakanese as their parent-tongue as speaking Burmese, as this might hurt the susceptibilities of the Arakanese needlessly." The anti-Burman feeling, which is thus noted as prevailing amongst the Arakanese, is undoubtedly still strong in some parts of the Western province, and is due to the memories of the conquest of Arakan over a century ago, which conquest was carried out in a characteristically Burmese manner.

With regard to the **Yaws**, a legend of their descent from a clan (Parawga) of the **Palaungs** is mentioned. It is easy, however, to shew that relationships of tribes of the Tibeto-Burman stock, founded merely on resemblances of their names, rest on the flimsiest foundation, the names by which they call themselves and those by which they are known to the different neighbouring tribes varying in the most arbitrary manner.

Under the heading of the **Chin-Lushai** group Mr. Eales has been good enough to print a note of mine on the language of the Southern Chins (in which, however, several errors have occurred in the printing[4]), whilst a classification of the chief **Kachin** tribes has, together with much other interesting and important information regarding them, been furnished by Mr. George, Deputy Commissioner of Bhamo. Mr. Eales rightly states that there is no evidence of a special connection between the Karens and Kachins; but it seems probable, nevertheless, that both came from North Tibet, the Burman nation coming from further south.

Coming to the **Môns**, or **Talaings**, we have a most remarkable increase of 32 per cent. since the last census, instead of the slight increase or even diminution, which might have been expected from the present circumstances of this people. This abnormal percentage is probably correctly accounted for partly by more careful enumeration, but chiefly by the fact "that, since the kingdom of Ava has been finally conquered by the British, the fear of being ground down by their Burman masters has been for ever dispelled." This is a significant commentary on the treatment the Môns received after the first Burmese war, when they had performed the part of "friendlies," and had suffered the usual fate of these, when the "scuttle" policy happens to be in the ascendant in British councils. In spite, however, of their nominal increase in the present census, it seems pretty clear that their language is doomed, and that the final supplanting of it by Burmese is only a question of time. It is interesting to learn that, as stated by Mr. Blagden of the Straits Civil Service, the Môn kingdom once extended far south of Burma, its influence being still traceable in some of the languages of the Malay peninsular.

A careful classification of the **Shân** race by Dr. Cushing in a note on the Selons or **Selungs** (from which it appears that this most northern of the Malay tribes possesses many now Malay words in its vocabulary), close the Chapter on the Languages of Burma, which might truly be called a model one, but for the unfortunate theory **concerning the primitive nature of tones.**

As stated above, it would have been better if Mr. Eales had contented himself with a clear and detailed summary of the facts regarding the inter-relationship of the languages of Burma, so far as is at present known; but he has unfortunately gone beyond this, and attempted a new theory regarding primitive language. It is briefly that the sounds of human speech were originally few and simple, and thus the differences of shades of meaning had

[3] See "The Kudos of Katha and their Vocabulary," which was written in ignorance of what de la Couperie had already done in this matter.

[4] The Burman words have been transliterated in the note as they are spelt and not as they are pronounced. The particular word noted by Mr. Eales as not being in accordance with the Government system was unfortunately incorrectly written. This word, which is now pronounced *bitpin*, should have been transliterated "sach-pang."

to be eked out by tones; that all languages had tones originally,[5] those apparently in which they now exist being the better preserved; and that thus a division of languages into **Polytonic** and **Monotonic** is a useful and real one. It need only be said concerning this theory (which might, with advantage, have been broached elsewhere than in an official publication) that it affords an interesting example — firstly of the danger of *à priori* reasoning, and secondly of the tendency, which has been frequently noted before, of so many amateurs in the science of language to dogmatise regarding it in a manner, which could only be justified on the supposition that it is a mere sport for children rather than a complicated and exact science. The modern origin of tones and its cause, namely, the elision and coalescence of consonants and vowels formerly possessing a distinct existence, are now so well known and admitted by all, who have studied the subject, that it is unnecessary for me here to set forth the grounds for this belief *seriatim;* though the names of Sayce, Edkins and de la Couperie may be mentioned as authorities.[6]

It may, however, be not out of place to notice here the different arguments brought forward by Mr. Eales in support of his theory. The first of these, namely, the 'admission' by Prof. Max Müller 'that languages may have passed from the radical, through the agglutinative, into the inflectional stage' rests on rather a rotten basis, as this theory of the different 'stages' of languages is now quite discredited. The example of Chinese, as the earliest language which became "stereotyped," is almost equally unfortunate. Whatever may be the case formerly, it is certain that the sounds and tones of the Chinese language have suffered considerably from evolution or decay, whichever we like to call it, in historic times, so that Chinese has no better claim to be the best preserved example of the primitive languages than Sanskṛit has to be the best preserved of the old Aryan language or dialect, in spite of the specious arguments which have been advanced to the contrary. No further example of ancient tone-using languages is adduced, probably for the very sufficient reason of there not being any, and we are at once invited to swallow the dictum that the primeval savage possessed very few sounds, and was, therefore, forced to the use of tones.

We have no means as yet of knowing the sounds most favoured by the cave-men (at least the Ainos of Japan are not yet generally accepted as survivals of these), but the cumulative evidence at present available all supports the theory that the more savage a language, the harsher and more numerous its sounds. This is particularly the case amongst the Mongoloids of South-Western Asia, and rather upsets the theory of the primitive use of tones. No authority is given for the statement that tones are dying out in the older languages of the Malay Peninsular, and I should be very sceptical as to the possibility of adducing any satisfactory proof thereof, in view of our very recent acquaintance with them. There is, moreover, no proof whatever that such a state of affairs prevails in the Talaing or Môn language, where, as already pointed out, the existence of tones at any epoch is very doubtful, and where, in fact, it seems probable that tones, if they do now exist, are merely a new growth.

The use of synonyms, which is a marked feature, not only of Chinese and Burmese, but also of many allied languages, and which prevails to a far greater extent in the book language than in that used by the common people, does not, I think, evince any tendency towards the disuse of tones. It is rather the clumsy make-shift of the Mongoloids, so wanting in ideality themselves, and the genius of whose language absolutely forbids the inflection of words, to express thoughts of a more abstract and delicate nature than those which alone occur in the savage infancy of races. The chief use of synonyms is, in fact, to express new ideas, and that of tones to prevent confusion, owing to coalescence of word or sound, between old ones. It is strange that Mr. Eales, who is, as already noted, well aware of the existence of these synonyms, should quote with approval the incorrect statement of Dr. Cushing with regard to these languages, that "on a new object being presented to the mind a new name was wanted and the possibility of uniting two words to form a new word never occurred."

I do not wish to deny that tones may possibly have existed in ancient Egyptian, as well as possibly in other languages now no longer existing, but it seems evident that the facts everywhere, so far as they are known to us, point to tones as being merely one of the last resources of a decaying language, and to be as unknown as they would be unnecessary in those still possessing their primitive vigour and harshness.

BERNARD HOUGHTON.

[5] Languages of China before the Chinese.

[6] The theory is stated most clearly and unequivocally by the latter, though the truth of his assertion, that he was the first to annunciate it, cannot certainly be admitted.

DEMONOLATRY IN SIKHIM LAMAISM.

By L. A. WADDELL, M.B., F. R. G. S.

1. Personal Demons.

LIKE most mountaineers, **the people of Sikhim and the Tibetans are thoroughgoing demon-worshippers.** In every nook, path, big tree, rock, spring, waterfall and lake there lurks a devil; for which reason few individuals will venture out alone after dark. The sky, the ground, the house, the field, the country, have each their special demons, and sickness is always attributed to malign demoniacal influence.

The body also of each individual is weighed down by a burden of spirits, named the **hgo-wa-lha, or the chief personal gods,** who are, in a sense, the guardians of his body. These are not only worshipped by the laity, but the lâmas also regularly invoke them in their oblations during the 'Ser-khyem' and 'Nê-sal' worship.

These **personal gods,** some of whom are of an ancestral nature, are five in number, and are usually enumerated as follows :—

1. **The Male-ancestral god** (Phô-lha). This god sits under the armpits. Worship of him procures long life, and preservation from harm.

2. **The Mother god** (Mo-lha), or **Maternal-uncle god** (Zhang-lha). The latter synonym is said to have arisen out of a custom, by which a child, shortly after birth, is taken to the mother's house, which is usually 'the maternal uncle's house.' I doubt, however, this being the true interpretation, and think that the expression is more likely to mean **Uterine god.** Worship of this god secures strength.

3. **The Life god** (Srog-lha), who resides over the heart. Instead of this god is frequently enumerated the Nor-lha, who sits in the left armpit, and whose worship brings wealth.

4. **The Birth-place god** (Yul-lha, literally **Country god**), who resides on the crown of the head, and whose worship secures dominion and fame.

5. **The Enemy god** (*d*Gra-lha), pronounced vulgarly Dab-lha, who sits on the right shoulder. In this connection it is notable that no one will willingly allow any object to rest on the right shoulder, for the reason that it injures the Dab-lha, and no friend will familiarly lay a hand on a friend's right shoulder for the same reason. Dab-lha is especially worshipped by soldiers as a defender against the enemy. But he is also worshipped by all the laity, once at least during the year, to enable them to overcome their individual enemies. Usually the whole village in concert celebrates this worship, the men carrying swords and shields, dancing and leaping about, and concluding with a great shout of victory.[1]

In addition to the above, are the **good and bad spirits** who sit on the individual's shoulders and prompt to good and evil deeds respectively, and leaving their host only on arrival before the Great Judge of the Dead. These are practically identical with the good and evil genii of the Romans, the *genius albus et niger* of Horace.[2]

There are also demons, who are worshipped when the individual is happy and in health. These are called **the pleasing spirits.** But they may also be worshipped in sickness or other affliction.

Each class of spirits or gods has a particular season for worship. Thus :—

The Earth gods (Sa-gzhi mi-rig-gi-lha) in the Spring.

The Ancestral gods (*s*Mra zhang chhung-gi-lha) in the Summer.

[1] The story of his acquiring from the sea the banner of victory is suggestive of Indra's victorious banner, also procured from the sea : *Bṛihat-Saṅhitâ*, translated by Dr. Kern, *J. R. A. S.* (new series), Vol. VI. p. 44.

[2] 2. *Epist.*

The Three Upper Gods (*s*Tod sum paûhla) in the Autumn.

The Royal Ancestor[3] of the Sikhim King, the divine Mi-nyak King (*s*Tong mi-nyag-gi-lha) in the Winter.

2. Country Gods.

The Country gods, or Yul-lha, are, like the Penates of the Romans, innumerable: but the two chief are the **Mountain-god (Kang-chhen-dsö-nga,** Mt. Kanchinjanga), who is of a mild, inactive disposition, and styled a protector of religion, and his subordinate Yab-*b*dud, or **Black Father Devil.**

This last is of an actively malignant disposition and rides on the south wind. His especial shrine is in the Tîstâ valley, near Sivôk, where he is worshipped with bloody sacrifices. His respectful name, as given by Hlatsûn Chhembo, who composed for both him and Khangchhendsönga special manuals of service, is Ma-*m*gon *l*cham-bras, and for him is prescribed actual sacrifice of life: *e. g.*, a black ox is to be killed, and its entrails, brain, heart, etc., are ordered to be set upon the skinned hide, while the flesh is to be consumed by the votaries. For very poor people the sacrifice of a cock, as with the ancient Greeks to the destructive Nox and his counterpart Erebus, is considered sufficient.[4] The offering of the sacrifice is in the nature of a bargain, and is indeed actually termed such, *viz.*, *ngo-len*; the demon being asked to accept an offering of flesh, etc., and, in return for the gift, not to trouble the donors.

In worshipping Kang-chhen-dsö-nga fresh meat must be used, and, although the flesh of cows and other cattle is now offered on such occasions, there is a tradition that formerly human flesh was offered. The most acceptable flesh was said to have been the flesh of 'the infidel destroyers of the religion.' Kangchhendsönga was never the tutor of Śâkya Muni, as has been alleged. He is only a **zhi-dâk demon.** One of his titles is "Head Tiger," and each of the five peaks is believed to be crowned by an animal, the highest peak by a tiger, and the other peaks by a lion, elephant, horse and a *garuḍa*.[5]

In every village there is a recognized *zhi-dâk*,[6] or **Fundamental-owner demon,** who is ordinarily either a black devil (*b*dud), a red devil (tsan), or a Nâgâ (*k*Lu), or some one or other of the following forms:—

Thus, if a man's sins are insufficient to procure re-birth even in the hells, he is re-born as a *zhi-dâk*. So say the Sikhim Lâmas. The *zhi-dâk* may be one or other of the following eight classes, *viz.*:—

(1) lha, or spirits, all male and of a white colour and fairly good disposition, who must suffer many indignities in order to procure a higher re-birth.

(2) *k*Lu, or Nâgâs, mostly green in colour and frequenting lakes or springs.

(3) *g*nad-*s*byan, or disease-givers, red in colour.

(4) *b*dud, or black devils, all male and extremely wicked. These are the spirits of those who opposed in life the true religion. They eat flesh and are not to be appeased without a pig, the most luscious of all morsels to a hillman's palate. Their wives are called *b*dud-mo.

(5) tsan, or red demons, all male, and usually the spirits of deceased novices. They are therefore especially associated with Gompas (shrines).

(6) *r*gyal-po, or victors, white in colour, and the spirits of kings and deceased Lâmas who have failed to reach Nirvâṇa.

[3] The Sikhim king is descended from the Mi-nyak dynasty of Kham in Eastern Tibet, a dynasty which once held sway over Western China and is regarded as semi-divine by the Tibetans.

[4] Most of the peasantry of Sikhim, before sowing a field, sacrifice a cock to the demons.

[5] A bird like the fabled 'roc' in the eyes of the inhabitants of Sikhim.

[6] *g*zhi-*b*dag, literally fundamental-owner.

(7) ma-mo, all female and black in colour. This class includes Mak-sor rgyal ma, called also Mahârânî, or the Great Queen, the disease-producing form of the Hindu Durgâ.

(8) *g*zah, or planets, Rahula, etc.

3. Local Gods.

The zhi-dâk demons of the monasteries and temples are always *tsên* (*tsan*), or red, demons, and are usually the spirits of deceased novices or ill-natured Lâmas. They are specially worshipped with bloody sacrifice and red coloured substances:

'Rowan tree and red threid
Gars the witches tyne their speid.'

The Pemiongchi *tsên* is named Da-wa sengze (Zla-ba sengze), or the Moon Lion. The Yangong Gompa *tsên* is named Lha tsên-pa, or the Tsên God. The Darjeeling *tsên* is named Chho-leg nam-gyal, or the Victorious Good Religion. The shrine of this last is on Observatory Hill, and is worshipped under the name of Mahâkâla by the professing Hindu hillmen, with the same bloody rites as the Bhôtiyas and Lepchas use. For the worship of each of the monastery or temple *tsêns* there exist special manuals of ritual.

It is to the *zhi-dâk* that travellers offer a rag, torn from their clothes and tied to a stick, on gaining the summit of a hill or pass. While planting this offering on a cairn (*lap-che*), the traveller in a meek voice calls the demon by uttering the mystic '*kî-kî ! kî-kî !*,' to which he adds '*sô-sô ! sô-sô !*,'[7] by which he means 'presentation' or 'offering.' After saying this he exclaims in a loud triumphant strain '*Lhâ-gyal-ô ! Lhâ-gyal-ô !* God has won ! God has won !'

Exorcising devils in cases of sickness and misfortune is performed by regular devil-dancers, *pâ-wo* and *nyênjorma.* Oracular deliverances are most extensively made by professional *lha-pa.* But imminent machinations of most of the devils are only to be foreseen, discerned, and counteracted by the Lâmas, who especially lay themselves out for this sort of work, and provide certain remedies for the pacification or coercion of the demons of the air, the earth, the locality, the house, of death, etc. Indeed, **the Lâmas are themselves the prescribers of most of the demon-worship,** and derive their chief means of livelihood from their conduct thereof on account of, and at the expense of, the laity. Each member of each family is annually prescribed not only a large amount of worship, to be performed by the Lâmas, to counteract the current year's demoniacal influences, but there is also special worship according to the horoscope taken at birth. In the case of husband and wife, a burden of additional worship is added, as having accrued to the joint horoscopes on marriage, in consequence of a set of conflicts introduced by the conjunction of their respective years and the noxious influences of these ! The occurrence of actual sickness, notwithstanding the performance of all this costly worship, necessitates the further employment of Lâmas, and the recourse by the more wealthy to a devil-dancer, or to a special additional horoscope by the Tsi-pa Lâma ! So that one family alone is prescribed a number of sacerdotal tasks sufficient to engage a couple of Lâmas fairly fully for several months of the year, and to get through the reading of the several bulky scriptures prescribed on various occasions as a consequence of such ideas as those above mentioned within a reasonable time, it is the practice to call in several Lâmas, who all, together, at the same time, read each a different book for the benefit of the lay individual concerned !

4. The House Demon.

The House Demon is called the Nang-lha[8] or **Inside god,** and is of the nature of a Sa-dag, or **Earth-owner-demon.** As he is of a roving disposition, occupying during the several seasons quite different parts of the house, his presence is a constant source of anxiety to the householder, because no objects can be deposited in the place where he has taken up his position for the time

[7] This exclamation '*g*sol-*g*sol' may also mean 'worship' or 'entreaty.'

[8] In Chinese he is said to be named Zug-je. The 'House-god' of the Hindus appears to be a totally different personage: *Brihat-Sanhitâ*, liii., translated by Dr. Kern in *J. R. A. S.* New series, VI. page 279.

being! Nor can it be even swept or disturbed in any way without incurring his deadly wrath! It is somewhat satisfactory, however, that all the house-gods of the country regulate their movements in a definite and known order!

In the 1st and 2nd months he occupies the centre of the house, and is then called Khyim-lha-gelthung.

In the 3rd and 4th months he stands in the doorway, and is called Sgo-lha-*r*ta-*g*yag, the door god of the horse and yak.

In the 5th month he stands under the eaves, and is called *y*Ngas-pa.

In the 6th month he stands at the south-west corner of the house.

In the 7th and 8th months he stands under the eaves.

In the 9th and 10th months he stands in the portable fire-tripod or grate.

In the 11th and 12th months he stands at the kitchen fireside, where a place is reserved for him, and the name given him is Thab-lha or Kitchen God.

His movements thus bear a certain relation to the season, as he is outside in the hottest weather, and at the fire in the coldest.

Formerly his movements were somewhat different. According to the ancient tradition he used to circulate much more extensively and frequently, thus:—

In the 1st month he dwelt on the roof for the first half of the month and for latter half on the floor. To repair the roof at such a time meant the death of the head of the family.

In the 2nd, at the top of the stairway. The stair during this month could not be mended, otherwise one of the family would die.

In the 3rd, in the granary. No alterations could be made there during this month, otherwise all the grain would be bewitched and spoiled.

In the 4th, on the doorway. The doorway could not be mended, otherwise any member of the family absent on a journey would die.

In the 5th, in the hand corn-mill and the water-mill. So these could not be mended, otherwise all luck would depart.

In the 6th, in any foxes' or rats' holes that might be near the house. These could not be interfered with, otherwise a child would die.

In the 7th, on the roof. It could not be repaired, otherwise the husband would die.

In the 8th, in the wall foundation. It could not be repaired, otherwise a child would die.

In the 9th, up the chimney. It must not be repaired, otherwise the house would be transferred to a new owner.

In the 10th, in the beams or standard posts. It must not be repaired, otherwise the house would collapse.

In the 11th, underneath the fire-place. It must not be repaired, otherwise the house-wife would die of hiccough or vomitting.

In the 12th, in the stable. It must not be repaired or disturbed, otherwise the cattle would die or be lost.

Other precautions in regard to the House Demon's presence and penalties for disturbing him are as follow:—

In the 1st and 2nd months when the god is in the middle of the house, the fire-grate must not be placed there, but in a corner of the house, and no dead body must be placed there.

When he is at the door, no bride or bridegroom can come or go, nor any corpse be carried across it. Should there, however, be no other means of exit, by a window or otherwise, and

there be urgency in the matter of the passage of a bride, bridegroom or corpse, then must be made with wheaten flour the images of a horse and a yak, on each image must be placed respectively some part of the skin and hair of each of these animals. At such a time tea and beer are also offered to the spirit, who is invited to sit on the images. After this the door must be removed from its hinges and carried outside, and the bride, bridegroom or corpse taken out or in. The door may then be again restored to its place.

When he is at the kitchen fire, no part of the fire-place can be removed, or mended, no corpse can be placed near it, and no marriage can then take place. Should any visitor arrive, he must be screened off from the fire-place by a blanket, and the Chhös-mge-khri scripture must be read.

When he is in the verandah, there is but littte trouble. Only the outside of the house must not be whitewashed, nor repaired, nor disturbed in any way.

Should it be thought that he has been slightly offended, in every case, so as to err on safe side, it is recommended that the worship called (Sa-*b*dag-po, Sab-dak) Pang-kong-*s*nang-*b*rgyad-chhab-*g*tor-*b*cho, or Water Sacrifice of the Eight Injurers should be performed.

5. The Demons of the Earth.

The local earth demons are named **Sab-dak**, or **Sa-dak-pos**, or **Earth-owners.** The most malignant are the *g***Nyan.** These infest certain trees and rocks, which are always studiously shunned and respected, and usually daubed with paint in adoration. The earth demons are very numerous, but they are all under the authority of **Old Mother Khönma,** who rides upon a ram, and is dressed in golden yellow robes. Her personal attendant is **Sa-thel-ngag-po.** In her hand she holds a golden noose, and her face contains eighty wrinkles.

The ceremony of sa-gô, so frequently referred to in the lamaic prescriptions, is addressed to her. It signifies 'the closing of the open doors of the earth' to the earth spirits, and is very similar to the worship of the Lares by the Romans.[9]

In this rite is prepared a magical emblem, which consists of an elaborate arrangement of masts and strings and a variety of mystic objects; most prominent among which is a ram's skull with horns attached and pointed downwards towards the earth. Inside the skull is put some gold leaf, silver, turquoise, and portions of every precious object available, as well as portions of dry eatables, rice, wheat, pulses, etc.

On the forehead is painted in ochre[10] the mystic celestial (*parkha*) sign of Khön, on the right jaw the sun, and on the left jaw the moon. On the crown it is adorned with:—(1) *namka* masts, *i. e.*, masts to which are attached diamond-shaped and square figures, made by winding coloured threads into geometric patterns; (2) *tar-zab*, or pieces of silk rag; and (3) *tong-tse*, or Chinese pice ('cash'), and several wool-knobbed sticks of *phang-khra.*


Parkha of Khön.

Along the base of the skull are inserted, on separate slips of wood, the following images, etc.:—

1. Picture of a man (*pho-dong*):
2. Of a woman (*mo-dong*) with a spindle in her hand:
3. Of a house:

[9] "The images of men and women made of wool were hung in the streets, and so many balls made of wool as there were servants in the family, and so many complete images as there were children (*Festus apud Lilgyr*). The meaning of which custom was this:—These feasts were dedicated to the Lares, who were esteemed Infernal gods; the people desiring hereby that these gods would be contented with these woollen images and spare the persons represented by them. These Lares sometimes were clothed in the skins of dogs (*Plutarch in prob.*) and were sometimes fashioned in the shape of dogs (*Plautus*), whence that creature was consecrated to them." — Tooke's *Pantheon*, p. 280.

[10] The symbolic colour of the earth.

4. Of a tree [*tam-shing* (*khram-shing*)].
5. Figures of the mystic Eight Parkha and the Nine Mewa.

The whole arrangement is fixed to the outside of the house above the door; the object of the figures of a man, wife and house being to deceive the demons, should they still come in spite of this offering, and to mislead them into the belief that the foregoing pictures are the inmates of the house, so that they may wreak their wrath on the bits of wood and so save the real human occupants ![11]

When all is ready and fixed, the Lâma turns to the south-west and chants:—

"O ! O ! *kî ! kî !* Through the nine series of earths you are known as Old Mother Khön-ma, the mother of all the Sa-dak-po. You are the guardian of the earth's doors. The dainty things which you especially desire we herewith offer, *viz.*, a conch-white skull of a ram, on whose right cheek the sun is shining like burnished gold, and on whose left cheek the moon gleams dimly like a conch-shell. Whose forehead bears the sign of Khön, and the whole of which is adorned with every sort of silk, wool and colour and precious substances. To which is also given the spell of Khön (here the Lâma breathes upon it). All these good things are here offered to you, so please close the open doors of the earth to the family which here has offered you these things, and do not let your servant Sa-thel-ngag-po and the rest of the earth spirits do harm to this family. By this offering let all the doors of the earth be shut. O ! O ! *kî ! kî !* Do not let your servants injure us when we build a house or repair this one, nor when we are engaged in marriage matters, and let everything happen to this family according to their wishes. Do not be angry with us, but do us the favours we ask.

Om kharal dok ![12]
Om khamrhil dok !
Ben-neu swâhâ !"

6. The Demons of the Sky.

The local demons of the sky are under the control of 'the grandfather of the three worlds,' **Old Father Khen-pa,** who is an old man with snow-white hair, dressed in white, riding on the white dog of the sky, and carrying in his hand a crystal wand. He is the owner of the sky.

The ceremony called **nam-gô**, or 'the closing of the doors of the sky,' so frequently prescribed by the Tsi-pa Lâmas, is addressed to him. An arrangement of masts, threads, images, etc., exactly similar to that used in the *sa-gô* ceremony above-noted, is constructed, the only differences being that a dog's skull is used,[13] which is directed upwards towards the sky, and that the sign of the *parkha* painted on the forehead is that of Khen in blue. The ceremony is the same as before, except in its introduction and in the names of the chief servants:—

Parkha of Khen.

"O ! O ! we turn towards the Western sun, to the celestial mansion where the sky is of turquoise, to the grandfather of the three worlds, Old Khen-pa, the owner of the sky. Pray cause your servant, the white **Nam-tel,** to work for our benefit, and send the great planet **Pemba** (Saturn) as a friendly messenger, etc., etc."

7. Prevention of injury by the Eight Classes of Demons.

Om-swa-ti is the ceremony of warding off the injuries of the eight classes of demons.

First of all offerings of blood, milk, curdled milk, tea, beer, and clean water, are prepared

[11] [May not this ceremony, however, be merely an instance of sympathetic magic?—ED.]

[12] The meaning of the '*dok*' is 'let all evils be annihilated !' As the first two lines are repeated, the hands are clapped.

[13] The dog was especially associated with the analogous Lares worship of the Romans.

and arranged in a certain order, and the *mantras* or spells of 'The Vast Sky-like Treasury,' or *Om-á-hung-bajra-sparnakham* are repeated. Then is chanted the following prayer :—

"I beg you, O, all guardians and evil spirits (of the under-noted places), to attend to this invitation, *viz.*, ye dwellers in the far extending ocean of the Upper-Ngari Khorsum (*s*töd-*m*ngah-ri-*s*kor-*g*sum), the Intermediate, the Central-Western, the Four Divisions of Tibet (bar-*d*bus *g*tsang-ru-*b*zhi), Amdo Kham and Gango of Eastern Tibet and Bhôtân (*s*mad-*m*do-khams-*s*gang-drug),[14] India (the white plain), China (the black plain), Li-bal,[15] Mongolia (the yellow plain), Upper and Lower Turkistan, and all the kingdoms of this continent (*h*Jambu-*g*ling), the other three great continents and the eight islands. Also ye spirits of all retired nooks, deserts, rocky places, caves, cemeteries, fire-hearths, fortresses, streams, oceans, ponds, fountains, forests, roads, empty and uninhabited places, farms and other important places! Also all ye who always attend the congregation of priests, parties of women, festivals of births, singing parties and the learners of arts! Also all ye dwellers in hell, from the highest to the lowest region!

I beg you, O, ye guardians of the different kinds of *r*gyü*d*, to attend this invitation.

I beg you, O, Pho-lha, Mo-lha, Zhang-lha, Srog-lha, and Yul-lha, to attend this invitation.

I beg you, O, *d*Gra-lha of noble and ancient generations, to attend this invitation.

I beg you, O, all ye gods of the white party which gives refuge, to attend this invitation.

I beg you, O, all ye demons of the black party which is averse to the true path, to attend this invitation.

I beg you, O, all ye goblins and demons, from the highest order to the lowest, counting from *b*Tsan-dehn to Shin-*h*dre (life-taking demon), *g*Sön-*h*dre (the demon-eater of living animals), and all ye inferior classes of divinities, to attend this invitation; *viz.*, lha (gods), nâga, *b*düd, *b*tsan, yamantaka (*g*shin-*r*je), mamo, *g*zah (planets), *r*gyal-po *d*mu, the-ü-rang, sa-*b*dag, gnyan, srin-po, and all ye injurers of the regions.

O! I give to you all these offerings of red blood, of sweet tea, of clean water, of intoxicating drink, and of white butter. I make these offerings to you all. Pray accept them.

Those who prefer beer, please take beer!

Those who prefer tea, please take tea!

Those who prefer blood, please take blood!

Those who prefer water, please take water!

Those who prefer milk, please take milk!

Pray accept these food offerings and do us no further injury!

Pray do not injure the human beings of the upper regions!

Pray do not injure the lower animals of the lower regions!

Pray do not injure the crops of the fields!

Pray do not injure the moisture of the plants!

Pray do not injure the essence of wealth!

Pray do not injure the good qualities of the kingdom!

Pray do not injure wealth and riches!

Pray do not injure good repute and influence!

Pray do not injure the life and soul!

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14 *I. e.*, the Lower Dô (or Amdô), Kham, and 'The Six Ridges.' These are provinces of Eastern Tibet.

15 Li-yul, or Khoten.

Pray do not injure the breath and prosperity!

O! may we all be possessed of perfect minds!

O! may we all be happy and useful to each other!

O! may we all obtain the highest power of Tathâgatas!

O! may we all obtain the sphere of piety, and, having obtained it, may all our wishes be fulfilled and reach the supreme end!

Bajra mu! Now I beg you all to depart to your respective dwellings.

Let glory come! *Tashi-shak!*
Virtue! *dge-o!*"

8. Exorcising the She, or Disease-producing, Demons.

The demons, who produce disease short of actual death, are called *g*She*d* (pronounced **She**). They are exorcised by an elaborate ceremony, in which a variety of images and offerings are made. In this ceremony the officiating Lâma, invoking his tutelary demon, assumes spiritually his dread guise, and orders out the disease-demon, under threat of being himself eaten up by the awful tutelary demon which now possesses the Lâma.

The directions for this exorcism are the following:—

On the five terraces of the magic circle of Rirab make the image of a yellow frog with a *nam-kha*, having its belly and face yellow. On the east of it make a two-headed figure with the heads of a tiger and a vulture, riding on an ass and holding the eight *parkhas*. On the south make a two-headed figure with the heads of a horse and a snake, riding on a red horse and holding a lamp. On the west make a two-headed figure with the heads of a bird and a monkey, holding a sword and riding on a goat. On the north make a two-headed youth with the heads of a rat and a pig, riding on a blue pig and holding a water-bag. On the south-east make a dragon-headed woman riding on a *m*dsô (half-breed yak). On the south-west make a sheep-headed woman riding on a bull. On the north-west make a dog-headed woman riding on a wolf. On the north-east make a bull-headed woman riding on a buffalo. Place thirteen *h*phang[16] *m*dah, *r*gyang-bu, and nam-kha. Place iron on the east, water on the south, fire on the west, and gold on the north with a *s*lüd[17] in front of them, and a lamp and a piece of a flesh at each corner. Then bless the whole with the six *mantras* and the six *mudras*.

Then assuming the guise of your own tutelary deity, or *yidam*, chant the following:—

"Salutation to (the Chinese King) Kong-*r*tse-*h*phrul-*r*gyal, incarnation of Mañjûśrî!

Hung! Hear me, O, collection of *g*She*d* demons! Hear me, O, all you *g*She*d* that cause injury! Listen to my orders, and come to receive my presents with great reverence!

I am the representative of the King of the Angry Demons (Khro-*r*gyal)!

I am a great demon-eater!

I am The All-terrifying and Injuring One! There is none that dare disobey my commands!

There is nothing which is not composed of the five elements, and there is nothing to obstruct the communication of my words to your ear. So then, come to receive this ransom!

O, all ye evil spirits and the ghosts of the dead, listen to me and come to receive this present. Through the power of the element of iron, O, eating-demons, ghosts and evil spirits come to receive this present with mild hearts. O, ye *g*She*d* of the four directions, eating demons, ghosts and evil spirits, come and receive it with mild hearts. *Ja-hung-bi-hô!*

Hung! The *g*She*d* of the eastern direction is the woman with the heads of a tiger and a vulture, riding on a red ass. She is surrounded by a thousand attendant *g*She*d*. O, ye

[16] See *ante*, under *namgô*, p. 202.

[17] Literally "ransom" of dough-cake of wheaten flour.

that receive this ransom, do not injure the dispenser of these gifts, and expel all the eating-demons, ghosts and evil spirits of the east. I hereby drive away all the *g*Shed, by this burning thunderbolt through the force of truth. O, eating-demons, life-cutters, breath-takers, death-causers, and all evil spirits, I drive you all away. If ye remain here any longer, I, Yeshes-khro-wo-chhen-po, 'the Great Angry One of Fore-knowledge,' will break your heads into a hundred bits and cut up your bodies into a thousand pieces. Therefore, without disobeying my commands, begone instantly. *Om ma ma kham kham chhu ye swahah!*

Hung! The *g*Shed of the southern direction has the heads of a horse and a snake, rides on a red horse, and is surrounded by a thousand attendant *g*Shed. O, ye that receive this ransom, do not injure the dispenser of these gifts, and expel all the eating-demons, ghosts and evil spirits of the south. I hereby drive away all ye *g*Shed, by this burning brand through the force of truth. O, ye injurers of me and the dispenser of these gifts, ye eating-demons, life-cutters, breath-takers, death-causers, and all ye evil spirits, I drive you all away. If ye do not depart instantly, I, the Great Angry One of Fore-knowledge, will smash your heads into a hundred bits and cut up your bodies into a thousand pieces. Begone immediately and disobey not my commands. *Om ma ma ram ramye hung phat!*

Hung! The *g*Shed of the western direction has the heads of a bird and a monkey, rides on a grey goat, and is surrounded by a thousand attendant *g*Shed. O, ye that receive this ransom, do not approach the dispenser of these gifts, and expel all the eating-demons, ghosts and the evil spirits of the west. I hereby drive away all ye *g*Shed, by the burning sword through the force of truth. O, ye injurers of me and the dispenser of these gifts, ye eating-demons, life-cutters, breath-takers, death-causers, and all ye evil spirits, I drive you all away. If ye stay without, I, the Great Angry One of Fore-knowledge, will smash your heads into a hundred bits and cut up your bodies into a thousand pieces. Begone immediately and obey my commands. *Om ma ma kara karaye hung phat!*

Hung! The *g*Shed of the northern direction has the heads of a rat and a pig, rides on a blue pig, and is surrounded by a thousand attendant *g*Shed. O, ye that receive this ransom, do not injure the dispenser of these gifts, and expel all the eating-demons, ghosts and the evil spirits of the north. I hereby drive away all ye *g*Shed, by the golden rod through the force of truth. O, ye injurers of me and this dispenser of gifts, ye eating-demons, life-cutters, breath-takers, death-causers, and all ye evil spirits, I drive you all away. If ye remain here, I, the Great Angry One of Fore-knowledge, will smash your heads into a hundred bits and cut up your bodies into a thousand pieces. So depart instantly and obey my commands. *Om ma ma kham kham chhuye swahah!*

Hung! The *g*Shed of the south-east is the dragon-headed woman riding on a *mdsô*-yak, surrounded by thousands of *g*Shed as attendants. O, ye that receive this ransom, do not injure the dispenser of these gifts, and expel all the eating-demons, ghosts of the dead, and all the evil spirits towards the boundary of the south-east.

Hung! The *g*Shed of the south-west is the sheep-headed woman, riding on a bull, surrounded by thousands of *g*Shed as attendants. O, ye that receive this ransom, do not injure the dispenser of these gifts, and expel all the eating-demons, ghosts and the evil spirits towards the boundary of the south-west.

Hung! The *g*Shed of the north-west is the dog-headed woman, riding on a pig, surrounded by thousands of attendants. O, ye that receive this ransom, do not injure the dispenser of these gifts, and expel all the eating-demons, ghosts and all the evil spirits towards the boundary of the north-west.

Hung! The *g*Shed of the north-east is the bull-headed woman, riding on a buffalo, surrounded by thousands of attendants. O, ye that receive this ransom, do not injure the dispenser of these gifts, and expel the eating-demons, ghosts and all the evil spirits towards the boundary of the north-east.

O, ye flesh-eating demons, ghosts of the dead, life-cutting demons, breath-taking demons, death-causing demons, and all kinds of evil spirits, I hereby drive you all away. If ye do not go instantly, I, the Great One of Fore-knowledge, will smash your heads into a hundred bits and cut up your bodies into a thousand pieces. Ye had better, therefore, go away instantly and not disobey my commands. *Om ma ma kham kham chhuye swahah !*

Now are they all driven away to the extreme boundaries of the four directions! *Om su su ta ta ye swahah !* (Here the people shout joyously, 'God has won! The demons are defeated'!)

Kye ! Kye ! O, thou frog of precious gold, made from the thunderbolt of Byam-*m*gön (pronounced Cham-gön), The Loving Protector, be pleased to remain in the south and there become the king of all the evil spirits. We pray thee remain also in the vast ocean, where the rains are deposited and the clouds originate, and there become the emperor and over-lord of the land-owning demons and of the kings (of demons). Overthrow also all the *g*Shed of the bad planets, of the stars, *mewa*, time, day, month and year. Overthrow all the *g*Shed of bad luck. I give thee from the depths of my heart the offerings of the five sublime nam-kha-masts, the *r*gyang-bu, etc.

Overthrow the inimical *g*Shed ! *Bhyo !!*
Overthrow the inimical *g*Shed *!!! Bhyo !!!!* Let glory come ! *Tashi-shok !*
Let virtue increase! *Ge-leg-phel !"*

9. Demonolatry in Death Ceremonies.

As the rites in connection with a death include a considerable amount of devil worship, I notice the subject in this place.

On the occurrence of a death the body is not disturbed in any way, until the *h*Pho-bo (pronounced Pho-o) **Lâma has extracted the soul** in the orthodox manner. For it is believed that any movement of the corpse might eject the soul, which would then wander about in an irregular manner and get seized by some demon. Immediately on death, therefore, a white cloth is thrown over the face of the corpse, and the *h*Pho-bo, or **Soul-extracting, Lâma**, is sent for. On the arrival of this Lâma all weeping relatives are excluded from the death chamber, so as to secure solemn silence, and the doors and windows are closed. The Lâma sits down on a mat near the head of the corpse, and commences to chant the *h*Pho-bo service, which contains directions to the soul for finding its way to the Western Paradise (Dewa-chên) of the mythical Buddha, Amitâbha. After advising the spirit to quit the body and its old associations and attachment to property, the Lâma seizes, with the forefinger and thumb, a few hairs of the crown of deceased's head, and by plucking them forcibly is supposed to give vent to the spirit through their roots. It is generally believed that if the *h*Pho-bo is, as he should be, a Lâma of exceptional virtue, an actual perforation of the skull occurs at this instant through which passes the liberated spirit. The spirit is then directed how to avoid the dangers which beset the road to the Western Paradise, and instructed as to the appearance of the demons and other personages to be met with *en route*, and is then bidden god-speed. This ceremony lasts about an hour.

In cases where, through accident or otherwise, the body of deceased is not forthcoming, the operation for the extraction of the soul is done by the Lâma spiritually, while engaged in deep meditation.

10. Death-horoscope.

Meanwhile the **Tsi-pa**, or **Astrologer-Lâma**, has been requisitioned for a death-horoscope, in order to ascertain the age and birth-year of those persons who may approach and touch the corpse, the necessary particulars as to the date and mode of burial, and the necessary worship to be done for the welfare of the surviving relatives. The nature of this horoscope will best be understood by an actual example, which I here give, of the death-horoscope

of a little girl of two years of age, who died at Darjeeling in 1890. Its contents are as follows:—

"Hail to Lâma Mañjûśrî! The year of birth of this female was the Bull-year, with which the Snake and the Sheep are in conflict: therefore those individuals born in the Snake and the Sheep-year cannot approach the corpse. The death-demon was hiding in the house inside certain coloured articles, and he now has gone to a neighbouring house, where there is a family of five with cattle and dogs.[18] The death-demon will return to the house of the deceased within three months: therefore must be performed before that time the Za-de-kha-gyur Service.

Her Parkha being Dvâ in relation to her death, it is found that her spirit, on quitting her body, entered her loin girdle and a sword.[19] Her life was taken to the east by Tsân and King (Gyalpo) Demons, and her body died in the west: therefore small girls, cousins, sisters and brothers in the house will be harmed. The deceased's death was due to iron, and the death-demon came from the south, and has gone to the east.

Her Mewa gives the third indigo blue. Therefore it was the death-demon of the deceased's paternal grandfather and grandmother that caused her death. Therefore also take a sats-tsha (a miniature earthen *chaitya*), a sheep's head, and earth from a variety of sites, and place them upon the body of the deceased, and this danger will be averted (from other members of the family).

The Day of her Death was Friday. Take a leather bag, or earthen pot, in which have been placed four or five coloured articles, and throw it away to the north-west, because the death-demon has gone in that direction. From the way in which this death has happened it is very unlucky for old men and women. On this account take a horse's skull,[20] or a serpent's skull,[21] and place it upon the corpse.

Her Death Star is Gre. Her brother and sister, who went near to her, are threatened by the Death-messenger (Shin-je). Therefore an ass's skull and a goat's skull must be placed on the corpse.

Her Death Hour was soon after sunset, and in the twelfth month her life was cut. The death-demon arrived in the earthen cooking-pot and bowl of a man and woman visitor dressed in red, who came from the south. Thus the deceased's father and mother are threatened, and especially so if either was born in the Sheep-year.

Precautions to secure a fortunate re-birth. It is necessary to prepare an image of Vajrapâṇi and Vajra-sattva, and before these to have prayer[22] offered for the fortunate re-birth of the girl's spirit. If this be done, then she will be re-born in the house of a rich man in the west.

For the benefit of the deceased's Spirit, it is necessary to get the Lâmas to read the service (*s*mon-lam), praying for re-birth in the Paradise of Deva-chhên.

For the benefit of the survivors of the family, it is necessary to have read the prayers for long life, *viz.*, tshe-*m*do and tshe-*g*zungs.

Directions for removal of the Corpse. Those who remove the corpse must have been born in the Dog or in the Dragon year. The body must be taken outside the house on the morning of the third day following the death, and it must be carried to the south-west, and be buried (not burned, or given to birds or dogs)."

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18 Therefore that other family should perform the necessary worship!

19 In this case the affected girdle was cast away and the sword was handed over to the Lâma.

20 A fragment of such a skull, or its image made of dough, is usually all that is used.

21 Dough also will do.

22 It has frequently been asserted that no prayer is practised in lamaism. This is not true. Real prayer is frequently offered. The word used here is *g*sol-wa-*g*tab.

11. Ceremonies following on the Death Horoscope.

When the Death Horoscope has been made out, the body is tied up in a sitting posture by the auspicious person indicated by the horoscope, and placed in a corner of the room not occupied by the house-demon. Notice is sent to all relatives and friends within reach, who collect within two or three days and are entertained with rice, vegetables, etc., and with a copious supply of *murwa* beer and tea. This company of visitors remains loitering in and around the house, doing great execution with hand-prayer-wheels and muttering the sacred formula, '*Om-mani-padme-hung*,' until the expulsion of the *shên*, or **death-demon**, who follows the removal of the body. In this last ceremony the whole company must join. The expense of the entertaining the visitors is considerable.

During the whole of the death-feast the deceased is always, at every meal, offered a share of what is going, including tobacco, etc. The deceased's own bowl is kept filled with beer and tea, and set down beside the corpse, and a portion of all the other eatables is always offered to the corpse at meal times. After each meal is over the deceased's portion is thrown away, as the spirit is supposed to have extracted all the essence of the food, which then no longer contains nutriment, and is fit only for destruction. Long after the corpse has been removed, the deceased's cup is regularly filled with tea or beer even up till the forty-ninth day after death, as the spirit is free to roam about for a maximum period of forty-nine days subsequent to death.

12. The Litanies.

The Lâmas chant by relays all night and day the *De-wa-chan-kyi-mon-lam*, or **Service for sending the soul direct to The Western Paradise of the mythic Dhyâni Buddha, Amitâbha.** According to the means of the deceased, two or more Lâmas are entertained to read this service in chorus, as the more frequently it is repeated the better for the deceased. A special reading also of this service by the assembled monks in the Gompa is also arranged for by those who can afford the expense.

One or more Lâmas also read at the house of the deceased the Thos-grol (pronounced Thö-ḍol), or **Guide for the spirit's passage through the valley of horrors intervening between death and a new re-birth.** This passage is somewhat suggestive of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, but the demons and dangers, which beset the way, are much more numerous and awful. Full directions are read out for the benefit of the deceased, shewing how to avoid pitfalls and ogres, and how to find the proper white path, which will lead to a fortunate re-birth. It is, however, rather incongruous that while the Lâma, reading this service, is urging the spirit to bestir itself for the necessary exertions for a fortunate re-birth, another Lâma by his side is reading the De-wa-chan Service for sending the spirit direct to the Western Paradise, a non-Buddhist invention, which is outside the region of re-birth.

Though it is scarcely considered orthodox, many of the Lâmas find, by consulting their astrological books, that **the spirit of the deceased has been sent to hell**, and the exact compartment in hell to which it has gone. When this happens a most expensive service must be performed by a very large number of Lâmas. This commences with *d*ge-ba, or act of virtue, on behalf of the deceased, which consists of offerings to **The Three Collections**, *viz.* :—

1st. — Offerings to the Gods of sacred food, lamps, etc.

2nd. — Offerings to the Lâmas of food and presents.

3rd. — Offerings to the Poor of food, clothes, beer, etc.

This is a good work supposed to tell in favour of the spirit in hell. After this many more expensive services must be performed, and especially the propitiation of Thuk-je-chhen-po, or **The Great Pitier**, for his intercession with the king of hell (an offshoot of his own self) for the release of this particular spirit. Even the most learned and orthodox Lâmas believe that by such a service may be secured the release of a few of the spirits actually in hell, and in practice

every spirit in hell, for whom relatives pay sufficiently, may be released by the aid of the Lâmas. Sometimes a full course of the prescribed service is declared insufficient, as the spirit has only got a short way out of hell (very suggestive of the story of the priest and his client in Lever's story), and then additional expense must be incurred to secure its complete extraction.

13. Funeral Ceremonies.

Before removing the corpse from the house, an especial feast of delicacies, including cooked pork and drink of sorts, are set before the body of the deceased, and a Lâma, presenting a scarf of honour to the corpse, thus addresses it :—" You (here the deceased's name is stated) have now received from your relatives all this good food and drink, partake freely of its essence, as you will not have any more chances ! For you must understand that you have died, and your spirit must begone from here, never to come back again to trouble or injure your relatives. Remember the name of your spiritual Lâma-teacher (*r*tsa-wa-*b*lama), which is (name in full), and by his aid take the right path, the white one. Come this way ! "

Then the Lâma, with a thigh-bone trumpet in the one hand and a hand-drum in the other, and taking the end of a long white scarf, the other end of which has been tied to the corpse, precedes the carrier of the corpse, blowing his trumpet and beating the drum and chanting a liturgy. He frequently looks back to invite the spirit to accompany the body, which, he assures it, is being led in the right direction. Behind the corpse-bearer follow the rest of the procession, some bearing refreshments, and last of all come the weeping relatives. The ceremony of guiding the deceased's spirit is only done for the laity, as the spirits of deceased Lâmas are credited with a knowledge of the proper path, and need no such instruction. The body is usually carried to the top of a hillock for burial or cremation. The scarf used in the funeral procession may probably represent the Chinese *hurin-fan*, or soul-banner, which is carried before the coffin in China.

14. Expelling the Death-Demon.

The exorcising of the death-demon is one of the most common of the lamaic ceremonies. It is entitled *Za-de-khâ-gyur*,[23] or turning away of the face of the eating devil, *i. e.*, expulsion of the **Eating-demon,** or Death-demon. It is always performed after a death and within two days after the removal of the corpse, in order to expel from the house and locality the demon who caused the death.

This ceremony, which requires the presence of four or five Lâmas, is conducted as follows :—

On a small wooden platform is placed the image of a tiger made of grass and plastered over with mud. The animal is walking with its mouth wide open. The mouth and teeth are made of dough, and the body is coloured with yellow and brown stripes, in imitation of the tiger's markings, and around its neck is tied a string of threads of five colours.

A small image of a man is made of kneaded dough, in which are incorporated filings of an alloy, known as the Rin-chhen sna-nga *r*dar, or the Five Precious Things, *viz.*, gold, silver, copper, iron, and tin. Into the belly of this image, which is called the Eating-demon, is inserted a piece of paper, on which is written the following banishing spell[24] :— ' Go, thou Eating Devil, having thy face turned to the enemy !'[25] The image is clad in pieces of silk, and is placed astride the tiger's back.

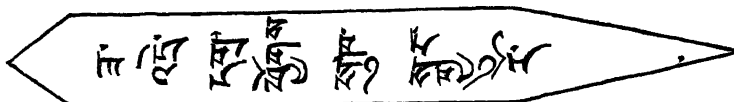
Another figure is made of human form, but with the head of a bird. Its face is painted red and in its belly is inserted paper on which is written :—' Thou Eating Devil, do not remain in this village, but go to the enemy's country.' This is placed in front of the tiger, and is made to hold the free end of the rope attached to the tiger's neck, as it were a groom.

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23 *Z-h*dre-kha-*s*gyur. 24 *g*zlog-pa-hi *s*nags. 25 za-hdre-kha *s*gyur *d*gra phyogs.

A second figure of human shape, but with an ape's head, is placed behind the tiger, as a driver.

Out of a piece of 'father' tree[26] is shaped a label:—



This is inscribed with an order to take away the Eating Demon, and planted in the shoulder of the bird-faced[27] figure. A similar label made out of a 'son' tree[28] is inscribed with another spell,[29] and planted in the shoulder of the tiger-riding figure, *i. e.*, of the death-demon himself. A geometrical figure called *nam-jang nak-po*, and four arrows of wood with red painted shafts, called *m*dah khra, are placed on each shoulder of the tiger riding demon and of the bird-faced figure.

Round these figures are strewn morsels of every kind of eatable,—grains, fruits, spices, including raw meat and spirits. Also a few small coins of silver and copper.

Weapons are then enchanted for the coming conflict with the Death-Demon — pieces of iron, copper, small stones preferably white and black in colour, grains, and *rampu*[30] roots, for the use of the Lâmas. And for the lay army of the household and neighbours, a sword, knives, a reaping hook, a yak's tail, a rope of yak's hair with a hook at end of it.

When all the preparations are completed and the sun has set — for demons can only move in the darkness — the ceremony begins. The head Lâma invokes his tutelary deity to assist in the expulsion of the death-demon, chanting the following spell, which is locally supposed to be in Saṅskṛit:—

'Om! dudtri mârayâ srogla bhyo! bhyo!
Raja dudtri mârayâ srogla bhyo! bhyo!
Nagpo dudtri mârayâ srogla bhyo! bhyo!
Yama dudtri mârayâ srogla bhyo! bhyo!'

Immediately on concluding this spell, the Lâma with an imprecatory gesture blows his breath, spiritualized by his tutelary deity, upon the images, while the other Lâmas loudly beat a large drum and cymbals and (a pair of) *kang-ling* thigh-bone trumpets, whereupon the laymen present, armed with the aforementioned weapons, loudly shout and wildly beat the air with their weapons.

When silence is restored the Lâma chants the following:—

"*Hung!* Hear ye eighty thousand demons![31] In olden time, in the country of India, King Chakra[32] was taken ill, being attacked by all the host of gods, devils, eating-demons, and accident-causing[33] demons. But learned and revered Mañjûśrî, by performing the following worship, defeated the devils and cured the king. With the five precious things he made a shapely image of the eating-demon, and on it planted nam-*m*kha *r*gyang-bu, *m*dah-khra and phang-khra, and, writing on slips of wood the *gyur-yik* spells, he stuck them into the demon's image, and he heaped round it the nine sorts of eatables, as a ransom from the house-holder, the dispenser of the gifts, and he said:—'Now O devil, the sun has gone. Your time, too, for going has arrived in the black darkness, and the road is good. Begone! Begone to the country of our enemies and work your wicked will there! Quickly begone! Jump! Turn about!' And thus the devil was turned away and the king was cured. Again in the Indra

[26] pho shing might possibly be intended for 'bamboo.'
[27] Za *h*dre *d*gra phyogs su-kha *s*gyur ro.
[28] pu shing.
[29] za *h*dre kha *s*gyur ro.
[30] Sweet calamus.
[31] Lgags.
[32] Ikhor lo-tuk-pa = 'the noisy wheel.'
[33] Sri.

country, in the south of India, there was a king named Dana-aso, — and so on. (Here are cited several additional examples of the efficacy of this rite.)

"*Hung!* O Yamantaka! Thou greatest of the gods, Destroyer, King of the dead! Let the Death-demon be sent off to our enemy!

"O Ekajati! Thou chief of the Ma-mo (female) fiends, let the Death-demon be sent off to our enemy!

"O one-eyed white devil! Let the Death-demon be sent off to our enemy!

"O Hanubhati, flesh-eating demon, chief of all the demons! Let the Death-demon be sent off to our enemy!

"O Nanda and Takshaka, chiefs of the Nâgâs! Let the Death-demon be sent off to our angry enemy!

"O Red Father Shū,[34] chief of all the Tsén! Let the Death-demon be sent off to our enemy!

"O well-filled one,[35] chief of all the Yakshas![36] Let the Death-demon be sent off to our enemy!

"O Eastern king,[37] chief of all the Gandharvas! Let the Death-demon be sent off to our enemy!

"O Western King, chief of all the powerful Nâgâs! Let the Death-demon be sent off to our enemy!

"O Northern King, chief of all the givers! Let the Death-demon be sent off to our enemy!

"O Guardians of the ten directions and your retinue! Let the Death-demon be sent off to our enemy!

"O all you Tsen, Ma-mo from the grassy valleys, and all Men-mo! Let the Death-demon be sent off to our enemy!

"O all male and female Gong-po, who abstract the essence of food, and your retinue! Let the Death-demon be sent off to our enemy!

"O Death-demon, do thou now leave this house, and go and oppress our enemies. We have given thee food, fine clothes, and money. Now be off far from here! Begone to the country of our enemies! Begone!!!"

When this is ended the Lâma smites his palms together, and all the Lâmas beat their drums, etc., clamourously, and the laymen wield their weapons, shouting: — 'Begone! Begone!' Amid all this uproar the platform containing the image and its attendants is lifted up by a layman, one of the relatives, selected according to the astrologer's indications. He holds it breast high, and at arm's length, and carries it outside, attended by the Lâmas and laity, shouting 'Begone!' and flourishing their weapons. The platform is carried for about an eighth of a mile in the direction prescribed by the astrologer, supposed to be that of the enemy of the people. Finally it is deposited, if possible, at a site where four roads meet.

15. Post-funeral Ceremonies.

While the funeral is going on, to make sure that the demon is not still lurking in some corner of the room, the **Sorcerer-lâma**[38] remains behind, with a *dorje* in his right hand and a bell in his left. With the *dorje* he makes frantic passes in all directions, muttering spells, and with the forefinger and thumb of the right hand, without relinquishing the *dorje* he throws in all

[34] Shu*d* = 'active.' [35] kang-wa *b*zang-po. [36] *g*nod-*s*byin. [37] *r*gyal-po. [38] Ngag-pa.

directions hot pebbles which have been toasted in the fire, muttering charms, which conclude thus :—

"Dispel from this family all the magic injury of Pandits and Bons ! !

"Dispel all strife. Dispel all the mischief of inauspicious planets, and the conjunction of the red and black Mewa. Dispel all the evil of the eight Parkhas.

"Turn over to the enemy all the misfortune.

"Turn over to the enemy all plagues, losses, accidents, bad dreams, the 81 bad omens, unlucky years, months, and days, the 424 diseases, the 360 causes of plagues, the 720 causes of sudden death, the 80,000 most malignant demons.[39]

"Turn all these over to our enemy ! *Bhyo ! Bhyo ! Bhyo !* Begone !"

To this the Lâma adds:—"Now by these angry spells the demon is expelled ! Oh ! Happiness !"

Upon which all the people shout triumphantly :—

Lhagyal-ô-ô ! *Lhagyal-ô-ô ! !*

God has won ! !

Dü pam-bo ! ! *Dü pam-bo ! ! !*

The demons are defeated ! ! ! !

The interment 'or cremation' of the corpse does not terminate the rites in connection with the disposal of the soul and body of the deceased. After the removal of the corpse, and on the same day a lay figure of the deceased is made, by dressing a stool, or block of wood, in the clothes of the deceased, and for the face is substituted a piece of printed paper, called *mtshan spyang*, or *spyang-pu* (pronounced *chang-bu*).[40] Before this figure are set all sorts of food and drink, as in the case of the actual corpse.

This is essentially a Bon rite, and is referred to in the histories of Gurû Padma Sambhava as being practised by the Bon in his time, and as having incurred the displeasure of the Gurû, who was the founder of Lamaism.

The printed inscription on the face usually runs :—

"I, the world-departing one (here is inserted the name of the deceased), adore and take refuge in my Lâma-confessor, and all the deities, both mild and wrathful.[41] May the Great Pitier[42] forgive my accumulated sins and the impurities of my former lives, and shew me the right way to another good world !"

In the margin, or down the middle, of the paper are inscribed, in symbolic form, the six states of re-birth, *viz.*, **A** = god, **Su** = a *sura*, **Ni** = man,[43] **Tri** = beast, **Pre** = *prêta* **Hung** = hell.[44]

On the paper are also depicted "the five excellent sensuous things," *viz.*, (1) body (as a mirror), (2) sound (as cymbals, a conch, and sometimes a lyre), (3) smell (a vase of flowers), (4) essence or nutriment (holy cake), (5) dress (silk clothes, etc.)

[39] *bgegs.*

[40] Schlagintweit gives a specimen of one form of this paper, but he has quite mistaken its meaning. The figure in the centre is not 'the Lord of the Genii of Fire,' but is merely intended to represent the spirit of the deceased person who sits or kneels, sometimes with the legs bound, in an attitude of adoration. See *op. cit.* p. 252.

[41] Of the hundred superior deities, 42 are supposed to be mild, and 58 of an angry nature.

[42] An aboriginal, or Chinese, deity, now identified with Avalôkita, with whom he has much in common. Other deities are sometimes also addressed.

[43] This is a mystical interpretation of the third syllable of Avalôkita's formula *Om-mani*, etc., which symbolizes the third region of re-birth, *viz.*, the human.

[44] This also is a mystic interpretation of Avalôkita's *mantra*, the 6th syllable of which is made to mean hell.

Before the lay-figure the Lâmas then go through the **Service of the Eight Highest Buddhas of Medicine** (Sangs-*r*yas *s*man-*b*la), and also continue the service of the Western Paradise.

Next day the Lâmas depart, to return once a week for the repetition of this service, until the forty-nine days of *bar-do* have expired. But it is usual to intermit one day of the first week, and a day more of each with the succeeding week, so as to get the worship over within a shorter time! Thus the Lâmas return after 6, 5, 4, 3, 2 and 1 days respectively, and thus conclude this service in about three weeks instead of the full term of 49 days, or seven weeks.

Meanwhile the lay figure of the deceased remains in the house in a sitting posture, and is given a share of each meal until the death service is concluded by **the burning of the face-paper** (*chang-bu*). This, on the conclusion of the full series of services, is ceremoniously burned in the flame of a butter-lamp, and the spirit is thus given its final *congé*. According to the colour and quality of the flame and manner of burning, is determined the fate of the spirit of deceased. This process usually discovers the necessity for further courses of worship.

The directions for noting and interpreting the signs given by the burning paper are contained in a small pamphlet, which I here translate, entitled, *The Mode of Divining the Signs of the Flames during the Burning of the Chang Paper.*

"Salutation to Chhe-*m*chhog, Heruka, or Most Supreme Heruka! The meaning of the five colours of the flame is as follows:—

If the flames be white and shining, then has the deceased become perfect, and born in the highest region of Ok-in (*i. e.*, the Supreme).

If the flames be white and burn actively with round tops, then has the deceased become pious, and born in the Eastern *m*Gön-*d*gah, or Paradise of Real Happiness.

If the flames burn in an expanded form, resembling a lotus (*padma*), then the deceased has finished the highest deeds and become religious.

If the flames be yellow in colour and burn in the shape of *r*Gyal-*m*tshan or Banner of Victory, then has the deceased become nobly religious.

If the flames be red in colour and in form like a lotus, then the deceased has become religious and born in *b*De-wa-chan, or Paradise of Happiness.

If the flames be yellow in colour and burn actively with great masses of smoke, then the deceased is born in the region of the lower animals, for counteracting which a *g*Tsug-lag-khang, or Academy, and an image of the powerful and able Dhyâni Buddha (*s*Nang-par-*s*nang-*m*dsad), should be made. Then will the deceased be born to high estate in the Middle Country (*i. e.*, the Buddhist Holy Land in India).

If the fire burns with masses of dense smoke, then he has gone to hell, for counteracting which, images of Dorje-*r*nam-*h*joms and Vajrapâṇi should be made. Then will the deceased be born as a second daughter of a wealthy parent near our country and, after death in that existence, in fairy land.

If the fire burns fiercely, with great noise and crackling, then will the deceased be born in hell, for preventing which, images of Mi-*h*khug-pa and Vajra-Sattva and Avalôkita should be made, and the Hell-confession of the Hundred Letters (Yig-*r*gyana-rag*s*kang-*b*shags) should be repeated. Then will the deceased be born as a son of a wealthy parent towards the east.

If the flames be blue in colour and burn furiously, the deceased is born in hell, for preventing which the Yige-*b*rgya-pa-kika-nidri-med-*b*shags-*r*gyüd, *m*do-thar-chhen-tshe-*h*bar, *s*dig-*b*shags, *l*tung-*b*shags, mani-*b*kah-*h*bum, and *s*pyan-*h*byed must be repeated. Then will the deceased either be born as a son of a carpenter towards the east, or again in his, or her, late

mother's womb. But if this is not done, then will the deceased be born as a dog, who will become mad and harm everybody, and then in the *n*Ga-*h*böd compartment of Hell.

If the flames be yellow, without any mixture of other colours, the deceased will be born in the region of the Yidags, for preventing which images of the Dhyâni Buddha, Ratna Sambhava, surrounded by Nye-sra*s*, and also images of Mañjûśrî and of 'Sâkya Muni surrounded by his disciples must be made. Then will the deceased be born as a Lâma towards the south and will devote himself to religious purposes.

If the flames be yellow in colour and burn furiously, then *g*Torma-*b*rgya-tsa must be made, and charity extensively offered to the poor. Then the deceased will be born again in his own family. Failing this the deceased will be born in the region of the Yidags.

If the flames be white and burn furiously, the deceased will be born as a Lha-ma-yin, and images of Mahâmâya (Yum-chhen-mo) and Amitâyas should be made. Then the deceased will be born in the Happy Paradise of Dewa-chan. If only Tshog*s*-*r*gya be performed, then the deceased will be born as a son of wealthy parents.

If the fire burns furiously red, emitting sparks, the deceased will be born as a Lha-ma-yin, for preventing which *d*kön-*b*rtsegs must be performed, and the Thōs-grol must be read, and then the deceased will be born as a son of a blacksmith.

If the fire burns furiously without any colour, then the deceased will be born as a Garuda towards the north, for preventing which images of Dön-yöd-grub-pa (Dhyâni Buddha Amôghasiddhi), *r*Nam-*h*jom*s*, *s*grolma *h*jig*s*-pa *b*rgyad-skyob*s* *s*Man-lha (Dohna, the Defender from the Eight Dreads),[45] *s*Man-lha (the God of Medicine) must be made, and the worship of Maitrêya must be repeated. Then the deceased will be born as a son of a famous chief, or again in his, or her, own family.

If the fire burns of a bluish-black colour, then *g*Zun-*g*hdüs (*i. e.*, the Dô-Mang) *m*tshan-*b*rjod, Sang*s*-*r*gya*s*-*m*tshan-*h*um (The Hundred Thousand Holy Names of Buddha). Then will the deceased be born as a chief.

By doing these services here prescribed re-birth will be good in every case.

O glorious result! *Sarba-manga-lam!* All happiness!"

The ashes of the paper are carefully collected in a plate, and are then mixed with clay to form one or more miniature chaityas, called *sa-tschha*. One of these is retained for the household altar, and the rest are carried to any hill near and there deposited under a projecting ledge of a rock, where they will not be directly exposed to the disintegrating rain.

After the burning of this paper the lay-figure of the deceased is dismantled, and the clothes are presented to the Lâmas, who carry them off and sell them to any purchasers available, and appropriate the proceeds.

After the lapse of one year from a death it is usual to give a feast in honour of the deceased, and to have repeated the *s*Man-lha service of the Medical Buddhas. On the conclusion of this a widow, or widower, is free to re-marry.

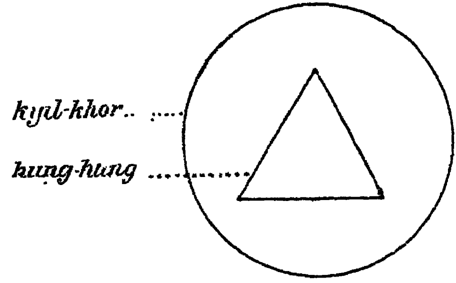
16. Exorcism of Ghosts.

A ghost returns and gives trouble, either on account of its inherent wickedness, or if the ghost be that of a rich man, it may come to see how his property is being disposed of. In either case its presence is noxious. It makes its presence felt in dreams, or by making some individual delirious, or temporarily insane.

A ghost is disposed of by being burned. For this purpose a very large gathering of Lâmas is necessary, not less than eight, and the service of byin *s*reg*s*, or burnt offering, is

[45] The Eight Dreads are: — Dread of Fire, Prison, Plunder, Water, Enemy, Elephant, Lion, and Snake.

performed. On a platform of mud and stone outside the house is made, with the usual rites, a magic circle, or kyil-*khk*or, and inside this is drawn a triangle named hung-hung, as in the diagram here annexed. Small sticks are then laid along the outline of the triangle, one piled above the other, so as to make a hollow three-sided pyramid, and around this are piled up fragments of every available kind of food, stone, tree-twigs, leaves, poison, bits of dress, money, etc., to the number of over a hundred sorts. Then oil is poured over the mass, and the pile set on fire. During its combustion additional fragments of the miscellaneous ingredients reserved for the purpose are thrown in, from time to time, by the Lâmas, accompanied by a muttering of spells. And ultimately is thrown into the flames a piece of paper, on which is written the name of the deceased person — always a relative —, whose ghost is to be suppressed. When this paper is consumed the ghost has received its quietus, and never gives trouble again. Any further trouble is due to another ghost, or to some demon or other.



THE BHASHA-BHUSHANA OF JAS'WANT SINGH.

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY G. A. GRIERSON, PH.D., C.I.E.

Few Sanskṛit scholars are aware of the mass of literature directly connected with their favourite subject, which exists in the Hindî language. The diligent searcher will find numerous commentaries on difficult Sanskṛit books and many original works published in the vernacular. There is a true, unbroken current of tradition connecting the literature of classical Sanskṛit with that of Hindî, and the latter may often be used to explain the former.

In the subject of **Rhetoric**, the treatment and terminology of Hindî is the same as that of Sanskṛit, and as there is no English work, so far as I am aware, at present conveniently accessible, which deals with that subject,[1] I venture to put forward this little treatise with a two-fold intention: — firstly, to shew Sanskṛit scholars that Hindî literature is a mine which may be advantageously explored by them, and secondly, to provide a convenient **handbook of Indian Rhetoric**. A reference to the index, which forms part of this edition, will shew how wanting even the best and most modern Sanskṛit dictionaries are in this branch of knowledge.

Since the time of **Kêśava-dâsa** (fl. 1580 A. D.), who first brought Hindî literature into line with the best Sanskṛit models, rhetoric has always been a favourite subject with vernacular writers in Northern India. Kêśava-dâsa's two great works on Composition are the *Kavi-priyâ* and the *Rasika-priyâ*, the former of which was written for the famous *hetaira* Pravîṇa Râî, celebrated alike for her learning and for her beauty. He had numerous imitators and followers, amongst whom may be mentioned **Chintâmaṇi Tripâṭhî** (fl. 1675 A. D.), author of the *Kâvya-vivêka* and the *Kâvya-prakâśa*, and his brothers **Bhûshaṇa Tripâṭhî** and **Matirâma Tripâṭhî**. The principal work of the last was the *Lalita-lalâma*, which was written at the court of Râjâ Bhâva Siṁha of Bûndî (1658-82 A. D.). Passing over a number of other writers, we find **Jas'want Siṅgh**, the author of the **Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa**, flourishing at the end of the eighteenth century.[2] He belonged to a family of Baghêl Râjpûts, who came to Kannauj from Rêwâ about the year 1190 A. D. They settled at Kôlâpur in that country, and gradually spread over the neighbouring villages, till, about the end of the seventeenth century, their leader, Dharma-dâsa, took up his abode at Tir'wâ, some seven or eight miles south of Kannauj in the present Farrukhâbâd district. His grandson, Pratâpa Siṁha, obtained the title of Râo from the Nawâb Vazîr of Oudh. Pratâpa's son, Sumêru Siṁha, acquired considerable distinction by his connexion with the Nawâb Vazîr Shujâ'u'd-daula,

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[1] The translation of the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* is out of print.

[2] He died 1815 A. D.

whom he assisted in the battle of Buxar. He obtained from the emperor Shâh 'Âlam, the title of Râjâ Bahâdur, and the dignity of *mansabdâr* of 3,000. Sumêru Siṁha was succeeded by his brother Damara Siṁha, who was succeeded by his son Aurada(?) Siṁha. **Jas'want Siṅgh** was son of this last, but did not succeed to the title, which was secured by his brother Pîtam Siṅgh.[3] His name is still well known locally, as the builder of a large stone temple to Annapûrṇâ Dêvî, and of other memorials still existing. He died in the year 1815. He is said to have been learned both in Sanskṛit and Persian. He wrote a *Nâyaka-bhêda*, or Classification of Heroes, entitled the *Sriṅgâra-śirômaṇi*, and a treatise on Veterinary Surgery called *Sâlihôtra*. The work, however, on which his reputation rests, is the **Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa**, which has great authority. It has had numerous commentators, the best known of whom is Mahârâja Raṇadhîra Siṁha, Sir'maur, of Siṅg'râ Maû, who wrote the *Bhûshaṇa-Kaumudî*; which I have referred to throughout in editing the text. The *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa* deserves its reputation. It is a miracle of compactness. Its author contrives, generally most successfully, to contain the definition of each rhetorical figure, together with an example, within the limits of a single *dôhâ*. At the same time, the language is usually remarkably simple, and the style pleasing. Now and then, the necessity of compactness has made him obscure, and the available commentaries have, as is frequent in such cases, eluded the difficulty. I have therefore consulted the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* throughout, giving references in every instance to the corresponding verse in the English translation of that work. I have, moreover, as a rule, adopted the renderings of technical terms given in that translation, and have followed its language as much as possible. I have also consulted other modern works on Rhetoric, more especially, the *Rasika-môhana* of **Raghunâtha-bhaṭṭa** (fl. 1745 A. D.), the *Bhâratî-bhûshaṇa* of the celebrated **Giridhara-dâsa** (fl. 1875 A. D.), and the *Padmâbharaṇa* of the equally celebrated **Padmâkara-bhaṭṭa** (fl. 1815 A. D.). It will be seen that I have quoted these authors frequently, especially when the *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa* deals with subjects not touched upon by the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*.

In preparing the text, I have had in mind the requirements of European Sanskṛit scholars, and when a word admitted of several spellings, I have given the form which nearest approaches the Sanskṛit original. I do not anticipate that, with the aid of the translation, any difficulty will be found in understanding the text by any person who knows Sanskṛit and Prâkṛit.

The work is divided into five lectures. The first is merely introductory. The second deals with Heroes and Heroines. Their classification is carried out to a minuteness even greater than that of the *Daśarûpa*, or its follower the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*. The third deals with the various essentials of a poem, — the flavours, the emotions and the various modes of their expression, the essential and enhancing excitants, their accessories and ensuants. Then follows the fourth lecture, the main portion of the work, in which the various rhetorical ornaments of sense, the simile, metaphor, and so forth are defined and illustrated. The fifth lecture deals with verbal ornaments, — alliteration and the like.

Where the text was wanting, I have, so far as my knowledge extends, supplied omissions, printing them within square brackets. So also all annotations and remarks, for which I am responsible, and which do not form part of the text, are enclosed between these signs.

In transliterating, I have followed the system used by the *Indian Antiquary*, except that I represent *anunâsika* by a dot (an inverted period) after the vowel nasalized; thus भाँति *bhâ·ti*.

ATHA MAṄGALÂCHARAṆA-NÂMA PRATHAMAḤ PRAKÂSAḤ ||

LECTURE I.

Introductory Invocation.

Text.

Vighna-haraṇa tuma hau sadâ *Gaṇapati hôhu sahâi* |
Binatî, kara jôrî, karau· *dîjai· grantha banâi* || 1 ||

[3] These names being partially Prâkṛit, I spell the tribe name Siṅgh and not Siṁha.

Jinha kînhyau parapañcha saba *apanî ichchhâ pâi* ।
Tâ kô hau· vandana karau· *hâtha jôri, śira nâi* ॥ 2 ॥
Karuṇâ kari pôshata sadâ *sakala śrishṭi kau prâṇa* ।
Aisê îśvara kô hiai· *rahau raini dina dhyâna* ॥ 3 ॥
Mêrê mana mê· tû basau *aisî kyau· kahi jâi* ।
Yâ tê· yaha manu âpu sô· *lîjai· kyau· na lagâi* ॥ 4 ॥
Râgî manu mili śyâma mê· *bhayau na gahirau lâla* ।
Yaha acharaja, ujjvala bhayau *tajyau maila tihi kâla* ॥ 5 ॥

Iti maṅgalâcharaṇa-nâma prathamaḥ prakâśaḥ ॥ 1 ॥

Translation.

O Ganêśa, thou art ever a remover of obstacles; be thou my help. With folded hands do I supplicate thee; complete thou this book.

(The Lord) who by his mere will did create all that seemeth to exist; Him do I adore, with folded hands and head humbly bowed before him.

In thy mercy dost thou ever cherish the life-breath of all creation. On such a Lord may I meditate in my heart night and day.

Why do I say such (words) as 'dwell thou in my soul'? For why dost thou not take this soul, and join it to thyself (for ever)?

The worldly (or scarlet) mind when absorbed in Krishṇa (or black colour), doth not become more worldly (or darker red), but, O wondrous miracle, it at once becometh white, and loseth all its foulness.

[It is impossible to translate this verse literally, which depends on a series of *paronomasias*. *Râgî* means both 'devoted to things of the senses' and 'scarlet.' *Śyâma* means both 'Krishṇa,' and 'black.' The verse is an example of the second variety of the ornament called *Vishama*, or Incongruity (see below vv. 122, 123.]

End of the First Lecture, entitled the Introductory Invocation.

[LECTURE I. A.]

On the Nature of Words.

[The *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa* does not deal with the nature of words, but the subject is handled at considerable length in the various commentaries. As the technical terms employed in this connexion are frequently met with in Hindî literature, the following extract is given from the *Bhûshaṇa-kaumudî*. It closely follows *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 10 and ff. Cf. also Regnaud, *Rhétorique Sanskrite*, pp. 15 and ff.]

Text.

[*Athâ vâchyâdi śakti kathanam*: —

Vâchaka lakshaka vyañjaka-*i* *trividha* **śabda** *pahichâni* ।
Vâchya lakshya *aru* **vyaṅgya-***ê* *tîni* **artha** *sukha-dâni* ॥ 5a ॥
Yâ tê· bhinna na hôta kahu· *śabda 'ru artha jitêka* ।
Tâ tê kachhu prathamahi kahata *lakshaṇa lakshya vivêka* ॥ 5b ॥

Atha abhidhâ śakti lakshaṇam: —

Niśchita êkai a·rtha jaha. *nahi bhâsai kachhu aura* ।
Abhidhâ-śakti *pramâṇa sô* *bhaṇyau su-kavi śiramaura* ॥ 5c ॥

Yathâ: —

Sîsa mukuṭa, kara mê· lakuṭa *ura vana·-mâla rasâla* ।
Yamunâ-tîra tamâla ḍhiga *mai· dêkhyau Na·da-lâla* ॥ 5d ॥

Atha lakshaka śabda lakshaṇam : —

Mukhya artha mê· bâdha tê· **śabda lâkshaṇika** *jâni* |
Rûḍhi prayôjana *bhêda kari* / *hôta dvividha sukha-dâni* || 5e ||

Atha rûḍhi-lakshaṇâ lakshaṇam : —

Bâdha hôi mukhyârtha mê· vidita sôi jaga mâhi |
Rûḍhi-lakshaṇâ *hôta sô pramita kavîsahi pâhi* || 5f ||

Yathâ : —

Phalyau manôratha râwarî môhi parata pahichâni |
Praphulita nayana vilôkiyata añya aṅga muda khâni || 5g ||

Atha prayôjana-lakshaṇâ lakshaṇam : —

Prayôjanavatî lakshaṇâ *dvai vidhi tâsu prakâra* |
Śuddhâ *aru* **gauṇî** *dutiya yuddha-dhîra śubha-ḍhâra* || 5h |

Atha śuddhâ prayôjana-lakshaṇâ lakshaṇam : —

Upâdâna *aru* **lakshaṇa-***i* **sârôpâ** *avadhâri* |
Sâdhyavasâna *samêta kiya śuddhâ mê· vidhi châri* || 5i ||

Upâdâna-lakshaṇâ, yathâ : —

Para guṇa kô âkshêpa kari **upâdâna** *ṭhaharâta* |
Vâṇa chalata saba kou kahai nara binu kyô· kari jâta || 5j ||

Lakshaṇa lakshaṇâ, yathâ : —

Nija lakshaṇa aurahi daê **lakshaṇa** *lakshaṇâ tanta* |
Gaṅgâ-taṭa-ghôshani sabai gaṅgâ-ghôsha kahanta || 5k ||

Sârôpâ *lakshaṇâ, yathâ :* —

Kyô·-hû samatâ pâi kai aurahi aura arôpa |
Bâ·kê têrê nayana, ê vara khañjara kê ôpa || 5l ||

Sâdhyavasânâ *lakshaṇâ, yathâ :* —

Sama taji samatâ-hî kahai· wahai mukhya nirabâhi |
Âju môhi pyâî sudhâ dhani tô sama kô âhi || 5m ||

Atha gauṇî prayôjana lakshaṇâ lakshaṇam : —

Sâdṛiśa guṇa sambandha jaha· **gauṇî** *tâhi bakhâni* |
Sârôpâ pahilî dutiya sâdhyavasâna nidhâni || 5n ||

Sârôpâ lakshaṇâ, yathâ : —

Sâdṛiśa guṇa ârôpa sô· **sârôpâ** *sukha-daina* |
Mṛiga-nayanî vêṇî phaṇî dasyô su visu utarai na || 5o ||

Sâdhyavasânâ lakshaṇâ, yathâ : —

Gauṇî **sâdhyavasâna** *sô jaha· kêvala upamâna* |
Śaśi mê· dvai khañjana chayala tâ ûpara dhanu tâna || 5p ||

Atha vyañjanâ śakti lakshaṇam : —

Vâchaka lakshaka mûla *kari artha chamatkṛita anya* |
Tâhi **vyañjanâ** *kahata hai· jô kavitâ mê· gaṇya* || 5q ||

Atha **vâchaka-mûla vyaṅgya** *artha :* —

Anêkârathî śabda mê· chamatkâra sarasâi |
Tâpa harai mô kari kṛipâ vana-mâlî vana lyâi || 5r ||

Atha **lakshaka-mûla vyaṅgya** *artha :* —

Mukhya artha kô bâdha kari artha vyaṅgya kari âni |
Têrô rûpa vilôki kai chhavi nija kô· ḍhika mâni || 5s ||]

Translation.

[The sense of a word, or the connexion of a word with the object (*artha*) which it connotes, is called *vyâpâra*, **function**, or *śakti*, **power**. It thus appears that the word *artha* may itself frequently be translated by "meaning."

There are three meanings (*artha*) of a word : —

1. The **expressed** meaning (*vâchya artha* or *mukhya artha*): that conveyed to the understanding by the word's proper power (*abhidhâ śakti*).

2. The **indicated** or **metaphorical** meaning (*lakshya artha*) : that conveyed to the understanding by the word's metaphorical power (*lakshaṇâ śakti*).

3. The **suggested** meaning (*vyaṅgya artha*) : that conveyed to the understanding by the word's suggested power (*vyañjanâ śakti*).]

[There are thus : —

A. Three **functions** or **powers** : —

(1) the **proper**, *abhidhâ ;*
(2) the **metaphorical**, *lakshaṇâ ;*
(3) the **suggested**, *vyañjanâ.*

B. Three **meanings** : —

(1) the **expressed**, *vâchya ;*
(2) the **metaphorical**, *lakshya ;*
(3) the **suggested**, *vyaṅgya.*

C. Three **uses** of a word : —

(1) a word employed with its **proper power**, *vâchaka* or *vâchika ;*
(2) a word employed with its **metaphorical power**, *lakshaka* or *lâkshaṇika ;*
(3) a word employed with its **suggested power**, *vyañjaka*.]

On the proper power of a word.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 11].

[The **proper power** (*abhidhâ śakti*) of a word [is that which conveys to the understanding the meaning which belongs to the word by the convention which primarily made it a word at all, and] is that in which only the one simple original meaning appears, and no other, as for example : —

'I saw Kṛishṇa, the darling of Nanda, by the *tamâla* tree on the banks of the Yamunâ, with diadem on head, staff in hand, and a woodland garland upon his chest.'

Here all the words are used each in its proper original sense.]

On a word employed with its metaphorical power.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 13 and ff.]

[When there is incompatibility of the expressed meaning of a word [with the rest of the sentence], the word becomes employed with its **metaphorical power** (*lakshaṇâ śakti*), and is classified under two heads, according as [the metaphorical power is conveyed by] **(1) conventional acceptation** or by **(2) a motive.**

(1) According to the best authorities the metaphorical power depends on **conventional acceptation** (*rûḍhi*), when the expressed meaning is incompatible [with the rest of the sentence, and the metaphorical meaning] is familiarly accepted by general convention. As for example : —

'I recognise thy wishes as bearing fruit. Thine eyes rejoice (*lit.*, blossom), and every limb is a mine of joy.' [Here wishes are said to bear fruit, and eyes to blossom. But these words

of bearing fruit and blossoming, are in their proper sense incompatible with the meaning of the rest of the passage; for trees, and not wishes or eyes, bear fruit and blossom. The words are therefore not used in their expressed meaning, but with a metaphorical sense familiarly accepted by general convention.]

(2) The metaphorical power depending on a **motive** (*prayôjana*) is of two kinds, according as it is (*a*) **simple** (*śuddhâ*) or (*b*) **qualified** (*gauṇî*).

(*a*) The **simple metaphorical power depending on a motive** (*śuddhâ prayôjanavatî lakshaṇâ śakti*) is of four kinds, *viz.*, as it depends upon (α) **comprehension** (*upâdâna*), (β) **exclusion** (*lakshaṇa*), (γ) **apposition** (*sâropa*), or (δ) **introsusception** (*sâdhyavasâna*.)

(α) It depends upon **comprehension** (*upâdâna*) when there is a hinting of some other quality [in addition to the proper power of the word. That is to say when the proper power is not abandoned, but there is a co-existence in the same word, both of the metaphorical and of the proper power: as for instance], when people say 'the arrows are coming,' where we all know that arrows (being inanimate) cannot alone have logical connection with the action of coming, and so, with a view to the establishing of this logical connexion in the expression, the use of the word arrows hints, in addition to its proper power, that there are men employed in propelling them. [Thus the word 'arrows,' in the sense of 'men propelling arrows,' takes a figurative acceptation, without absolutely abandoning its proper sense. Moreover, the word is used in this figurative sense in virtue of the motive of the author of the phrase in which it occurs, to cause the hearer to understand that there are not merely a few men shooting at random, but a troop of archers shooting in concert.]

(β) It depends upon **exclusion** (*lakshaṇa-lakshaṇâ*, or *jahatsvârthâ lakshaṇâ*) when there is absolute abandonment of the proper power, as, for instance, when we use the expression 'a herd station on the Ganges,' for 'a herd station on the banks of the Ganges.' [Here the proper power of the words 'on the Ganges' is incompatible with that of 'hut,' for a hut cannot be imagined as situated on a river. It is, therefore, replaced by the figurative power of 'on the banks of the Ganges,' and the proper power of the words 'on the Ganges' disappears completely before this figurative power. The figurative use, moreover, results from the motive of the author of the phrase, to cause the hearer to think of the extreme coolness and purity pertaining to the Ganges itself, which would not have been suggested by the exposition of the same matter in the shape of the expression 'a herd station on the bank of the Ganges.']

(γ) It depends upon **apposition** (*sâropâ*), when one word (in its figurative power) is put in apposition, with the same signification, to another word (in its proper power); as for example,— 'These — thy curved eyes — have the brilliancy of a dagger.' [Here the word 'these' denotes the glances of the curved eyes, which are also denoted by the words 'curved eyes,' by means of a figurative meaning with comprehension (*upâdâna*), and the two are in apposition.]

(δ) It depends on **introsusception** (*sâdhyavasânâ*) when the identity [of one word in its metaphorical power, and of another word in its proper power] is asserted, but when the word in its proper power [with which the other word in its figurative power is identified] is not given [in apposition], as for example, —'To-day thou gavest me nectar to drink; O Lady, who is equal to thee,' in which the word in its proper power [with which the figurative word 'nectar' is identified], *viz.*, 'the embraces of the lady,' is omitted. [It will be seen that the use of a word in its introsuscepted metaphorical power is the same as the use of a word in its comprehensive metaphorical power or in its exclusive metaphorical power: and that it is only another way of considering these metaphorical powers of a word, in contrast with its appositional metaphorical power.]

[The instances above quoted have been examples of **simple** (*śuddhâ*) metaphorical power depending upon motive, that is to say, the connexion between the expressed meaning and the metaphorical meaning has not been that of resemblance (*sâdṛiśya*), *i. e.*, has not been founded

on a quality which is common to the different objects expressed by the two meanings of the same word. In other words, when the connexion depends upon the resemblance of two objects, it is meant the two objects agree in certain points, and that the points of disagreement are put to one side for the moment. When it does not depend upon the resemblance, the points of agreement are also not considered. Thus, when, as above, the word 'arrows' is used for 'archers,' there is no suggestion of resemblance between arrows and archers; so also there is no resemblance between 'the Ganges,' and 'the banks of the Ganges,' between 'eyes' and 'glances of eyes,' or between 'nectar' and 'the embraces of a lady.'

(*b*) On the other hand when the connexion [between the expressed meaning of a word and its metaphorical meaning] is founded on resemblance, the **metaphorical power depending upon motive** is called **qualified** (*gauṇî*), and is of two sorts, according as it depends on (γ) **apposition** (*sârôpâ*) or on (δ) **introsusception** (*sâdhyavasânâ*).

(γ) It depends on **apposition** (*sârôpâ gauṇî lakshaṇâ*) when there is apposition with similarity of attributes. [That is to say, when one word (in its metaphorical meaning) is put in apposition to another word (in its expressed meaning) with the same signification, the connexion depending on points of similarity.] As for example, 'the locks — the snakes — of the deer-eyed lady, have bitten me, and (the effects of) their poison has not disappeared.' [Here the lady's hair is put in apposition to snakes, owing to the resemblance of the one to the other.]

(δ) It depends on (*a*) **introsusception** (*sâdhyavasânâ gauṇî lakshaṇâ*) when only the thing with which comparison is made [*i. e.*, only the word in its metaphorical meaning with no word in its proper sense in apposition], is mentioned, as for example:—

Two *khañjana* birds (*i. e.*, eyes) were hovering in the moon (*i. e.*, the lady's face), and over them is a strung bow (*i. e.*, her brow). [Here the words in their expressed meaning (the eyes, the face, and the brow) are not mentioned, and hence there is no apposition.]

On the suggested power of a word.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 23 and ff.]

[[When a word's proper power (*abhidhâ śakti*), and its metaphorical power, repose after having done their duty, that power by which a further meaning is caused to be thought of is called the **suggested power** (*vyañjanâ śakti*).]

That power of a word which gives an unexpected meaning [*i. e.*, not the expressed or metaphorical], and which depends (*a*) upon the **expressed meaning** (*vâchaka artha*), or (*b*) upon the **metaphorical meaning** (*lakshaka artha*) of a word, is called its **suggested power** (*vyañjanâ śakti*).

(*a*) It depends upon the **expressed meaning** when a special meaning is to be understood (from the context, or otherwise) in a word whose expressed meaning is ambiguous (or which has several expressed meanings), as for example,

'Vanamâlî conducts me to the forest, and, taking pity on me, soothes the pangs of my passionate love.'

[The actions of conducting the lady to the forest, and soothing the pangs of her love, being characteristic of Vanamâlî, or the god Kṛishṇa, shew that it is only he that is meant, and not any person wearing a garland of wild flowers, which is one of the expressed meanings of the word.]

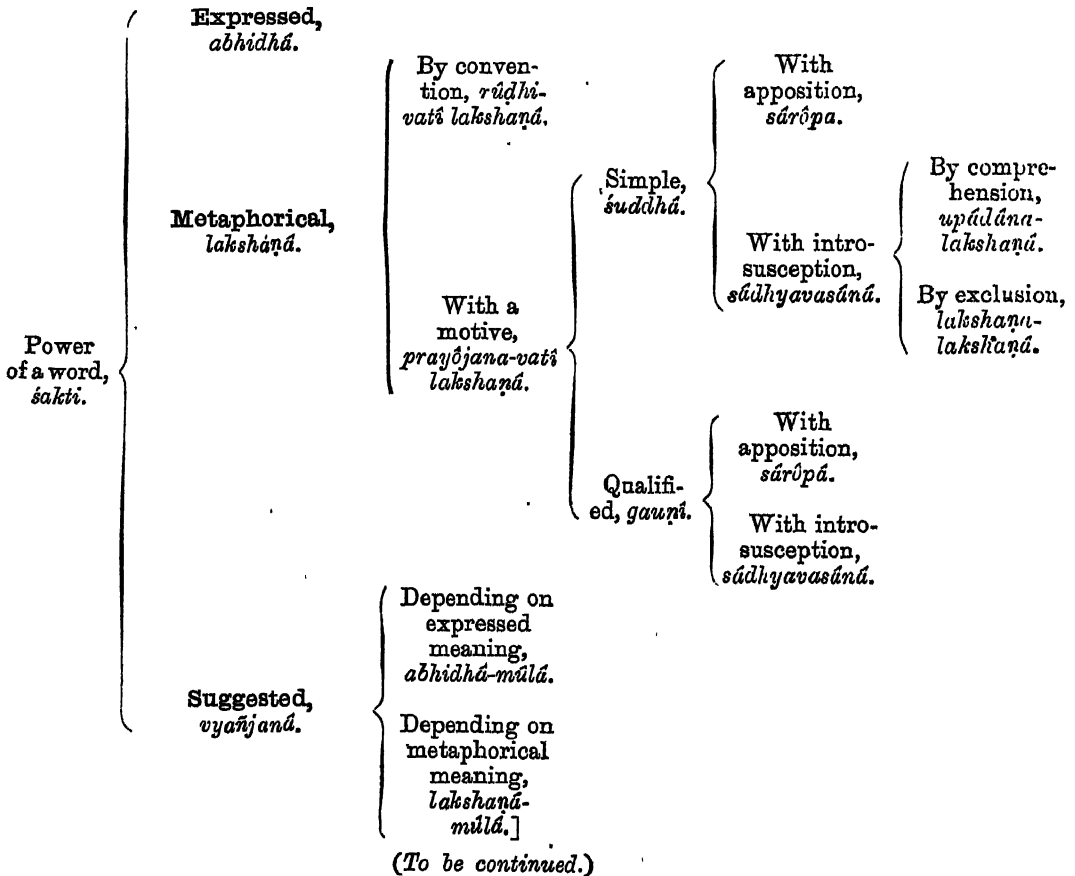
(*b*) It depends upon the **metaphorical meaning** of a word, when a meaning is suggested, the expressed meaning of a word being incompatible (with the rest of the sentence). [That is to say, — we have seen that the metaphorical power of a word may be conveyed by a motive, and depends on the incompatibility of the expressed meaning of a word with the rest of the sentence. The power by which the motive is caused to be thought of, is called the suggested power :] as for example,

'When I saw thy (charming) form, I cried shame to my own beauty.'

[Here the speaker's beauty is an incorporeal thing, and it is absurd to take the expressed meaning of the words 'cried shame.' These words are therefore taken in their metaphorical power, the motive (*prayôjana*) being to extol the beauty of the person addressed. The suggested meaning is that the latter is surpassingly beautiful.]].

[The following scheme shews the connexion of the various powers of a word, according to the *Bhûshaṇa-kaumudî*, in a tabular form.

The *Bhûshaṇa-kaumudî* follows the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* in its divisions, except that the latter subdivides the metaphorical powers depending on convention (*rûḍhi*), exactly as it subdivides those depending on motive (*prayôjana*). This, the *Bhûshaṇa-kaumudî*, for no valid reason, abstains from doing.



(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

SOME REMARKS ON THE KALYANI INSCRIPTIONS.

(*Continued from page* 108.)

(4) Suvaṇṇabhûmi.

(*a*)

"The Golden Khersonese denotes usually the Malay Peninsula, but more specially the Delta of the Irâwadî, which forms the province of Pegu, the Suvarṇabhûmi (Pâli form — Suvaṇṇabhûmi) of ancient times. The Golden Region, which lies beyond in the interior, is Burma, the oldest province of which, above Avâ, is still, as Yule informs us, formally styled in State documents Sônaparânta, *i. e.*, Golden Frontier." — McCrindle's *Ancient India described by Ptolemy*, p. 198.

(*b*)

"Why these lands should have been termed the lands of silver and gold (Argentea Regio, Aurea Regio, Chersonesus Aurea) may appear obscure, as they are not now remarkably pro-

ductive of those metals. There are, however, gold washings on a small scale in many of the rivulets both of Pegu and of the valley of the Upper Irâwadî and of the Kyendwen [Chindwin], which may have been more productive in ancient times. And the Argentea Regio may probably (as suggested by Col. Hannay) have been the territory including the *Bau Dwen* [Bòdwin, really a part of the Shân States], or great silver mine on the Chinese frontier, which is believed to supply a large part of the currency of Burma. Indeed Aurea Regio may be only a translation of the name Sônaparânta, which is the classic or sacred appellation of the central region of Burma, near the junction of the Irâwadî and the Kyendwen, always used to this day in the enumeration of the king's titles. These regions may, moreover, have been the channels by which the precions metals were brought from China, and the mountains near the sources of the Irâwadî, which are said to be very productive of gold; and possibly, even at that remote period, the profuse use of gilding in edifices may have characterized the people, as it does now.

"It seems, however, most probable that this practice was introduced with Buddhism. Yet even at the period of the first Buddhistic mission to this region, at the conclusion of the third great Synod, B. C. 241, it was known in India as Suvarṇabhûmi, the Golden Land.

"According to Mr. Mason, the ancient capital of the Talains (of the Toung-thoos [see *ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 379f.], according to the tradition of the latter) was Thadung, or Satung, a city whose traces still exist between the mouths of the Salwen and the Sitang. 'Suvanna-bumme,' he adds, but unfortunately stating no authority, is still the classic Pâli name of Satung [meaning thereby? Thatôn]."—Yule's *Mission to Ava*, page 206.

(c)

"Sônô and Uttarô were deputed to Suvarṇabhûmi, or Golden Land. As this country was on the sea-coast, it may be identified either with Avà, the Aurea Regio, or with Siam, the Aurea Chersonesus. Six millions of people are said to have been converted, of whom twenty-five thousand men became monks, and fifteen hundred women became nuns."—Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, page 118.

(*d*)

"The identity of the Khrysé of Ptolemy, of the Suvarṇabhûmi of the Buddhist legends, and of the city of Thahtun [Thatôn] in Pegu, all having the same signification, appears nearly certain."—Phayre's *History of Burma*, page 26.

(*e*)

"Suvaṇṇabhûmi is the only geographical name which occurs in the *Dîpavaṁsa*, the *Mahâvaṁsa*, and the *Samantapâsâdikâ* in connection with the Buddhist mission to that country. Lassen identifies Suvaṇṇabhûmi with the present Pegu, or the Delta of the Irrawaddy; Col. Yule applies the name to a promontory or place on the coast of the Gulf of Martaban; and other writers hold that it means Burma in general or the large islands off the Straits (Settlements). In modern Burmese works Suvaṇṇabhûmi is used as the classical designation of British and Upper Burma. Captain Forbes, in his *Indo-Chinese Languages*, has already forcibly pointed out, and his statement is corroborated by geological evidences and the Native records, that the extensive plains south of the Pegu Yôma and what are now the Irrawaddy and Sittang valleys were covered by the sea till a few centuries after Christ. Even Hiuen Tsiang, who visited India in the 7th century A. D., places Prome near a sea harbour. Burmese historians date the retreating of the ocean from Prome from a terrible earthquake, which took place in the fifth century after Christ. The corrosion of the sea water is still clearly traceable on the numerous boulders which line the base of the hills stretching, now far inland, from Shwêgyin to Martaban. Cables and ropes of sea-going vessels have been dug up near Ayetthemà, the ancient Takkala, now distant 12 miles from the sea-shore, and but lately remains of foreign ships have been found near Twàntê buried eight feet beneath the surface of the earth."—Forchhammer's *Notes on the Early History and Geography of British Burmah. II.—The First Buddhist Mission to Suvannabhûmi*, page 3.

(*f*)

The following extract from the preface to Colquhoun's *Across Chrysê* is from the pen of the late Sir Henry Yule:

"Chrysê is a literal version of the Sanskrit Suvarṇabhûmi, or Golden Land, applied in ancient India to the Indo-Chinese regions. Of course, where there is no accurate knowledge, the application of terms must be vague.

"It would be difficult to define where Ptolemy's Chrysê (**Chrysê Chôra aut Chrysê Chersonnesus**) terminated eastward, though he appears to give the names a special application to what we call Burma and Pegu. But Ptolemy, from the nature of his work, which consisted in drawing such maps as he could, and then tabulating the positions from those maps, as if he possessed most accurate data for all, necessarily defined things far beyond what his real materials justified. If we look to the author of the *Periplus*, who has no call to affect impossible precision, we find

that Chrysê is 'the last continental region towards the East.' North of it indeed, and farther off, is Thina, *i. e.*, China.

"Chrysê then, in the vague apprehension of the ancients, — the only appropriate apprehension, where knowledge was so indefinite,—was the region coasted between India and China. It is most correctly rendered by 'Indo-China.'"

(*g*)

The above extracts shew that the precise identification of the country known as **Suvaṇṇabhûmi** to the ancients is one of the vexed questions of the early geography of the Far East. **All Burmese and Talaing writers, however, agree in applying the designation to Thatôn,** which was formerly a sea-port town, and they assert that the *raison d'etre* of the name is that auriferous ore was found in the tract of the country in which Thatôn is situated.

Like the term Râmaññadêsa, the appellation Suvannabhûmi appears to have been originally applied to the basin of the Sittang and the Salween rivers, which are noted for gold washings on their upper reaches. "Gold is certainly found in most of the affluents of the **Shwêgyin (Gold-washing)** river, and has been more than once worked, but the quantity obtained is so small as not to repay the labour. This river and the mountains at its source have been examined by Mr. Theobald of the Geological Survey and by a practical miner, and the reports of both point generally to the same conclusions. Mr. Theobald stated that 'the section of the auriferous beds corresponds very closely with that given by Sir R. Murchison, in his *Siluria*, of the Russian gold deposits . . . . . From the occurrence of coarse grains in the Shuaygheen (Shwêgyin) gravels, I should infer the occurrence of the metal *in situ* in some of the rocks towards the sources of the streams falling into the Sittang (Sittaung), especially the Matuma (Muttama) . . . . . . From the marked scarcity of quartz pebbles at the gold washings, I am inclined to believe that quartz is not the matrix, or not the sole matrix, certainly of the Shuaygheen gold."[1]

Gold-washing in the Sittang valley was a remunerative industry in ancient times; but as, in course of time, gold could not be worked in paying quantities, the energies of the people were directed to other channels; and evidently to commerce. Still the glamour of the name remained, and its currency was maintained by the fact of the Sittang valley containing seaport towns, namely, Gôḷamattikâ or Takkala, and subsequently Thatôn itself, which were great emporia of trade between India and the Far East till the Middle Ages.

In the Kalyânî Inscriptions, **Suvaṇṇabhûmi is identified with Râmaññadêsa.** This identification appears to rest on plausible grounds, as gold-washing is still carried on in most of the districts comprising the ancient Talaing kingdom of Râmaññadêsa. Gold is still worked at Dêsàmpâ in the Pegu district, on the banks of most of the streams in the Shwêgyin district, at Mèwaing in the Bilin township, and at the head-waters of the Tenasserim river. At Thatôn, auriferous sands occur in the Shwêgyaung San close to the site of the Palace of Manuhâ, the Talaing king, who was conquered and led away captive to Pagàn by Anòrat'âzò in the 11th century.[2]

TAW SEIN-KO.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SRAHI.

Ante, Vol. XXII. p. 222, Dr. Fleet has given another instance of the use of the word **srâhe**, which he had previously found in some dates of Old-Kanarese inscriptions. I may perhaps draw attention to the fact that apparently the same word, only spelt **srâhi**, is regularly employed in the dates of the Orissa inscriptions, edited by Bâbû Man Mohan Chakravarti in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LXII. Part i. pp. 90ff. Thus we read in Mr. Chakravarti's inscriptions :—

No. I. l. 2: . . . **vijêrâjyê samasta 3 aṅka *śrâhi* Magusira kṛi trayôdasi Bhûmivârê;**

No. II. l. 1: . . . **Purushôttamadêva mahârâjâṅka samasta 2 *śrâhi* Mêsa su 12 Gṛivârê;**

No. III. l. 1: . . . **vijayarâjyê samasta 4 aṅka *śrâhi* Dhanu amâvai Saurivârê;**

No. IV. l. 1: . . . **vijêrâijê samasta 41 *śrâhi* Dhanu sukala saptami Ravîvârê;**

No. V. l. 1: . . . **vijêrâjyê samasta 35 *śrâhi* Mêsa kṛi 4 Vudhavârê;**

No. VI. l. 2: . . . **mahârâjâṅkara samasta 4 aṅka *śrâhi* Kakaḍâ su 10 Vudhavârê.**

The editor of these inscriptions considers *śrâhi* to be a technical word, which has no particular meaning in the context. I myself am unable to offer any explanation of it.

F. KIELHORN.

Göttingen.

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[1] *British Burma Gazetteer*, Vol. II. page 649.

[2] [One plausible derivation for Argentea Regio is that it is merely a translation of Ἀργύρη = a Greek rendering of Arkang, the Indian pronunciation of Rak'aing, the usual local name for the country now known as Arakan. Argentea Regio was Arakan apparently beyond all doubt.—ED.]

THE BHASHA-BHUSHANA OF JAS'WANT SINGH.

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY G. A. GRIERSON, PH. D., C.I.E.

(*Continued from page* 222.)

ATHA NÂYAKA-NÂYIKÂDI-BHÊDA-VARṆANA-NÂMA-DVITÎYAḤ PRAKÂŚAḤ.

LECTURE II.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF HEROES AND HEROINES.

Text.

Chaturvidha-nâyaka-varṇana.

Eka nârî sô· hita karai *sô* **anukûla** *bakhâni* ।
Bahu nârini sô· prîti sama *tâ kô·* **dakshiṇa** *jâni* ॥ 6 ॥
Mîṭhî bâtai· **śaṭha** *karai* *kari kai mahâ bigâra* ।
Âwai lâja na **dhṛishṭa** *kô·* *kiyai· kôṭi dhikkâra* ॥ 7 ॥

Translation.

The Four-fold Classification of Heroes.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 70-74.]

(1) *Anukûla*, the **Faithful.** He is devoted only to one beloved.

(2) *Dakshiṇa*, the **Impartial.** He is equally attached to several.

(3) *Śaṭha*, the **Sly.** He uses soft words to one for whom he has absolutely no affection.

(4) *Dhṛishṭa*, the **Saucy.** He is not ashamed, however much he may be abused.

Text.

Trividha nâyaka-varṇana.

Svakiyâ-pati kô· **pati** *kahai* *para-nârî* **upapatti** ।
Vaiśika *nâyaka kî sadâ* *gaṇikâ-hî sô· ratti* ॥ 8 ॥

Translation.

The Three-fold Classification of Heroes.

[Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa.* The classes correspond to each class of the three-fold classification of heroines, given below (v. 10).]

(1) *Pati.* The **Husband.** He is the devoted husband of a faithful wife.

(2) *Upapati.* The **Lover.** He has an amour with a woman who is another's, *i. e.*, not his wife.

(3) *Vaiśika.* The **Loose.** He continually spends his time amid strumpets.

Text.

Chaturvidha nâyikâ-jâti-varṇana.

Padmini chitriṇi śaṅkhinî *aru* **hastinî** *bakhâni* ।
Vividha nâyikâ-bhêda tê· *chârî jâti tiya jâni* ॥ 9 ॥

Translation.

The Four Races of Heroines.

[*Not in Sâhitya-darpaṇa.*]

Women are of four races or kinds, *viz.*, the *Padminî*, the *Chitriṇî*, the *Śaṅkhinî*, and the *Hastinî*.

[This classification is not mentioned in the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*. It depends not on the inner but on the outer nature of a woman, and is frequently enlarged on by later writers. The *Tantras* are full of this classification, women of a particular external nature being necessary for certain of the obscener rites. The *Bhâsha-bhûshaṇa* does not give the distinguishing marks of each class, and those usually given are more or less ludicrous, and are manifestly incomplete as definitions. Mallik Muḥammad sums up the classification in a few lines in his *Padumâvati*, and the following abstract of what he says (vv. 501 and ff.) may be given for the sake of completeness.

(1) The *Padminî*. The best kind of woman. She has the odour of lotus, thus attracting bees. She is not very tall or very short, very lean or very stout. She has four things long (hair, fingers, eyes and neck), four light (teeth, breasts, forehead and navel), four thin (nose, loins, waist and lips), and four smooth (cheeks, pyge, wrists and thighs). Her face is like the moon. Her gait that of the swan. Her food is milk, and she is fond of betel and flowers. She has sixteen-sixteenths of all graces.

(2) The *Chitriṇî*. The next best kind. She is clever and amorous, and beautiful as a fairy (*apsaras*). Never angry, always smiling. Her husband is happy with her, and she is faithful to him. Her face is like the moon. Her complexion fair as a waterlily. Her gait that of a swan. She eats milk and sugar, and of them she eats but little. She is fond of betel and flowers. She has fourteen-sixteenths of all graces.

(3) The *Śaṅkhinî*. She eats little but is strong. Her bosom is smooth, her loins are thin, and her heart is full of pride. When she is very angry, she will go so far as to kill her beloved, and never looks forward to the consequences of her actions. She is fond of wearing ornaments herself, but cannot bear to see them on another woman. She walks with a loose gait and her body is covered with down. She loves to eat fat flesh, and hence her breath is evil smelling. Her embraces are fiercely passionate.

(4) The *Hastinî*. Her nature is that of an elephant. Her head and feet smooth and her neck is short. Her bosom is lean and her loins large. Her gait is that of an elephant. She cares not for her own husband, but is always longing for other women's men. She is greedy and wanton, nor cares for purity. She perspires freely drops viscid as honey. She has neither fear nor modesty in her heart, and must be driven with a goad.]

[*Note.* — In the *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa*, the word for 'heroine' is correctly spelled *nâyikâ*, in the Sanskṛit fashion. In Hindî the word is often spelled *nâyakâ*, which looks like bad Sanskṛit. The case is, however, not so. It is a good Hindî word. The word *nâyikâ* became first, quite regularly, *nâïkâ*. The *i* after a long vowel may be written in Hindî, as *ya*. Hence an optional form of *nâïkâ* is *nâyakâ*.]

Text.

Trividha nâyikâ-varṇana.

Svakiyâ *vyâhî nâyikâ* **parakîyâ** *para-vâma* ।
Sô **sâmânyâ** *nâyikâ* *jâ kô dhan sô· kâma* ॥ 10 ॥

Translation.

The Three-fold Classification of Heroines.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 96-111. The classes correspond to each of the three-fold classification of Heroes given above (v. 8).]

(1) *Svakîyâ*, **One's Own.** She is the faithful wife of the Hero.

(2) *Parakîyâ*, **Another's.** [She is either the wife of another man, or an unmarried girl under her parents' guardianship. She is subdivided into six species to be subsequently described (vv. 13-15).]

(3) *Sâmânyâ* [or **Sâdhâraṇâ**]. **Anybody's.** (She sells her) love for money (to the first comer.) [She is, however, capable of disinterested attachment.]

Text.

Mugdhâdi tîni avasthâ kê bhêda.

Binu jânai· **ajñâta** *hai*	*jânê* **yauvana-jñâta** ।
Mugdhâ *kê dvai bhêda kavi*	*ihi vidhi varanata jâta* ॥ 11 ॥
[*Jâ kau chita rati kô·ḍarai*	*kahiya* **navôḍhâ sôi** ।
Nêku hiê rati mâna jô	**viśrabdhâ** *taha· hôi* ॥ 11a ॥]
Madhyâ *sô jâ mê· doû*	*lajjâ madana samâna* ।
Ati pravîṇa **prauḍhâ** *wahai*	*jâ kau piya mê· dhyâna* ॥ 12 ॥

Translation.

The Three-fold Classification of Heroines based on Maturity.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 98-101, where they are considered as sub-divisions of the heroine who is *svakîyâ*, 'one's own' (v. 10).]

(1) *Mugdhâ*, the **Artless**, or **Youthful.** She is of two kinds, either (*a*) **ajñâtayauvanâ** or (*b*) **jñâtayauvanâ**, according as she **is not** or **is conscious of the first arrival of the period of adolescence.** [Another sub-division is (*c*) *navôḍhâ*, the **Bride,** who fears the marriage couch, of which a further sub-division is the *viśrabdha-navôḍhâ*, the **Bride without fear,** who in her heart looks forward to the same. These are mentioned in the *Bhûshaṇa-kaumudî*, but not in the *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa.*]

(2) *Madhyâ*, the **Adolescent.** (She struggles between) an equal amount of modesty and of passion.

(3) *Prauḍhâ* [or **Pragalbhâ**], the **Mature.** She is very skilled in the arts of love, and all her thoughts are bound up with her beloved.

Text.

Parakîyâ-bhêda-lakshaṇa.

Kriyâ vachana *sô· châturî*	*yahai* **vidagdhâ** *rîti* ।
Bahuta durâê-hû sakhî	*lakhai* **lakshitâ** *prîti* ॥ 13 ॥
Guptâ *rati gôpita karai*	*tripti na* **kulaṭâ** *âhî* ।
Niśchaya jânati piya-milana	**muditâ** *kahiyai· tâhi* ॥ 14 ॥
Vinaśyau ṭhaura sahêṭa kau	*âgê hôi na hôi* ।
Jâi na sakai sahêṭa mê·	**anûśayânâ**[1] *sôi* ॥ 15 ॥
[*Milipiya sô· êkânta hwai*	*nija hita karai uchâri* ।
Parkîyâ mê· sô kahai	**svayaṁdûtikâ** *nâri* ॥ 15a ॥
Para-nâyaka sô· prîti rasa	*varanata* **ûḍha anûḍha** ।
Kahai anûḍhâ byâha binu	*byâhî hôi so ûḍha* ॥ 15b ॥]

Translation.

The six divisions of She who is Another's.

(1) *Vidagdhâ*, the **Clever.** She is either —

(*a*) *Kriyâ-vidagdhâ*, **clever in action,** or

(*b*) *Vachana-vidagdhâ*, **clever in her language.**

(2) *Lakshitâ*, the **Detected.** Though she conceals them carefully, her amours are detected by her confidential friend.

[1] For *anuśayânâ* (*m. c.*)

(3) *Guptá*, the **Concealed.** She successfully conceals her amour. [She has three sub-divisions —

(*a*) *Bhúta-guptá*, who conceals what has occurred.

(*b*) *Bhavishyat-guptá*, who conceals what is to occur.

(*c*) *Vartamána-guptá*, who conceals what is occurring.]

(4) *Kulaṭá*, the **Unchaste.** She is not satisfied (with a single amour).

(5) *Muditá*, the **Joyful.** She is certain that her beloved will keep his assignation.

(6) *Anuśayáná*, the **Disappointed.** Of three kinds, either —

(*a*) The place of assignation exists no longer,

(*b*) Or she is in doubt whether her beloved will be there or not,

(*c*) Or she is prevented from going there.

[(7) *Svayaṁdútiká*, The **Direct**, is she who meets her beloved in a quiet spot, and tells him of her love.

(8) When she who is another's is a **Married Woman** she is called *úḍhá*, and when not a **Married Woman**, *anúḍhá*. From the *Lôkôkti-rasa-kaumudî* of Râya Śiva Dâsa.]

Text.

Daśa-náyiká-bhêda-varṇana.

Prôshita-patikâ *virahiṇî*	*ati risa pati sô· hôi* ‖
Puni pîchhê pachhitái mana	**kalahântaritâ** *sôi* ‖ 16 ‖
Pati áwai kahu· raini basi	*práta* **khaṇḍitâ** *geha* ‖
Játi milana **abhisârikâ**	*kari si·gára saba dêha* ‖ 17 ‖
[**Suklâ** *aru* **krishṇâ** *gaṇyau*	*apara* **divâ** *abhisára* ‖
Tîni bhêda abhisáriká	*karyau su-kabi saradára* ‖ 17a ‖]
Piya sahêṭa páwai nahî·	*chintá mana mê· áni* ‖
Sôchu karai santápa sô·	**utkaṇṭhitâ** *bakháni* ‖ 18 ‖
Binu páai· saṅkêta piya	**vipralabdhâ** *tana tápa* ‖
Vâsakasajjâ *tana sajai*	*piya áwana jia thápa* ‖ 19 ‖
Já kê pati ádhína kahi	**svâdhinapatikâ** *táhi* ‖
Bhôra sunai piya kau gamana	**pravasyatpatikâ**[2] *áhi* ‖ 20 ‖
[*Piya vidêśa tê· áwatô*	*sunai baḍhai sukha váma* ‖
Âgamapatikâ *táhi kô·*	*varanata hai guṇa-dháma* ‖ 20a ‖]
Já kau piya áwai milana	*apanî tiya kau hôi* ‖
Lakshaṇa kavi-jana kahata hai·	**âgatapatikâ** *sôi* ‖ 21 ‖

Translation.

The Ten-fold Classification of Heroines with reference to their Lovers.

[*Sáhitya-darpaṇa*, 112, where, however, only the first eight classes are mentioned.]

(1) *Prôshitapatiká*, **She whose husband is abroad.** She is pining in his absence.

(2) *Kalahántaritá*, the **Separated by a quarrel.** She has been angry with her lord (and is separated from him). She is subsequently filled with remorse.

(3) *Khaṇḍitá*, the **Sinned against.** Her lover approaches her room in the morning after spending the night with some other (woman).

(4) *Abhisáriká*, the **Forward.** She adorns her whole person, and goes to see her lover. [According to the poet Sar'dâr, she is of three kinds —

(*a*) *Śukĺábhisáriká*, who visits her beloved on bright moonlit nights.

[2] Should be *pravatsyat*, the *t* is omitted (*m. c.*)

(*b*) *Kṛishṇábhisáriká*, who does so on dark nights.

(*c*) *Divábhisáriká*, who does so by day.

Other authors add —

(*d*) *Sandhyábhisáriká*, who does so in the evening twilight.

(*e*) *Niśábhisáriká*, who does so by night.]

(5) *Utkaṇṭhitá*, **She who longs in absence.** She is afflicted at the (unintentional) absence of her beloved from the place of assignation.

(6) *Vipralabdhá*, **the Neglected.** She is afflicted because her lover neglects to keep an assignation.

(7) *Vásakasajjá*, **She who is ready in her chamber.** She adorns herself, and waits the coming of her beloved.

(8) *Svádhínapatiká*, **She who is sincerely loved.** She has an obsequious lover.

(9) *Pravatsyatpatiká*, **She who anticipates separation.** She learns at dawn that her husband is about to go away (on a journey).]

[(9*a*) *Ágamapatiká*, **She whose husband is on the way home.** Her happiness is increased by the news that her husband is on his way back from a far country. From the *Lôkôkti-rasa-kaumudî* of Râya Śiva Dâsa.]

(10) *Ágatapatiká*, **She whose husband is returned.** He comes back from a journey, and immediately seeks his wife.[3]

[Text.

Jyêshṭhá-kanishṭhá-lakshaṇa.

Já kô piya ati hita karai *sôî* **jyêshṭhâ** *váma* ।
Já pai ghaṭi hita tásu kô *kahai* **kanishṭhâ** *náma* ॥ **21a** ॥

Translation.

The Preferred and the Old Love.

The **Preferred** is she whose beloved's affection is excessive. She whose beloved's affection is waning is called the **Old Love.** From the *Lôkôkti-rasa-kaumudî*, of Râya Śiva Dâsa.]

Text.

Garvitá-anyasaṁbhôgaduḥkhitá-lakshaṇa.

Rûpa-prêma-_abhimána sô_ *duvidhi* **garvitâ** *jáni* ।
Anya-bhôga-dukhitâ[4] *gaṇyau* *anata milana pia máni* ॥ **22** ॥

Translation.

The Vain and the Disillusionised.

[Not in *Sáhitya-darpaṇa.*]

(1) **A Vain Heroine** is of two kinds, according as she is proud (*a*) **of her own beauty,** or (*b*) **of the love borne her by the Hero.**

(2) The *anya-bhôga-duḥkhitá*, or *anya-saṁbhôga-duḥkhitá*, **Disillusionised Heroine,** is she who, ascertaining that her beloved has been with some other flame, is grieved at his unfaithfulness.

Text.

Dhîrádhîrá-bhêda.

Gôpa kôpa **dhîrâ** *karai* *pragaṭa* **adhîrâ** *kôpa* ।
Lakshaṇa **dhîrâdhîra** *kau* *kôpa pragaṭa aru gôpa* ॥ **23** ॥

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[3] This verse is omitted in some texts.

[4] *Dukhitá* for *duḥkhitá*, m. c.

Translation.

Classification of Heroines according to Powers of Self-command.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 102-106, where only the Adolescent (*madhyâ*) and Mature (*prauḍhâ*) heroines (*vv.* 11, 12) are so classified.]

(1) *Dhîrâ*, **She who possesses self-command.** She is able to conceal her anger (when her lover is unfaithful).

(2) *Adhîrâ*, **She who does not possess self-command.** She is unable to conceal her anger.

(3) *Dhîrâdhîrâ*, **She who partly possesses, and partly does not possess self-command.** She can sometimes conceal her anger, and sometimes cannot.

Text.

Trividha mâna.

Sahajai· hâ·si khêli tê· *vinaya-vachana musikyâna* ।
Pâ·i parai piya kê miṭai **laghu, madhyama, guru mâna** ॥ 24 ॥

Iti Nâyaka-nâyikâdi-bhêda-varṇana-nâma dvitîyaḥ prakâśaḥ ॥ 2 ॥

Translation.

The three kinds of Indignation.

[Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa.*]

Indignation (*mâna*) is of three kinds, viz., *laghu* or **light**; *madhyama* or **moderate**; and *guru* or **severe.** The first is easily dissipated by a smile or dalliance; the second is reduced to a smile by humble words; and the third by the beloved falling (in abasement) at the lady's feet.

End of the Second Lecture, entitled the Classification of Heroes and Heroines.

ATHA BHÂVA-HÂVÂDI-VARṆANA-NÂMA TṚITÎYAḤ PRÂKAŚAḤ.

LECTURE III.

THE EMOTIONS AND OTHER CONSTITUENTS OF FLAVOUR.

Text.

Sâttvika-bhâva.

Stambha kampa svara-bhaṅga *kahi* **vivarṇa aśrû svêda** ।
Bahuri **pulaka** *aru* **pralaya** *gaṇi* *âṭha-u* **sâttvika** bhêda ॥ 25 ॥

Translation.

The Eight Involuntary Expressions of Emotion.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 166. These all fall under the head of ensuants (*anubhâva*), *vide* v. 39, *post.*]

These are—

(1) *Stambha*, **arrest of motion.**
(2) *Kampa* [or **vêpathu**], **trembling.**
(3) *Svara-bhaṅga*, **disturbance of speech.**
(4) *Vaivarṇya*, **change of colour.**
(5) *Aśru*, **tears.**
(6) *Svêda*, **perspiration.**
(7) *Pulaka* [or **rômâñcha**], **horripilation or thrill.**
(8) *Pralaya*, **fainting.**

Text.

Hâva-bhêda-varṇana.

Hôhi sa·yôga-si·gâra mê·	*dampati kê tana âva* ।
Chêshṭâ jô bahu bhâ·ti kê,	*tê kahiyai· daśa* **hâva** ॥ 26 ॥
Piya pyârî rati sukha karai·	**lîlâ**-*hâva so jâni* ।
Bôli sakai nahi lâja sô·	**vikṛita** *so hâva bakhâni* ॥ 27 ॥
Chitawani bôlani chalani mê·	*rasa kî rîti* **vilâsa** ।
Sôhata a·ga a·ga bhûshaṇani	**lalita** *so hâva prakâśa* ॥ 28 ॥
Vichchhiti *kâhû bêri mê·*	*bhûshaṇa alpa suhâva* ।
Rasa sô· bhûshaṇa bhûli kai	*pahirai* **vibhrama**-*hâva* ॥ 29 ॥
Krôdha harsha abhilâsha bhaya	**kilakiñchita** *mê· hôi* ।
Pragaṭa karai dukha sukha-samai	*hâva* **kuṭṭamita** *sôi* ॥ 30 ॥
Pragaṭa karai risa piya sô·	*bâta na bhâvati kâna* ।
Âê âdaru nâ karai	*dhari* **vivvôka** *gumâna* ॥ 31 ॥
Piya kî bâtani kai chalai	*tiya igârai ja·bhâi* ।
Môṭṭâyita *sô jâniyai·*	*kahê mahâ kavi-râi* ॥ 32 ॥

Translation.

The External Indications of Emotion (of **Love in Union**).

The many kinds of bodily actions on the part of a hero and heroine, on (the occasion of) **Love in Union** (*vide* translation of v. 33), are (of ten kinds), and are called the ten **External Indications of Emotion** (*hâva*).

[Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*. Cf., however, No. 125. The ten *hâvas* here described all fall within the last eighteen of the twenty-eight *alaṅkâra*, or ornaments of a heroine. According to Nos. 126-128 of the same work, *bhâva* is the first alteration in a mind previously unaltered. Where the alteration is slightly modified — so as to shew by alterations of the eye-brows or eyes, etc., the desire for mutual enjoyment, — *bhâva* is called *hâva*. When the change is very great, it is called *hêlâ*.]

The ten External Indications of Emotion are the following: —

(1) *Lîlâ-hâva*, **Sport**, — when the hero and the heroine happily enjoy amorous caresses. [In the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* this is translated 'fun,' and is defined as the sportive mimicking of a beloved's voice, dress, or manners.]

(2) *Vikṛita-hâva*, **Bashfulness**, — not being able to speak (even when one ought to speak) through bashfulness. [According to F. E. Hall (*Daśarûpa*, preface, p. 20) *vikṛita* in the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* is incorrect for *vihṛita*. The *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa* has *vikṛita*. The *Rasika-priyâ* (*vide post*, No. 13) has *vihita*.]

(3) *Vilâsa-hâva*, **Flutter of delight**, — that peculiarity in the action of the eyes, in speaking, or in motion, which is caused by love.

(4) *Lalita-hâva*, **Voluptuous gracefulness**, — the graceful disposition of the ornaments upon the limbs.

(5) *Vichchhitti-hâva*, **Simplicity in dress**, — the employment of few ornaments on any particular occasion.

(6) *Vibhrama-hâva*, **Fluster**, — the application of ornaments to the wrong places, through hurry arising from delight.

(7) *Kilakiñchita-hâva*, **Hysterical delight**, — the commingling of anger, joy, desire and alarm.

(8) *Kuṭṭamita-hâva*, **Affected repulse of endearments**, — where, though enraptured by caresses, she displays the reverse.

(9) *Môṭṭáyita-háva*, **Mute involuntary expressions of affection**,— as when a heroine involuntarily stretches herself or yawns at hearing her loved one talked about.

(10) *Vivvôka-háva*, **Affectation of indifference**, — when, through haughtiness, respect is not shewn to the beloved on his arrival, but, on the contrary, anger is displayed, and words unpleasing to his ears are expressed.

[Some authors add other *hávas*, *e. g.*, Kêśava-dâsa (*Rsaika-priyá*, VI. 15) gives the following:—

Hêlâ lîlâ lalita mada	**vibhrama vihita vilâsa** ।
Kilakiñchita vikshipti *aru*	*kahi* **vivvôka** *prakáśa* ॥ **32a** ॥
Moṭṭâyita *sunu* **kuṭṭamita**	**bôdhâ***dhika bahu háva* ।
Apanî apanî buddhi bala	*varṇata kavi kavi-ráva* ॥ **32b** ॥

The following are those not already mentioned:—

(11) *Hêlá-háva*, **Wantonness**, when the heroine, under the influence of love, forgets her modesty.

(12) *Mada-háva*, **Arrogance**, arising from love. [The *Rasika-priyá* gives, as an example, a girl who was *rúpa-mada mána-mada chhakî*, drunk with the arrogance of her beauty and her pride.]

(13) *Vihita-háva*, **Bashfulness**, the suppression of the sentiments of the heart through modesty. The *Sáhitya-darpaṇa* (125) calls this *vikṛita*. See note, *ante*, No. 2.

(14) *Vikshipti*, this is an imaginary Sanskṛit form of the presumed Prâkṛit word **vichchhitti**. The St. Petersburg dictionary derives *vichchhitti* from √*chhid.*

(15) The *Bôdha-háva* or **bôdhaka-hâva**, **Indicating**, when a hero or heroine makes communications by private signs or by a riddle, as when the gift of a withered lotus signifies the condition of the giver's heart.

(16) The *Lála-chandriká* (249) adds a **tapana-hâva**, a **mugdha-hâva** and a **vikshêpa-hâva**.]

Text.

Daśa viraha kî daśá varṇana.

Naina milê mana-hû° milyau	*milibê kau* **abhilâsha** ।
Chintâ *játi na binu milê*	*yatna kiyê-hû lákha* ॥ **33** ॥
Sumirana *rasa saṁyôga kau*	*kari kari lêti usása* ।
*Karati rahati piya-***guṇa-kathana**	*mana-udvêga udása* ॥ **34** ॥
Binu samujhai kachhu baki uṭhai	*kahiyai° táhi* **pralâpa** ।
Dêha ghaṭati, tana mê° baḍhati	*viraha* **vyâdhi** *santápa* ॥ **35** ॥
Tiya-súrati múrati bhaî	*hai* **jaḍatâ** *saba gáta* ।
Sô kahiyai° **unmâda** *jaha°*	*sudhi budhi binu niśi játa* ॥ **36** ॥
[*Lakshaṇa kari, nava-hî kahyau*	*bhâshá-bhúshaṇa máhi* ।
Maraṇa *sahita daśa kari gaṇyau*	*apara kaviśana cháhi* ॥ **36a** ॥]

Translation.

The (nine or) ten conditions of **Love in Separation.**

[Cf. *Sáhitya-darpaṇa*, 211 and ff. *Sṛiṅgára*, Love, is of two kinds, **Love in Union** (*saṁbhôga* or *saṁyôga*) and **Love in Separation** (*viraha* or *vipralambha*). The former (*S.-d.* 225) is when two lovers, mutually enamoured, are engaged in looking on one another, touching one another, etc. The latter is of four kinds, according as the Love in Separation consists in (1) Affection arising before the parties actually meet, through having heard of or seen one another (**pûrva-râga**), (2) Indignation or Lovers' quarrels (**mâna**), (3) the Separation of the Lovers in different countries (**pravâsa**), the Death of one of the Lovers (**karuṇâ**). The ten conditions of love in

separation (*kâma-daśâ*, or *viraha-daśa*) are those mentioned below. The *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* confines them, for no very valid reason, to the case of affection arising before the parties actually meet, but the *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa*, more reasonably, makes them applicable to all kinds of separation. As will be seen, the *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa* omits the tenth condition usually given by other authors, *viz.*, Death. In this it is right. The *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* itself admits (215) that it is not properly described as a condition of unhappy love as it causes the destruction of flavour (*rasa*). But it may be described as having nearly taken place or as being mentally wished for. It may also be described, if there is to be, at no distant date, a restoration to life.]

(1) *Abhilâsha*, **Longing,** — when, the eyes having met, the souls have also acquired a longing for a (bodily) meeting.

(2) *Chintâ*, **Anxiety,** — it departs not, though a hundred thousand efforts are made, till a meeting is effected.

(3) *Smaraṇa* or **smṛiti, Reminiscence,** — as she remembers the joy of Love in Union, she heaves continual sighs.

(4) *Guṇa-kathana*, or **guṇa-varṇana, — the Mentioning of the qualities of the beloved one.**

(5) *Udvêga*, **Agitation,** — which fills her soul with dejection.

(6) *Pralâpa*, **Delirium,** — when she prattles without meaning.

(7) *Vyâdhi*, **Sickness,** — when the form wastes away, while in the body the fever of Love in separation increases.

(8) *Jaḍatâ*, **Stupefaction,** — when the whole form (of the hero or heroine) becomes rigid like a statue.

(9) *Unmâda*, **Derangement,** — when night passes without memory or intelligence.

[(10) (From the *Bhûshaṇa-kaumudî.*) *Maraṇa* or **mṛiti, Death.** Only nine conditions are mentioned in the *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa*, but other authors add this, as a tenth; — see above.]

Text.

Rasa aur Sthâyî Bhâva varṇana.

Rasa, śṛingâra *so* **hâsya** *puni* **karuṇâ raudrahi** *jâni* ।
Vîra bhaya *'ru* **bîbhatsa** *kahi* **adbhuta śânta** *bakhânî* ॥ 37 ॥
Rati hâsî *aru* **śôka** *puni* **krôdha uchhâha** *'ru* **bhîti** ।
Nindâ vismaya *âṭha yaha* **sthâyî bhâva** *pratîti* ॥ 38 ॥
[*Âṭha kahê êkai rasani* *êkai nava sukha khâni* ।
Sthâyî bhâva jo śânta kî **nirvêdahi** *sô jâni* ॥ 38a ॥]

Translation.

The Flavours and their relative Underlying Emotions.

[Cf. *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 205-209 and ff. **An Underlying Emotion** or underlying sentiment (*sthâyî bhâva*) may be described as the ultimate ground-basis of a poetic work. It is 'The permanent condition, which, running through the other conditions like the thread of a garland, is not overpowered by them but only reinforced. Thus, in the play of *Mâlatî and Mâdhava*, the Underlying Emotion is Love; in the *Naṭaka Mêlaka* it is Mirth; in the *Râmâyaṇa*, Sorrow; and in the *Mahâbhârata*, Quietism.' There are eight (some say nine) of these Underlying Emotions; and each occasions the existence of a corresponding **Taste** or **Flavour** (*rasa*), excited in the mind of the person who reads or hears the poem. A Flavour bears much the same relation to its Underlying Emotion that an effect does to a cause. It is the psychic condition produced in the mind of the hearer by the Underlying Emotion aided by the excitants, the ensuants and the accessories (see below). *Rasa* is frequently rendered by the word '**style,**' a translation which without being accurate is convenient. The following are the eight (or nine) Underlying Emotions, with their respective Flavours.]

[Each Flavour has a fancied colour attributed to it, and has also a presiding deity. These are given in the 3rd and 4th columns of the accompanying table.]

Underlying Emotion (*sthâyî bhâva*).	Corresponding Flavour or Style (*rasa*).	[Colour.]	[Presiding Deity.]
(1) *Rati*, Love, or Desire	*Sṛiṅgâra-rasa*, The Erotic Flavour.	[*Syâma*, Dark-coloured.	[Vishṇu.
(2) *Hâsa*, Mirth ...	*Hâsya-rasa*, The Comic Flavour.	*Svêta*, White	Pramatha, the Attendants of Siva.
(3) *Sôka*, Sorrow ..	*Karuṇâ-rasa*, The Pathetic Flavour.	*Kapôta-varṇa*, Dove-coloured.	Yama, the God of Death.
(4) *Krôdha*, Resentment.	*Raudra-rasa*, The Furious Flavour.	*Rakta*, Red	Rudra.
(5) *Utsâha*, Magnanimity.	*Vîra-rasa*, The Heroic Flavour.	*Hêma-varṇa*, Gold-coloured.	Mahêndra.
(6) *Bhîti* or **bhaya**, Fear.	*Bhayânaka-rasa*, The Terrible Flavour.	*Kṛishṇa*, Black ...	Kâla, Death.
(7) *Nindâ* or **jugupsâ**, Disgust.	*Bîbhatsa-rasa*, The Disgustful Flavour.	*Nîla*, Dark blue ...	Mahâkâla, a form of Siva.
(8) *Vismaya*, Surprise.	*Adbhuta-rasa*, The Marvellous Flavour.	*Pîta*, Yellow	A Gandharva.
(9) [Some authors, as indicated in the verse in brackets, add a 9th **sama** or *nirvêda*, Quietism.]	*Sânta-rasa*, The Quietistic Flavour.	...........]	Nârâyaṇa.]

[The nature of most of these Flavours is explained by their names. As explained above, the Erotic Flavour is of two kinds, Love in Separation (*viraha* or *vipralambha*), and Love in Union (*saṁbhôga* or *saṁyôga*). For further sub-divisions, see note to vv. 33 and ff. With regard to the Heroic Style, it may be noted that there are four kinds of Heroes : (1) **dâna-vîra**, the hero of liberality, (2) **dharma-vîra**, the hero of duty, (3) **dayâ-vîra**, the hero of benevolence, and (4) **yuddha-vîra**, the hero of war. Examples of these four are (1) Parasu-râma, who gave away the whole world without affectation, (2) Yudhishṭhira, (3) Jîmûtavâhana,[5] and (4) Râmachandra. Quietism is the knowledge of the vanity of all things, by reason of their being but temporary manifestations of the Supreme Spirit.]

Text.

Vibhâva-anubhâva-vyabhichârîbhâva-varṇana.

Jô rasa kô·dîpati karai **uddîpana** *kahi sôi* ।
Sô **anubhâva** *jô upajai* *rasa kau anubhava hôi* ॥ 39 ॥
Âlambana *âlambi rasa* *jâ mê· rahai bandu* ।
Nau-hû rasa mê· saṁcharai *tê* **vibhichârî**-*bhâu* ॥ 40 ॥
Nirvêda-i, saṅkâ, garva, **chintâ, môha, vishâda** ।
Dainya, asûyâ, mṛityu, mada, **âlasya, srama, unmâda** ॥ 41 ॥
Âkṛiti-gôpana, chapalatâ, **apasmâra, bhaya, glâni** ।
Vrîḍâ, jaḍatâ, harsha, dhṛiti **mati, âvêga** *bakhâni* ॥ 42 ॥
Utkaṇṭhâ, nidrâ, svapana, **bôdha, ugratâ** *bhâi* ।
Vyâdhi, amarsha, vitarka, smṛiti, *ê tai·tîsa ginâi* ॥ 43 ॥
Iti Bhâva-hâvâdi-varṇana-nâma tṛitîyaḥ prakâsaḥ ॥ 3 ॥

[5] He outshone Prometheus, in asking a hungry vulture who had stopped eating, not to desist on his account.

Translation.

Excitants, Ensuants, and Accessories.

[That which awakens any one of the nine flavours (*rasa*), as its exciting cause, is called an **Excitant** (*vibhâva*) (*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 61 and ff.).]

[This is of two kinds, according as it is **Essential** or **Enhancing.**] [In the following translation the order of the original is slightly altered.]

An **Essential Excitant** (*âlambana-vibhâva*) is one on which the flavour is absolutely dependent. [That is to say, it is such a material and necessary ingredient of the flavour as the hero or the heroine, without which the flavour would not be excited.] [*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 63.]

The **Enhancing Excitants** (*uddîpana-vibhâva*) are those which enhance the flavour. [Such as the gestures, beauty, decorations and the like of one of the principal characters (or Essential Excitants, *âlambana-vibhâva*), or places, times, the moon, sandal-ointment, the voice of the cuckoo, the hum of bees, and the like.] [*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 160, 161.]

That which is produced, on the perception of a flavour occurring, is called an **Ensuant** (*anubhâva*). [*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 162. 'That which, displaying an external condition occasioned by its appropriate causes, in ordinary life ranks as an effect (*kârya*), is called, in Poetry and the Drama, an Ensuant.'] [The most important Ensuants are the eight Involuntary Expressions of Emotion (*sâttvika bhâva*), already described (v. 25). Other Ensuants may be such as fluster, or pining. Again, Râma seeing Sîtâ in the moonlight fell in love with her, and in consequence made an involuntary motion. Here Sîtâ is the Essential Excitant of the flavour of love, the moonlight is its Enhancing Excitant, and the involuntary motion is the Ensuant or effect of the love so excited.]

An **Accessory Emotion** (*vyabhichârî-bhâva*) is that which goes along with (or co-operates with) (any one of the Underlying Emotions, *sthâyî-bhâva*), which form the foundations of the nine flavours (*rasa*).

[The word used for 'goes along with,' *saṁcharaî*, gives rise to another name for this kind of emotion, *viz.*, **saṁchârî-bhâva**, which is very often met in commentaries.]

[Cf. *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 168 and ff. Take, for example, Love as the Underlying Emotion, and Self-disparagement (*nirvêda*), as an Accessory, inasmuch as it tends in the same direction as love, whether obviously or not, while it is quite distinct from it.]

These Accessory Emotions are thirty-three in number, *viz.*: —

(1) *Nirvêda*, **Self-disparagement.**

(2) *Śaṅkâ*, **Apprehension or Anticipation of Evil.**

(3) *Garva*, **Arrogance.** [Arising from valour, beauty, learning, greatness of family or the like, and leading to acts of disrespect, coquettish displays of the person, immodesty, etc.]

(4) *Chintâ*, **Painful Reflection.** [Meditation arising from the non-possession of a beloved object.]

(5) *Môha*, **Distraction.** [Perplexity arising from fear, grief, impetuosity or painful recollection.]

(6) *Vishâda*, **Despondency.** [Loss of vigour arising from absence of expedients to meet impending calamity.]

(7) *Dainya*, **Depression.** [Arising from misfortune.]

(8) *Asûyâ*, **Envy.** [Impatience of another's merits, arising from pride.]

(9) *Mṛityu*, **Death.**

(10) *Mada*, **Intoxication.** [A combination of confusion and delight produced by wine.]

(11) *Âlasya*, **Indolence.** [Aversion from movement, caused by fatigue, pregnancy, etc.]

(12) *Srama*, **Weariness.** [Fatigue arising from indulgence, travel, etc.]

(13) *Unmâda*, **Derangement.** [A confusion of thought, arising from love, grief, fear or the like.]

(14) *Âkriti-gôpana*, **Dissembling.** [The hiding of appearances of joy, etc., caused by fear, dignified importance, modesty or the like. The *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* calls this **avahitthâ.**]

(15) *Chapalatâ*, **Unsteadiness.** [Instability arising from envy, aversion, desire or the like.]

(16) *Apasmâra*, **Dementedness.** [A disturbance of the mind occasioned by the influence of one of the planets or the like.]

(17) *Bhaya*, **Alarm.** [The *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* calls this **trâsa.**]

(18) *Glâni*, **Debility.** [Resulting from enjoyment, fatigue, hunger and the like.]

(19) *Vrîḍâ*, **Shame.**

(20) *Jaḍatâ*, **Stupefaction.** [Incapacity for action, occasioned, for example, by seeing or hearing anything extremely agreeable or disagreeable, which produces unwinking eyes, silence and the like.]

(21) *Harsha*, **Joy.** [Mental complacency on the attainment of a desired object.]

(22) *Dhriti*, **Equanimity.** [Complete contentment.]

(23) *Mati*, **Resolve.** [Making up one's mind.]

(24) *Âvêga*, **Flurry.**

(25) *Utkaṇṭhâ*, **Longing.** [Impatience of the lapse of time, caused by the non-attainment of a desired object. The *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* calls this **autsukya.**]

(26) *Nidrâ*, **Drowsiness.**

(27) *Svapna*, **Dreaming.**

(28) *Bôdha*, **Awaking.** [The *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* calls this **vibôdha.**]

(29) *Ugratâ*, **Sternness.** [The harshness which arises from rude valour, or from another's offences.]

(30) *Vyâdhi*, **Sickness.**

(31) *Amarsha*, **Impatience of Opposition.** [A determination or purpose occasioned by censure, abuse, disrespect or the like.]

(32) *Vitarka*, **Debate.** [Discussion arising from doubt.]

(33) *Smriti*, **Recollection.**

[Concluding Remarks.]

[*Vâkyaṁ rasâtmakaṁ kâvyaṁ*, 'Poetry is a sentence, the soul whereof is flavour.' Such is the definition of poetry given by the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, and the present lecture deals with this question of flavour and its concomitants. As the arrangement in the *Bhâshâ-bhushaṇa* is not very regular, a brief *resumé* of the contents will not be amiss. The foundation of all poetical **Flavour** (*rasa*) is **Emotion** (*bhâva*). A poetical work has one of the so-called **Underlying Emotions** (*sthâyî-bhâva*) as its basis, and this forms the foundation of the Flavour (or Psychic condition produced in the hearer) which forms its distinguishing feature. One poem may be distinguished by the Erotic Flavour, and the Emotion on which it is founded will be Love. Another may be distinguished by the Heroic Flavour, and its motive Emotion will be Magnanimity. So also for other flavours.

Each flavour must have one or more **Excitants** (*vibhâva* = *âlambana* + *uddîpana*, vv. 39, 40), and may have one or more **Ensuants** (*anubhâva*, v. 39), including **Involuntary Expressions of Emotion**, *sâttvika-bhâva*, v. 25), and **Accessory Emotions** (*vyabhichâri-bhâva*, vv. 40 and ff.).

The *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* gives examples of each of these for each flavour, and the following table is an abstract of them, which will make the matter clear:—

Flavour.	Examples of Excitants.		Examples of Accessory Emotions (*vyabhichârî bhâva*).	Examples of Ensuants (*anubhâva*).
	Essential (*âlambana*).	Enhancing (*uddîpana*).		
1. Erotic (*śriṅgâra*).	The heroes and heroines.	The moon, sandal-ointment, hum of bees, etc.	Such as self-disparagement, etc. Any of those mentioned in 41 ff., except death (9), indolence (11), sternness (29).	Motions of the eye-brows, sideglances, etc.
2. Comic (*hâsya*).	The thing laughed at.	The gestures, form, speech, etc., of the thing laughed at.	Indolence (11), dissembling (14), drowsiness (25), etc.	Closing of the eyes, smiling, laughter, etc.
3. Pathetic (*karuṇâ*).	The object sorrowed for.	*E. g.*, when the dead body of the loved one is being burned.	Self-disparagement (1), distraction (5), dementedness (16) debility (18), sickness (30), and the like.	Cursing of one's destiny, falling on the ground, wailing, changes of colour, sighs, sobs, stupefaction, raving, and the like.
4. Furious (*raudra*).	An enemy.	The behaviour of the enemy and description of the combats.	Distraction (5), intoxication (10), flurry (24), impatience (31), and the like.	Knitting of the brows, biting of the lips, swelling of the arms, threatening gestures, reviling, angry looks, etc.
5. Heroic (*vîra*).	Persons that are to be conquered, etc.	The behaviour of the persons to be conquered, etc.	Equanimity (22), resolve (23), debate (32), recollection (33), and the like.	The seeking of allies, etc.
6. Terrible (*bhayânaka*).	That by which fear is produced.	The fierce gestures, etc., of that which produces fear.	Apprehension (2), depression (7), death (9), dementedness (16), debility (18), flurry (24), and the like.	Changes of colour and speaking with a stammering tone, faintings, perspiration, horripilation, trembling, looking in every direction, etc.

Flavour.	Examples of Excitants.		Examples of Accessory Emotions (*vyabhichârî bhâva*).	Examples of Ensuants (*anubhâva*).
	Essential (*âlambana*).	Enhancing (*uddîpana*).		
7. Disgustful (*bîbhatsa*).	Stinking flesh fibre and fat, and the like.	Presence of worms, etc.	Distraction (5), death (9), dementedness (16), flurry (24), sickness (30), etc.	Spitting, averting of the face, closing of the eyes, etc.
8. Marvellous (*adbhuta*).	Any supernatural thing.	The greatness of the qualities of the supernatural thing.	Joy (21), flurry (24), debate (32), and the like.	Stupefaction, perspiration, horripilation, stammering speech, agitation, wide opening of the eyes, etc.
9. Quietistic (*śânta*).	Either the emptiness and vanity of all things by reason of their not being lasting, or God (the only entity in the opinion of the quietist).	Holy hermitages, sacred places, places of pilgrimage, pleasant groves, and the like.	Self-disparagement (1), joy (21), resolve (23), recollection (33), etc.	Horripilation, etc.

[The translation of the word *bhâva* has presented some difficulty. It occurs in the phrases *vi-bhâva, sthayî bhâva, vyabhichârî bhâva, anu-bhâva,* and *sâttvika bhâva*. A perfect translation would render it in each case by the same English word, but this is impossible, for the Sanskṛit word comprehends not only feelings and mental states, but also conditions of the body. I have followed the translation of the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* in translating *vi-bhâva* by 'excitant.' Literally, it means that by which the mental or bodily states (*bhâva*) of the heroes or spectators are altered (*vi-bhâvayantê*). So also I have translated *anu-bhâva* by 'ensuant.' In the remaining three phrases I have adopted the word 'emotion' as the nearest equivalent. It suits well the meaning of *sthâyî bhâva*, and *vyabhichârî bhâva* being the converse, the same English word must necessarily be used in each case. The translation of the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* sometimes renders the former by 'permanent condition' and sometimes by 'permanent mood.' *Sthâyin* certainly does mean 'constant,' or 'permanent,' in opposition to *vyabhichârin*, 'changeable,' but the use of the word 'permanent' seems to me to be awkward, and I have adopted the word 'underlying' which, while not being a literal translation, accords well with the definition. In *sâttvika bhâva, bhâva* does not mean 'emotion,' but 'expression of emotion.']

End of the Third Lecture, entitled the Emotions and other Constituents of Flavour.

(To be continued.)

NOTE ON PROFESSOR JACOBI'S AGE OF THE VEDA AND ON PROFESSOR TILAK'S ORION.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

As peculiar circumstances have made me acquainted with the genesis of the important chronological publications of Profs. Jacobi and Bal G. Tilak, who both, and partly with the help of the same arguments, claim a high antiquity for the beginning of the Indo-Aryan

civilization, I consider it desirable that I should state publicly what I know of the matter. The news that there were statements in Vedic works, calculated to upset the prevailing theories regarding the age of the Veda, first came to me through Prof. Jacobi. When, at the end of our summer term of 1892, I started on a journey to England, I stopped on July 23rd for a few hours at Bonn in order to call on the former companion of my travels, who had so materially lightened the tediousness of my Tour in the Rajputana Desert during the winter of 1873-4 and had so efficiently assisted me in exploring the libraries of Jêsalmîr and Bikanîr. In the course of our conversation Prof. Jacobi mentioned his explanation of *Ṛigveda* VII. 103, 9, and called my attention to the significance of the statements in the *Brâhmaṇas* regarding the beginning and the end of the year as well as regarding the beginning of the three seasons. The last point interested me greatly, as I had shortly before treated of the *châturmâsyas,* or three seasons of four months each, in connexion with the Pillar Edicts of Aśôka, and had again studied Prof. A. Weber's truly "classical treatise" on the Nakshatras. We had a long talk on the importance of the indications that the so-called Ḳrittikâ-series was not the oldest arrangement of the Nakshatras, known to the Hindus, and I congratulated Prof. Jacobi on his discoveries which, he told me, would be made public in the *Festschrift* on the occasion of Prof. von Roth's jubilee.

Six weeks later the Committee of the Ninth International Oriental Congress sent to me the MS. of Prof. Tilak's *Orion* with the request that I would give my opinion on the advisability of its being printed in the *Transactions.* To my surprise I found that his views very closely agreed with those expressed to me by Prof. Jacobi, and that he quoted some of those very passages to which Prof. Jacobi had called my attention. Though it was impossible for me to agree with Prof. Tilak about all his details, I nevertheless recommended that his work should be printed in its entirety, as I believed that he had made an **important discovery,** which had also been made independently by Prof. Jacobi. Want of funds prevented the Committee from carrying out my recommendation, and the *Transactions* of the Congress contain only an abstract of the volume. Some time after my return to Vienna in October, I received from Prof. Tilak two copies of the printed abstracts. One of them I sent to Prof. Jacobi towards the end of December, and it was then only that I acquainted him with Prof. Tilak's discoveries and the submission of his large work to the Oriental Congress. Under the circumstances the honour of having found this new method of utilising the astronomical facts, mentioned in Vedic literature, belongs to Profs. Jacobi and Tilak conjointly, though the latter has published his results earlier, and though, as I have learned from a private letter of his, he has been gradually working out his theories for several years. The character of the two publications shows also clearly that the two gentlemen have worked independently of each other.

With respect to their new theory I can only say that **in my opinion they have made good their main proposition,** *viz.,* that the Ḳrittikâ-series is not the oldest arrangement of the Nakshatras known to the Hindus, but that the latter once had an older one, which placed Mṛigaśiras at the vernal equinox. If this proposition has not been proved mathematically, it has at least been made probable :— so probable that it may be used as the foundation for a future chronology of the so-called Vedic period of India. **The chief arguments,** contained both in Prof. Jacobi's paper and in Prof. Tilak's *Orion,* appear to me the following :—

While the arrangement of the Nakshatras according to the Ḳrittikâ-series places the winter solstice in the month of Mâgha, the vernal equinox in Vaiśâkha, the summer solstice in Śrâvaṇa and the autumnal equinox in Kârttika, there are a number of passages in Vedic works which contain contradictory statements. The well-known passages from the *Taittirîya Saṁhitâ,* as well as from the *Kaushîtaki* and *Pañchaviṁśa Brâhmaṇas,* to which Prof. Tilak, *Orion,* p. 67, adds one from the *Gôpatha Brâhmaṇa,* and to which others might be added from the *Śrauta Sûtras,*[1] declares

[1] See *e. g., Âpastamba Śrauta Sûtra,* v. 3, 16, यत्फाल्गुनीपूर्णमास आदध्यात्संवत्सरस्यैनमासन्दध्यात् द्व्यहे पुरैकाहे वा ॥ "If one kindles (*the sacred fire*) on the fullmoon day of Phâlguna, one places it in the mouth of the year; (*hence one should do it*) two days or one day earlier." The reason is, as Rudradatta states, that the year will swallow the sacred fire and that it will be lost, in case it is kindled on the first day of the year.

the fullmoon night of Phâlguna to be "the mouth of the year." Moreover, another passage of the *Taittirîya Saṁhitâ* asserts that Uttara Phalgunî is the first night of the year and Pûrva Phalgunî is the last, which assertions are repeated in figurative language by the author of the Kaushîtaki Brâhmaṇa. From the first set of utterances both Prof. Jacobi and Prof. Tilak infer, as has been done by others before them, that in the Vedic times a year, beginning with the full moon of Phâlguna, was used, and Prof. Jacobi alone points out that the second set of statements permits the inference that there was also a second year, beginning exactly six months later in Praushṭhapada or Bhâdrapada.[2]

The same scholar shews further that a third reckoning began with the month of Mârgaśîrsha, which in the *Gṛihya Sûtras* and in Pâṇini's *Grammar* is called Âgrahâyaṇa or Âgrahâyaṇika 'belonging to the beginning of the year.'[3] Thus there are for the Vedic times three years, a Phâlguna-year, six months later a Praushṭhapada-year, and again three months later a Mârgaśîrsha-year. Such a variety of beginnings is, according to Prof. Jacobi, not surprising, as the Hindus used in historical times and still use various initial days for their reckoning, sometimes two or three in the same province. In order to shew the force of this argument more fully, I may add, that in historical India the year began, or begins, with not less than seven different months, *viz.*, (1) Chaitra, (2) Vaiśâkha, (3) Âshâḍha, (4) Bhâdrapada, (5) Âśvina, (6) Kârttika and (7) Mârgaśîrsha, while a beginning with Phâlguna has been proved for Ceylon by Prof. Kern (*Der Buddhismus*, Vol. II. p. 263.)[4] The first three beginnings, as well as the fifth and sixth, are known from the works of astronomers and from inscriptions. The fourth is expressly mentioned by Bêrûnî, *India*, Vol. II. p. 8,[5] and so is the seventh, which, in his times, was used in various provinces of Northern and North-Western India. Its occurrence is also vouched for by the *Bhagavadgîtâ*, X. 35, by *Mahâbhârata*, XIII. 106, 11 ff. (as Prof. Jacobi points out to me), and by the *Amarkôsha*. This is just what might be expected in a large country like India, which was cut up into numerous political and other divisions. But it seems to me that in the Vedic works there are other indications, such as the contradictory statements regarding the number of the seasons, shewing that the reckoning of time even in the most early period was by no means uniform and that various opinions regarding astronomical matters prevailed.

The question, which now arises, is what the astronomical position of the Nakshatras was, according to which the three initial months of these Vedic years were named. Do these years belong to the period when the colure of the equinoxes passed through Kṛittikâ and Viśâkhâ and that of the solstices through Maghâ and Sravaṇâ ? Or do they belong to an earlier time, when the colure of the solstices went through Uttara Phalgunî and Pûrva Bhadrapadâ and that of the equinoxes through Mṛigaśiras and Mûla ? In other words do they belong to the time, when the series of the Nakshatras, counting from that at the vernal equinox, began with Kṛittikâ, or from the period when Mṛigaśiras occupied that position ?

Both scholars decide for the latter assumption, but on grounds which partly differ. In stating these, I venture to arrange those among them, which appear to me particularly valuable, in my own way, and to somewhat expand them.

An *à priori* argument for Profs. Jacobi's and Tilak's views is, that it gives a rational explanation, why the ancient Hindus began their years with these three months. If the winter

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[2] The enumeration of the months in the *Pariśishta* No. 57 of the *Atharvaveda* begins, as Prof. Weber states (*Die vedischen Nachrichten von den Nakshatras*, II. p. 334, Note [2]), with Śrâvaṇa, and proves the use of a Varshâ-year for the period, when according to the Kṛittikâ-series the summer solstice fell in Maghâ. [The *Jaina Jambudîva-pannatti* likewise gives Sâvaṇa as the first month, see Weber, *Indische Studien*, Vol. XVI. p. 415. — Jacobi.]

[3] Professor Tilak (*Orion*, p. 79) combats the idea that the Hindus ever began the year with this month, but adduces valuable evidence (also mentioned in Prof. Weber's essay quoted above) for the fact, which is clearly stated by Bêrûnî.

[4] Compare also *Kâmasûtra*, p. 39, l. 9 [H. Jacobi.]

[5] One of my Pandits in Surat, I forget which of them, told me that some Brahmans still began the year with Bhâdrapada.

solstice fell in Phâlguna, the vernal equinox in Jyaishṭha, the summer solstice in Praushṭhapada and the autumnal equinox in Mârgaśîrsha, it would be a perfectly rational proceeding to begin counting with any one of them. And it is conceivable that different schools of priests or of astronomers might decide for starting each with a different one of these four months, and might select respectively Himâ, Vasanta, Varshâ or Śarad years. With the Kṛittikâ-series the beginnings are not as easily intelligible. For with that, Phâlguna and Praushṭhapada are the second months of each Ayana, and Mârgaśîrsha lies one month behind the autumnal equinox. A good reason for the selection of the second months as initial points of reckoning seems difficult to imagine.

Secondly, as both Prof. Jacobi and Prof. Tilak point out, with the winter solstice in Pûrva Bhadrapadâ the first Nakshatra after the autumnal equinox is Mûla or Mûlâ, and if one begins to count from this, as must be done with a Mârgaśîrsha year, the last will be Jyêshṭhâ. The etymological meaning of Mûla, "root," would agree with its being taken as the first constellation of the Śarad-year, and so would that of its older name Vichṛitau "the separators." In like manner the name Jyêshṭhâ, "the oldest," would be suitable for the last Nakshatra of the year. With any other arrangement the names remain inexplicable.

Thirdly, several rules connected with sacred matters indicate that in ancient times the month of Praushṭhapada or Bhâdrapada was that in which the summer solstice fell.

(1) The importance of one set of such rules, those regarding the date of the Upâkaraṇa, or opening of the annual term of study, has struck both Prof. Jacobi and Prof. Tilak. The chief time for study was in ancient India the rainy season. For during the Monsoon out-door life necessarily ceases, and people are forced to seek their occupation in the narrowest circle, their houses or their villages. Consequently the *Gṛihya* and *Dharma Sûtras* state not rarely that the solemn opening of the annual term happens "on the appearance of the herbs," *i. e.*, in the first days of the Monsoon, when after the first heavy fall of rain the new vegetation springs up as if by magic. The Monsoon bursts all over the Uttarâpatha, and in a large portion of the Dakshiṇâpatha, exactly, or almost exactly, at the summer solstice. It is only on the Malabar coast and in the Karṇatik that the beginning of the rains falls a month earlier and a break comes just about the summer solstice,[6] while the eastern coast of the Dekhan, which is under the influence of the East-Monsoon, shews altogether different meteorological conditions.

Under the circumstances stated the "appearance of the herbs" mentioned by the *Sûtras*, must fall in a month, corresponding in part with our month of June. Actually the sacred treatises, referred to, as well as the metrical *Smṛitis* name three different months. All of them with one exception[7] state that the full moon of Śrâvaṇa, or its Hasta-day, is most suitable for the Upâkaraṇa, and the modern substitute for the latter, the so-called Śrâvaṇî, or annual renewal of the sacred string, is still performed in Śrâvaṇa. According to the luni-solar reckoning the month of Śrâvaṇa corresponds at present to our July-August, and according to the *Times of India Calendar* the Ṛik-Śrâvaṇî fell in 1888 on August 20, that of the Yajurvedins on August 21,[8] between 2500-1500, when the vernal equinox lay at or near Kṛittikâ and the Nakshatra of Maghâ stood at the summer solstice, the month of Śrâvaṇa, of course, including the day when the sun turns towards south and the beginning of the rainy season. It is during this period, or (provided that the Hindus kept the Kṛittikâ-series even after it had become astronomically incorrect) possibly somewhat later, that the rule, fixing the Upâkaraṇa in Śrâvaṇa, must have been settled.

In addition to the month of Śrâvaṇa, five *Gṛihya* and *Dharma Sûtras*, as well as the *Manusmṛiti*, name the month of Bhâdrapada or Praushṭhapada as an optional term for the Upâkaraṇa.

[6] See Mr. H. F. Blandford's "Rainfall of India," *Indian Meteorological Memoirs*, Vol. III., and especially his Summary on the summer rains, p. 117ff.

[7] See the Table annexed to this paper.

[8] The latter day was the full moon day of Śrâvaṇa. The date is an extraordinarily late one, because there was an intercalation of Chaitra.

Optional rules in Vedic works not rarely record ancient usages, which had become obsolete, but which the teachers did not like to omit on account of their sanctity. Hence the conjecture that this may be the case with the second date for the Upâkaraṇa, readily suggests itself. And a passage from the *Râmâyaṇa*, adduced by Prof. Jacobi, according to which in the poet's time the Sâmavedins actually began their studies in Praushṭhapada, confirms this view. If the Upâkaraṇa was once celebrated in Praushṭhapada, that month must have included the beginning of the rains and the summer solstice. The period when this was actually the case, lies about the year 4000 B. C., when the colure passed through Uttara Phalgunî and Pûrva Bhadrapadâ. and the Nakshatra of Mṛigaśiras occupied the place of Kṛittikâ at the vernal equinox.

The third month, in which the Upâkaraṇa may take place, is according to the Baudhâyana and Vaikhânasa *Sûtras*, Âshâḍha, which during the period from 550 B. C. to 550 A. D. included the summer solstice. It is possible that this rule was framed, when the Aśvinî-series of the Nakshatras had supplanted that beginning with Kṛittikâ. But it is also possible that the authors of the two *Sûtras*, who were natives of Southern India, changed the date, because in their native country the Monsoon begins in the month preceding Śrâvaṇa. For the question under consideration the passage of Baudhâyana (*Dharma Sûtra*, I. 12, 16) is of some interest, because it mentions, besides the new date, the ancient one in Śrâvaṇa, and thus confirms the interpretation put on the occurrence of the optional term in Praushṭhapada.

(2) A second rule, which evidently places the month of Praushṭhapada-Bhâdrapada at the summer solstice and in the beginning of the rains, has been noticed by Prof. Jacobi alone. He points out that the Jainas, the most ancient heterodox sect of India, begin their Pajjusan or Paryushaṇâ on the fourth or fifth day of Bhâdrapada, and that the Pajjusan marks the old term of the retreat of the Jaina monks during the rainy season. All Indian ascetics, whether orthodox or heterodox, were and still are bound by their rules to put a stop to their wanderings during the Monsoon, and to devote the four rainy months to the study of their scriptures, to meditation, prayer and preaching, as the rules of their order may require. The loss of the ancient *Bhikshu Sûtras* makes it impossible to determine when the Brahminical ascetics began their Varsha. Only the bare fact that they kept it, is mentioned in the *Dharma sûtras* of Gautama, III. 13,[9] of Baudhâyana, II. 11, 20, and of Vaikhânasa, III. 6 (beginning). But we are better off with respect to the heretical Bauddhas and Jainas.

According to the Vinayapiṭaka[10] the Bauddha monks began their *vassa* on the day after the full moon either of Âshâḍha or of Śrâvaṇa. The second term, which the Buddhists themselves call the later one, corresponds with the arrangement of the months according to the Kṛittikâ-series, and has no doubt been taken over from Brahmanical rules. The earlier term may be an innovation, made by the Bauddhas, because in the fifth century B. C., when their religion was founded, the Monsoon began no longer in Śrâvaṇa but in Âshâḍha.[11] The Jainas finally have also a double beginning of their Vâsâvâsa. According to the usual rules now in force the Chaturmâsa of the Jainas, the season in which laymen and monks are forbidden to stir beyond their towns and villages, begins with the day after the full moon in Âshâḍha. Thus Vardhamâna's, *Âchâradinakara*, 31, 9, says :—

मार्गाद्याषाढपर्यन्तं मासे मासे महर्षयः ।
विहारं कुर्वते तेषां स्थितिरेकत्र नोचिता ॥ ९ ॥

[9] In my note to the translation of this passage (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. II p. 191) I have first stated that the *vassa* of the Buddhist, which even in 1879 was still believed to be a peculiar Buddhist institution, only an imitation of a Brahmanical rule.

[10] See the passages in my note on Aśôka's Pillar Edict V., *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II. p. 263; compare also Prof. Kern's, *Buddhismus*, Vol. II. p. 260.

[11] Professor Kern, *loc. cit.*, proposes a different explanation, based on the assumption that Âshâḍha was chosen according to the Ceylonese scheme of seasons. But, as the Northern and the Southern Buddhists agree in permitting the *vassa* to be begun in Âshâḍha, I think it more probable that the custom was an Indian one, started in Behar, where the Monsoon sets in during the month of June.

"From Mârgaśîrsha until Âshâḍha the great sages undertake journeys in each month; to stop in one place is not suitable for them."

Hence the season of rest lasts from Southern Âshâḍha badi or Northern Śrâvaṇa badi to the middle of Kârttika,[12] and in the *Times of India Calendar* for 1838, the Chaumâsa of the Śrâvaks is entered under Âshâḍha-Śrâvaṇa badi 1, corresponding with July 23.[12] Nevertheless, there is the Pajjusan or Paryushaṇâ, which begins, as the *Kalpasûtra* states, one month and twenty days after the commencement of the Monsoon, on Bhâdrapada sudi 5. And the Pajjusan, now frequently called a festival, is the true Varshâvâsa of the Jaina monks. It expressly receives this name[13] and, like the Vassa of the Bauddhas, it is the season for preaching and devotional practices. It is obvious that here two different beginnings of the monsoon-retreat or Vassa have been fitted into one system. The later one dates from the time, when, in accordance with Mṛigaśiras-series of Nakshatras, Bhâdrapada was the month of the summer solstice and of the rains. The earlier one agrees with the arrangement of the months according to the Aśvinî-series. And it is not astonishing that the Jainas should have preserved a custom, based on this very ancient scheme of the year. Their traditional chronology places the death of their first historical prophet Pârśva in the first half of the eighth century B. C., and, as will be shewn below, it is according to the newest discoveries highly probable that their sect really sprang up about that time. It is further not improbable, that in the eighth century B. C. the rules of the Brahmanical *Bhikshu Sûtras* may have prescribed the beginnng of the Varsha in Bhâdrapada, just as a number of *Gṛihya* and *Dharma Sûtras*, even in later times, place the Upâkaraṇa in the same month. If that was so, the Jaina teachers naturally would copy the practice from their predecessors.

3. A third significant rule, which is mentioned by Prof. Tilak alone, enjoins the performance of the holiest Śrâddha in Bhâdrapada.[14] The half of the year, during which the sun travels towards the south, is the Pitṛiyâṇa, the period sacred to the Manes. It is a matter, of course, that the Manes must be connected with the beginning of this period. And we actually find that they are named as the tutelary deities of the Maghâ Nakshatra, which according to the Kṛittikâ-series stands at the summer solstice. Moreover, several *Dharma Sûtras* contain a verse, which the Manes are said to address to their living descendants, and which prays that they may offer Śrâddhas "in the rainy season and under the constellation Maghâ."[15] For the same reason the performance of a Śrâddha is necessary on the full moon day of Śrâvaṇa. If nevertheless we find that the holiest Śrâddha falls in Bhâdrapada and the whole dark half of this month is pre-eminently sacred to the Manes, the inference that this is due to the former position of that month at the beginning of the Pitṛiyâṇa, appears not unwarranted.

These arguments, it seems to me, are the strongest, which the two scholars have brought forward in order to shew that the Vedic Phâlguna, Praushṭhapada and Mârgaśîrsha years began respectively with the winter and summer solstices and the autumnal equinox. Professor Jacobi

[12] From the *Kalpasûtra*, para. 123 (*S. B. E.*, Vol. II. p. 264), it would appear that its author likewise knew this period of the Varshâvâsa. For he says that Vardhâmana died in Kârttika, the *fourth month* of the rainy season which he passed in the office of the royal clerks at Pâvâ.

[13] Professor Jacobi has been good enough to furnish me for this paper with some passages, which are very clear on this point. In the *Paryushaṇâkalpa Niryukti*, the second gâthâ enumerates the several synonyms for *pajjosavaṇâ* (Pajjusan), and the seventh is *vâsâvâsa*, in which Jinaprabha's *Pañjikâ* remarks, वासा इति वर्षाकालस्तासु वसनं वर्षावास : ।। In the beginning of his commentary the same author gives the following explanation on the word *paryushaṇâ*, अथ पर्युषणेति क : शब्दार्थः । उच्यते । परि सामस्त्येन उषन्ति परिवसन्ति वा साधवः कृताभिग्रहा अस्यामिति पर्युषणा वर्षारात्र : ।। Other utterances to the same effect are found in the *Saṁdehavishaushadhi* on the Sâmâchârî section of the *Kalpasûtra*, and have been printed by Prof. Jacobi in the notes to his edition.

[14] *Orion*, pp. 91, 216. Professor Tilak has not quoted any authorities, probably because the great sanctity of the Mahâlaya Śrâddha is known to every Hindu. If authorities are required they may be found, *e. g.*, in Hemâdri's *Pariśêshakâṇḍa*, Part III. pp. 195 ff., and in *Manu*, III. 259, as well as in the parallel passages, quoted in the Synopsis to my Translation.

[15] *Vasishṭha*, XI. 40, and the parallel passage in the note to my Translation.

mentions in addition two other points. In the beginning of his paper he quotes Ṛ.-V., VII. 103, 9:—

देवहितिं जुगुपुर्द्वादशस्य ऋतुं नरो न प्र मिनन्त्येते ।

which according to his interpretation means, "They guard the sacred order, these males never forget the proper time of the twelfth (month)." The passage thus alleges that the frogs are annually resuscitated in the twelfth month, of course, the last of the hot season, and it indicates that the year began with the rains or about the summer solstice. The assertion that the frogs reappear before the rains does agree with the actualities observable in India. It is perfectly true that the large species, usually called the bull-frog, makes the nights hideous with its cries about a fortnight before the Monsoon commences. I shall never forget my experiences during the hot season of 1863, when I lived in the old Elphinstone College near the Gavâliâ Talâo in Bombay. During the latter half of May the bull-frogs came out every night and, sitting round the tank, disturbed my sleep with the noises, which are described in so graphic a manner in the Frog-hymn of the Ṛigveda and in the corresponding verses of the Atharvaveda. But unfortunately the all-important word *dvâdaśá* in Ṛ. V., VII. 103, 9, is ambiguous and may mean also "the (year) consisting of twelve (parts)." I do not see any particular philological objection to Prof. Jacobi's rendering, but I cannot put any great value on a line which may also be translated — "They keep the sacred order of the year, these males never forget the proper season," whereby the allusion to a Varshâ-year is lost.[16]

Another argument of Prof. Jacobi's, drawn from Ṛ. V., X. 85, 13, seems to me equally precarious. It is possible that the verses connecting the entry of Sûryâ, the celestial prototype of a bride, into her husband's house with the Nakshatra Arjunyaḥ or Phalgunyaḥ, may refer to the sun's entering on a course, *i. e.*, beginning a new year on the day of its conjunction with Uttara Phalgunî.[17] But other explanations are equally possible.

Among the numerous further arguments, which Prof. Tilak brings forward in his chapters IV.-VII., there is, I fear, none which will help to convince our fellow-students of the soundness of the new theory. His contention that Mṛigaśiras was once called Agrahâyaṇa, because it stood at the head of the series of Nakshatras and at the vernal equinox, with which the Vasanta-year began, would be most important, if it could be established. Unfortunately the word Agrahâyaṇa is not as yet traceable in Sanskṛit literature, and the name Âgrahâyaṇî, which really is given to Mṛigaśiras, is explained by the fact that one of the old Indian years did begin in the month of Mârgaśîrsha or Âgrahâyaṇa.[18] Professor Tilak denies this. But he has not only to refute the *Mahâbhârata* and *Amarasiṁha*. As stated above, the perfectly clear statement of Bêrûnî is opposed to his view, and it is not to be thought of, that Bêrûnî and his Hindu informants could have been in error on the simple question of fact whether in A. D. 1030 a Mârgaśîrsha year was actually used in various provinces of North-Western India. As they say that this was the case, I cannot but believe them and see a confirmation of their statement in the hints of the *Mahâbhârata* and of the *Amarakôsha*.

But to return to the main question. It seems to me that what has been set forth above is quite sufficient to make it at least probable that some Vedic writings have preserved reminiscences of a time when the Nakshatra Praushṭhapadâ or Bhadrapadâ stood at the winter solstice and the vernal equinox fell in Mṛigaśiras, and that this arrangement has left its traces in the rules regarding the seasons for certain ceremonies and sacrifices. The period when this arrangement

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16 Professor Jacobi authorises me to state that he is fully aware of the objections, which may be raised against his first argument. He has placed it first, merely because the verse first suggested to him the idea that the ancient Hindus might have had a Varshâ-year, and this observation induced him to examine the other Vedic passages regarding the beginnings of the Vedic years and the position of the months in which they occur.

17 Compare also Prof. Weber, *Nachrichten von den vedischen Nakshatras*, II. p. 364 ff.

18 Regarding the grammatical explanation of the word Âgrahâyaṇa, see *Vârttika*, 4, on Pâṇini, V. 4, 36, where it is enumerated among the *Nipâtas*, formed by the affix *aṇ* without change of meaning.

was correct is, according to Prof. Jacobi's table, the year 4420 B. C. And if due allowance is made for possible and very probable errors of observation, the year 3800 B. C. may be fixed as the lowest term when a Mṛigaśiras-series could have been settled. This result does not prove that any verse or line of the Vedas was composed in those remote times, nor does it necessarily prove that the astronomical observations, on which it is based, were made by the ancient Indo-Aryans. For the whole Nakshatra system with the Mṛigaśiras-series may have been borrowed from one of the ancient Semitic or Turanian nations, some of which possessed an astronomical science in very early times. But, what the result proves is that **the arrangement of the Nakshatras with the Kṛittikâs as the vernal equinox is an Indian invention. If in India a Mṛigaśiras-series**[19] **preceded the Kṛittikâ-series, the latter cannot have been borrowed from a foreign nation.**

As the position of Kṛittikâ at the vernal equinox was astronomically correct about 2550 B. C.,[20] the observations cannot, even if the necessary allowance is made for errors owing to imperfect methods. be assumed to have been made later than about 2000 B. C. At this time the ancient Hindus must have possessed an astronomical science, probably very elementary, yet based on scientific principles and on actual observation.

Moreover, the result of Profs. Jacobi's and Tilak's researches proves, too, that **some of the Hindu rites and sacrifices existed even before the time when the Kṛittikâ-series was invented, and were settled long before the year 2000 B. C.** This second inference is supported by Professor Jacobi's remarks regarding the connexion of the Dhruva or pole-star with the ancient Vedic marriage-ritual, which, though only known to us from the *Gṛihya Sûtras*, yet must date from very remote times. He shews that, during about six centuries between 3100 and 2500 B. C., a real pole-star existed, the observation of which might have led to the well-known popular custom, according to which the husband on the wedding night points out the Dhruva to his bride and exhorts her never to forsake her new home, just as the star never changes its position. Professor Jacobi might have added that in later times, even during the Vedic period, the motion of the pole-star had been observed by the Hindus. In the *Maitrâyaṇa Brâhmaṇa Upanishad*[21] the motion of the pole-star is mentioned as one of the many instances of mutability to which all terrestrial and celestial beings are subject.

These inferences from the new theory are calculated, not to fix the age of particular hymns or portions of the Veda, but, as Prof. Jacobi says at the end of his paper, to upset the still very popular doctrine, according to which the whole ancient literary development of India is believed to have begun about 1200 B. C. and to have been completed within a comparatively short space of time. Professor Jacobi declares himself strongly against this theory which has been put forward most clearly and worked out most fully in Prof. Max Müller's famous *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*. And he contends that the periods of two hundred years, allotted there to the development of each of the three oldest forms of literary composition, involve sheer impossibilities. Similar remarks have been made by other scholars in reviews of Prof. Max Müller's book and elsewhere. The objections have been supported both by general considerations and by special arguments drawn from Indian literature.

At the stage, which the Indo-Aryan research has reached at present, theories which place the composition of the oldest Vedic hymns about 1200 or even 1500 B. C. and the completion of

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[19] I merely use the term "Mṛigaśiras-series" for the sake of convenience. The ancient Hindus probably began to count from Mûla, and the more correct expression would be "Mûla-series."

[20] Professor Tilak gives the year 2350 B. C. My astronomical adviser, Dr. R. Schram, sides with Prof. Jacobi. Dr. Schram says in a letter on the subject:—

"The precession amounts at present to 50", 26 annually or to 1° in 72 years. But it does not remain constant. Two thousand years ago it was about 46", and thus we get the 78 years for a degree, entered in Prof. Jacobi's Table. It is a matter of course that also this figure is correct for a certain period only. It is impossible to give generally correct figures for long periods, because the time, required for the passage through a whole degree, is variable."

[21] See *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XV. p. 289. Professor A. Weber was the first to call attention to the passage in the *Indische Studien*, Vol. II. p. 396.

the *Sruti* about 600 B. C , are no longer tenable, nay hardly disputable. The results of the Vedic studies, elaborated by M. Bergaigne and by Profs. Pischel and Geldner, shew more and more clearly that even the oldest *Sûktas* are not the productions of a people, combining the intellectual qualities of the ancient Greeks with the moral character of the ancient Teutons,— as depicted by Tacitus in his romantic *Germania* — in short of a nation resembling the abstract Aryans or Indo-Europeans, created by the fancy of the older school of comparative philologists and destroyed by the researches of Prof. O. Schrader. The results, at which the Vedists of the philological school have arrived, make it probable that the Rishis closely resembled the Hindus of historical India. Thereby the supposition of Prof. Max Müller, that the early literary life of India showed "a greater luxuriance" than that of later periods becomes hard to credit, and the conjecture that the ancient Indians raced through the so-called Chhandas, Mantra and Brâhmaṇa periods at a furiously fast pace loses its chief support.

Moreover, irrespective of the results of the Vedic studies, it cannot be denied that all the facts, which the more complete exploration of the Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina literature and of the inscriptions has revealed of late years, prove the pre-chronological period of the Indo-Aryan history to extend very considerably beyond 1200 or 1500 B. C. This remark holds good with respect to the political history as well as to the history of literature and religion. It is now evident that the conquest of the South by the Brahmanical Indo-Aryans took place earlier than was assumed some fifteen years ago, and it is no longer doubtful that Prof. Lassen's estimate, who places it in the sixth century B. C. or even earlier[22] and before the colonisation of Ceylon, is nearer the truth than Dr. Burnell's, who believed that it must be placed after the beginning of our era. The sober facts, which hitherto have become known through the inscriptions, are that slices of the eastern and the western Draviḍa districts belonged to the Maurya empire, and that the remainder of the South was in the time of Aśôka divided between the independent States of the Cholas, Pâṇḍyas, Keralas, Pulindas and Andhras. Aśôka's eastern Draviḍa possession, Kaliṅga, was inhabited, at the time of the conquest about 250 B. C., as he tells us in the thirteenth Rock-Edict, by numerous Brahmans and members of various sects, directed by ascetics. The Kaliṅgas were, it would seem, exactly in the same state of civilisation as the inhabitants of India north of Ganges. The state, in which his western Draviḍa province Mysore was, is not accurately described. But the two geographical names, Isila and Suvaṇagiri, which the Siddâpur edicts contain, are Aryan, and point to the conclusion that the country was thoroughly under Aryan influence. The same inference may be drawn from the name of the neighbouring Vanavâsa, which is mentioned in the Buddhistic traditions of the times of Aśôka. Among the independent southern kingdoms, which Aśôka mentions, there is only one, that of the Andhras, regarding which something definite is known. The inscription of the Bhaṭṭiprolu Stûpa, which come from the Andhra districts and probably belong either to the times of Aśôka or to the reign of his immediate successor, shew clearly that the country was fully hinduised. They contain more than a score of names of chiefs and merchants, among which there is not one of Dravidian origin. All the personal names, as well as that of a town, are Aryan, and among them we find the familiar Brahmanical appellations Kubiraka, *i. e.*, Kubêraka, Vaghavâ, *i. e.*, Vyaghrapâd, Bharadô, *i. e.*, Bharata, Satughô, *i. e.*, Śatrughna, Jêtô, *i. e.*, Jayanta, Pigalô, *i. e.*, Piṅgala, Pigaha, *i. e.*, Vigraha (Brahman), which clearly prove an acquaintance with Brahmanical mythology and with the Epic legends. The same documents speak also of the existence of guilds and *gôshṭhîs*, or committees of trustees supervising religious foundations, such as were known all through Aryan India. Some fifty or sixty years after Aśôka, the widow of the third Andhra king Sâtakani I., Queen Nâyanikâ, informs us in the large Nânâghât inscription, that she was an adherent of the old Karmamârga and caused numerous expensive Śrauta sacrifices to be offered. Further, she invokes Kṛishṇa and Saṁkarshaṇa, the sons of the Moon. She thus indicates that the Vaishṇava creed was prevalent in the south, side by side with the sacrificial worship of the Vedic deities. These

[22] *Indische Altherthumskunde*, Vol. II. p. 119.

clear and numerous indications of the prevalence of Aryan and Brahmanical civilisation in Southern India during the third century B. C. and the first half of the second would be sufficient to warrant the assertion that the conquest of the Draviḍa country cannot have taken place later than in the fifth century. But there is further evidence that it happened even earlier. For, the Brahmanical tradition asserts that a number of the Vedic schools of the *Taittirîya Veda*, such as those of Baudhâyana, Âpastamba, and Bhâradvâja, Hiraṇyakeśin sprang up in the south. And the genuineness of this tradition is confirmed by internal evidence, furnished by their *Sûtras*, and by various other circumstances. The same Brahmanical tradition, which is supported by that of the later Buddhists, makes the second of the Ṛishis of grammar, Kâtyâyana, a native of Dravidian India, and there is much in his notes on the grammar of Pâṇini, that shows his intimate acquaintance with the south, its geography, its ethnography, and its political condition. The author of the *Vârttikas* wrote certainly not later than in the third century, and the Vedic Sûtrakâras, or at least some of them, belong to even earlier times. The mere fact that Brahmanical learning flourished in the Draviḍa country centuries before the beginning of our era, is sufficient to push back the date of the conquest to the seventh or eighth century B. C. Finally, works belonging to the Buddhist canon like the *Jâtakas*, refer, in their prose portions and in the presumably older Gâthâs, not rarely to the eastern Dravidian districts, and narrate ancient legends regarding their rulers, which represent them as ordinary Rajputs, governing according to the principles of Brahmanical statecraft. Their contents fully confirm the inferences deducible from the ancient Brahmanical literature regarding the early occupation of the South. With the conquest of Southern India about 700 or even about 600 B. C., the assumption that the Indo-Aryans inhabited about 1200 or even about 1500 B. C. the northern corner of India and eastern Afghanistan becomes absolutely impossible. The idea that the Indo-Aryan nation of the Vedic times, with its many clan-divisions and its perpetual internal feuds, should have conquered the 123,000 square miles, which form the area of India (excluding the Panjab, Assam and Burma) and should have founded States, organised on the same model, all over this vast territory within the space of five, six or even eight hundred years, appears simply ludicrous; especially if it is borne in mind that this territory was inhabited not merely by forest tribes, but in part by peoples possessing a civilisation not much inferior to that of the invaders. More than the double of the longest period named was required for such achievements.

A scrutiny of the statements of the *Jâtakas* and other portions of the Buddhist canon regarding the development of literature yields results which confirm the inferences drawn from the facts and traditions regarding the conquest of the South. Though I must reserve the details for another occasion, I will mention here that the information, contained in the sacred books of the Buddhists, shows the Brahmanical sciences and literature to have reached about 500 B. C. exactly the same stage of development, which is known from the historical period. The ancient Buddhists mention repeatedly the *aṭṭhârasa vijjâṭhânâni*, the eighteen sections into which Hindu knowledge is divided even at present, and they give sufficient details, scattered in many *Suttas* and in many passages, which leave no doubt that the contents of the several *Vidyâsthânas* were then almost, if not quite, identical with those enumerated in Madhusûdhana Sarasvatî's *Prasthânabheda*. They also prove that the Epic poetry, the real *Kâvya* and the drama, as well as other branches of secular literature were then cultivated quite as much as in the times of the Andhras, the Western Kshatrapas and the Guptas. It will, therefore, not do to place the beginning of the Sûtra-period in 600 B. C., nor is it possible to assume that the whole literary life of India began in 1200 or 1500 B. C.

Finally, the facts, which the modern researches regarding the religious history have proved or at least made highly probable, again agree with the supposition that the Vedic period lies a long way beyond the near 1500 B. C., but are absolutely irreconcilable with opposite theory. Before the rise of Buddhism about 500 B. C., certainly one, possibly several, heterox sects, denying the authority of Vedas, existed, as well as some creeds of the type of the so-called

Bhaktimârga, a mixture of the philosophical tenets of the *Upanishads* with the exclusive worship of one of the great popular deities. Among these the heterodox Jainas claim to have had a prophet, whose death their traditional chronology places in the year 776 B. C. The trustworthiness of the Jaina tradition has been confirmed, of late, in very many particulars. And it has been shewn in particular that their second date, that of the death of their last prophet Vardhamâna or Mahâvîra, is approximately correct. As the Jainas assert that the Niggaṇṭha Vardhamâna, the son of the Nâya Rajput, died in 526 B. C. and the Buddhist canon places the death of the Nigaṇṭha teacher, the son of the Nâta husbandman, before the Nirvâṇa of Śâkyamuni Gautama, which fell between 484 and 474 B. C., it is evident that the Jaina date cannot be much out, though a small error is very probable.

As it thus appears that up to 500 B. C. the Jaina chronology is more than a baseless fabric, there is good reason to suppose that the date for Pârśva, whose doctrines and pupils are not rarely mentioned in the Jaina *Aṅgas*, is not absolutely untrustworthy. The period of 250 years, which, according to the tradition, lies between the twenty-third Tîrthaṅkara and his successor is not a long one and *primâ facie* unsuspicious. It may contain a small error, as traditional dates frequently do. But the great probability of the view, expressed by Prof. Jacobi and by others before him,[23] that Pârśva was the real historical founder of Jainism and that he lived in the second half of the eighth century B. C., seems to me also indisputable. If it must be conceded that a heterodox sect, whose teaching is based on a development of the doctrines of the Jñânamârga sprang up at that early period, it becomes impossible to reconcile this admission with the theory that the Brâhmaṇa period began about fifty years earlier. Still more irreconcilable with the theory that the literary activity of the Indo-Aryans began about 1200 or 1500 B. C. is another point, which, I think, can be proved, *viz.*, that the ancient Bhâgavata, Sâtvata or Pâñcharâtra sect, devoted to the worship of Nârâyaṇa and its deified teacher Kṛishṇa Devakîputra, dates from a period long anterior to the rise of the Jainas in the eighth century B. C. To give the details here would unduly lengthen this already long note. And I reserve their discussion for my *Indian Studies*, No. IV. The essentials may, however, be stated. They are (1) that the recovery of the Vaikhânasa *Dharma Sûtra* permits me to fully prove the correctness of Prof. Kern's (or rather Kâlakâchârya's and Utpala's) identification of the *Âjîvikas* with the *Bhâgavatas*, and (2) that the sacred books of the Buddhists contain passages, shewing that the origin of the *Bhâgavatas* was traditionally believed to fall in very remote times, and that this tradition is supported by indications contained in Brahmanical works. It is even possible that ultimately a *terminus à quo* may be found for the date of its founder, though I am not yet prepared to speak with confidence on this point.

As thus numerous facts, connected with the political, literary and religious history of India, force me to declare that **the commonly credited estimate of the antiquity of the Indo-Aryan civilisation is very much too low**, it is natural that I find Prof. Jacobi's and Prof. Tilak's views not *primâ facie* incredible, and that I value the indications for the former existence of a Mṛigaśiras-series of the Nakshatras very highly. As the new theory removes the favourite argument of the Sanskritists of Possibilist tendencies, that the beginning of the Vedic period must not be pushed back as far as 2000 B. C., because the Kṛittikâ-series may have been borrowed from the Chaldæans or from some other nation, it is of great advantage to those, who like myself feel compelled by other reasons to place the entrance of the Aryans into India long before the year 2000 B. C. But I think that the matter should not be allowed to rest where it stands at present. A renewed examination of all the astronomical and meteorological statements in Vedic works and their arrangement in handy easily intelligible tables seem to me very desirable. More than thirty years have passed since Prof. Weber's most important essays on the Nakshatras were written. Various Vedic, Buddhist and Jain texts, which then either were unknown or only accessible through extracts, can now be easily

[23] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IX. p. 162.

consulted. Thanks to the labours of Mr. Dîkshit and Drs. Bhâṇḍârkar and Fleet, as well as of Profs. Jacobi, Kielhorn and Thibaut, Indian astronomy and chronology are no longer so difficult to deal with as formerly. And the publications of the Meteorological Department furnish a considerable amount of important and necessary information, which was formerly inaccessible. A judicious utilisation of the old and the additional materials will probably permit a classification of the Vedic rites and sacrifices according to the periods when the Indo-Aryans used successively the Mṛigaśiras-series, the Kṛittikâ-series and the Aśvinî-series. It may also be expected, that results will be found, fixing approximately the age of at least some Vedic works and the localities where they have been composed.

Vienna, March 15th, 1894.

Beginning of the Annual Term of Veda-study.

Aśvalâyana Gṛihyasûtra, 3, 5.	On appearance of herbs.	....	Śrâvaṇa Full Moon or Hasta-day, Srâvaṇa (5).	....
Śâṅkhâyana Gṛihyasûtra, 4, 5.	On appearance of herbs.	....	Sravaṇa-day or Hasta-day.	... .
VasishṭhaDharmaśâstra, 13, 1.	....	....	Śrâvaṇa Full Moon.	Praushṭhapada Full Moon.
Pâraskara Gṛihyasûtra, 2, 10.	....	....	Śrâvaṇa Full Moon, or Hasta-day.	....
Yâjñavalkya Dharmaśâstra, I. 142.	On appearance of herbs.	....	Śrâvana (5) on Hasta-day.	....
Mânava Gṛihysutra, 1, 4.	....	....	Sravaṇa-day in the rains.[24]	....
Mânava Dharmaśâstra, 4, 95.	....	....	Śrâvaṇa Full Moon.	Praushṭhapada Full Moon.
Kâṭhaka Gṛihyasûtra ...	....	....	Śravaṇa-day in the rains.[25]	....
Vishṇu Smṛiti, 30, 1......	....	....	Śrâvaṇa Full Moon.	Bhâdrapada Full Moon.
Baudhâyana Gṛihyasûtra, 3, 1, 1. Baudhâyana Dharmaśâstra 1, 12, 16.	....	Âshâḍha Full Moon.	Śrâvaṇa Full Moon.	....
Bhâradvâja Gṛihyasûtra, 2, 37.	On appearance of herbs.	....	During Śrâvaṇa-paksha or Śrâvaṇa Full Moon.	....
ÂpastambaDharmasûtra, 1, 9, 1.	....	....	Śrâvaṇa Full Moon.	....
Hairaṇyakeśa Gṛiyhasûtra, 2, 18.	On appearance of herbs.	....	During Śrâvaṇa-paksha, Śrâvaṇa Full Moon.	....
Vaikhânasa Gṛihyasûtra, 2, 12.	....	Bright half of Âshâḍha, except on 4th, 9th and 14th.	....	....
Gobhila Gṛihyasûtra, 3, 3.	....	....	Śrâvaṇa Full Moon or on Hasta-day (5).	Praushṭhapada Full Moon.
Khâdira Gṛihyasûtra, 3, 2.	....	....	Śrâvaṇa Full Moon or Hasta-day (5).	Praushṭhapada Full Moon.
Gautama Dharmaśâstra, XVI. 1.	....	....	Beginning, *i. e.*, Full Moon of Śrâvaṇa.	Praushṭhapada Full Moon.

[24] Kindly communicated to me by Prof. Knauer.

[25] Kindly communicated to me by M. A. Barth. The commentary says that the meaning is "on the Śravaṇa-day either of Śrâvaṇa or of Bhâdrapada, which two months constitute the Varshâ-season."

THE ROOTS OF THE DHATUPATHA NOT FOUND IN LITERATURE.

BY G. BÜHLER.

(Concluded from page 154)

In the preceding discussion, **the usefulness of the Mahârâshṭrî and of the modern Gujarâtî has already been demonstrated** in the cases of the verbs शृङ्ख or शिङ्ख् and शट्. I will now add a few remarks regarding two suspected roots, त्रुडति or त्रुडति मज्जने and बोलयति मज्जने, which the Mahârâshṭrî and the Vernaculars prove to have belonged to the original stock of Indo-Aryan speech. Professor Whitney mentions both in the *Supplement*. But he appends to the former the note "*the occurrence or two are doubtless artificial,*" and remarks concerning the second "*the single occurrence in a commentary is doubtless artificial.*" B. R. W. quotes under त्रुड् only the passive past participle त्रुडित, and hence Prof. Whitney naturally inferred that this is the only form which can be verified. The verb त्रुडति, or त्रुडति (as is the more usual spelling) is, however, not at all rare in the compositions of the Northern and Western poets and Pandits, dated after A. D. 700, and in the Jaina Prabandhas.[1] In the Śrîkaṇṭhacharita, 16, 9 (between A. D. 1125 and 1150), occurs the present त्रुडति, *ibidem*, 8, 2, the perfect बुब्रुडे, in the Baijnâth Praśasti, 1, 2 (A. D. 804), the present participle त्रुडत्, and in Jonarâja's commentary on Śrîkaṇṭhacharita, 16, 2, the derivative त्रुडनम्.[2] It is, of course, possible to declare such evidence insufficient in order to establish the authenticity of the root, because Râma, Maṅkha, Kalhaṇa, Haripâla and Jonarâja were learned poets and commentators and might have written according to the Dhâtupâṭha.[3] But the Mahârâshṭrî and the majority of the Indian Vernaculars possess representatives of the Sanskṛit verb, which certainly have not been taken from the Dictionary of Sanskṛit roots, बुड्ड, derived probably from *बुडति, is found in the list of the Prâkṛit Dhâtvâdeśas, Hemachandra, IV. 101. The same author adduces passages with the future बुड्डीसु and with the absolutive of the causative बुड्डावि, and the passive past participle बुड्ड (in compounds वुड्ड) or is known from Hâla's very ancient Kosha and from other works. Finally, in his excellent note on Hemachandra, IV. 101, Prof. Pischel, who is one of the few Sanskritists aware of the importance of the Vernaculars for the study of Sanskṛit, has adduced the corresponding Sindhî, Gujarâtî, Marâṭhî and Bengâlî verbs with radical letters बुड्, which together with the inverted form डुब्[4] are used universally for 'to submerge' by the people of "the five Indies."

The evidence for बोलयति मज्जने is not equally strong. Hemachandra gives in the commentary on Uṇâdigaṇasûtra, 19, the nouns बोलुबुल: and बौलुबुल:, which he derives from his Dhâtu बुलण् and declares together with similar forms to be तत्तद्धात्वर्थास्तच्छीला अनुवादविशेषा:.[5] In Mârâṭhî it is regularly represented by बोलणें 'to dip, to smear,' and in Gujarâtî by बोळवुं

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[1] From the *Uttamacharitrakathânaka*, published by Prof. A. Weber, B. W. quotes त्रुडइक्ला, read त्रुडइक्ला.

[2] The verb occurs likewise more than once in Haripâla's ancient commentary on the Gauḍavadha. Rao Bahadur Ś. P. Pandit prints everywhere त्रुड्, but remarks on verse 101, that his copy, a transcript of the ancient Jesalmir palmleaf MS., has throughout ऋड्. The ancient Jaina MSS. frequently express त्रु by ऋ, appending the vowel *u* to the side of the consonant instead of putting it below. The same practice is also found in old Brahminical MSS., and in the commentary on Kâtyâyana's Śrauta Sûtra, V. 5, 31, त्रुडनम् ought to be read for ऋडनम्.

[3] Those who make such a contention have to reckon with the rule of the *Alaṁkâraśâstra* which forbids for ordinary Kâvyas the use of uncommon, little understood words and terms, *e. g.*, Vâmana, *Kâvyâlaṁkâra*, II. 1, 8, compare also *Tânakîharaṇa*, I. 89.

[4] डुब् is used, as the Dictionaries indicate, exclusively in Hindî and Panjâbî, but occurs also in Western India and in the Marâthâ country (especially in derivatives) side by side with बुड्. Cases of *metathesis* are common in the Vernaculars and occur in the older Prakrits. Hemachandra's Deśîkosha offers a good many examples, and the Pâli उपाहन 'shoe' for उपानह् is a well known instance from the most ancient Prâkṛit dialect known. From the Vernaculars I can adduce a case, which sorely troubles the schoolmasters of Kâthiâwâḍ. The Gujarâtî word for "fire" is देवता, literally "the deity." In the Peninsula everybody says देतवा instead, and the children in the vernacular schools invariably pronounce this form, though their books shew the correct one.

[5] I take these words and their explanation from Prof. Kirste's MS.-edition of the *Uṇâdigaṇasûtra*, which will be published as Vol. II. of the *Vienna Series of Sources of Indian Lexicography*.

These two forms are sufficient to vindicate its genuineness. But, as बोलयति is evidently a denominative from *बोल, a variant of the Prâkṛit participle वोड or बोड,[6] it is necessary to account for its occurrence in the Sanskṛit Dhâtupâṭha. The most probable solution of the problem is perhaps that it was excerpted from some old long lost Kâvya. It is at present quite possible to prove that Kâvyas, the productions of learned poets, existed even in the fourth and fifth centuries B. C. Now, the Alaṁkâraśâstra permits the poets, to use in their compositions "*expressions very commonly occurring in popular speech.*" This maxim is expressly stated, *e. g.*, by Vâmana, Kâvyâlaṁkâra, V. 1, 13, where it is said: —

अतिप्रयुक्तं देशभाषापदम् ॥ १३ ॥
अतीव कविभिः प्रयुक्तमतिप्रयुक्तं देशभाषापदं प्रयोज्यम् ॥

Though Vâmana wrote only in the eighth century A. D., the maxim is no doubt an old one, like the famous permission to turn *mâsha* into *masha* in order to save the metre.[7] For even the learned Kavis naturally tried to keep in contact with the popular predilections, as it was their aim to amuse their rich patrons, who belonged to the landed aristocracy and the merchant class. If this was so, the occurrence even of real Prákṛit root forms in the Dhâtupâṭha is, of course, easily intelligible. Others will perhaps hold that, as there is no definite boundary line between the pre-classical Indo-Aryan speech of the Sanskṛit type and the ancient Prakrits, वोड and *बोल and its denominative may have been used in one or the other of the several early Aryan communities. However that may be, it is certain that बोलयति is not a fiction of the grammarians. I may add that various analogies permit us to hazard at least a guess as to the original Indo-Aryan form of the root ब्रुड्. Thus Prof. Pischel has shewn in his admirable paper "*Die Deśîśabdas bei Trivikrama*" (Bezzenberger, *Beiträge*, Vol. III. p. 254 ff.) that the series of verbs, Sanskṛit क्रीड्, Pâḷi खिड्ड्, Mahârâshṭrî खेड्ड्, Sanskṛit and Prâkṛit खेल् goes back to an Indo-Aryan verb *स्क्रिद् 'to play, to amuse oneself.' In like manner ब्रुड् or ब्रुड्, भ्रुड्, वुड्ड्, वुड् and वुड्ड् or बुळ् seem to point to an Indo-Aryan *व्रुद्, *वर्द् or * वृद्.

A thorough exploration of the Prakrits and especially of their Dhâtvâdeśas will shew that many queer looking, apparently isolated, verbs of the Sanskṛit Dhâtupâṭha are by no means εἴδωλα or ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα but strong, healthy beings, full of life and parents of a numerous offspring. A long paper on "Pali, Prakrit and Sanskrit Etymology" by Dr. Morris in the *Transactions* of IXth Int. Congr. of Or., Vol. I. p. 466 ff., contains a good deal bearing on this matter, and deserves careful attention.

The fundamental maxim, which gives their importance to these researchès, is that every root or verb of the Dhâtupâṭha, which has a representative in one of the Prâkṛits, — Pâḷi, Mahârâshṭrî, Mâgadhî, Saurasenî, the Apabhraṁśas —, or in one of the modern Indian Vernaculars must be considered as genuine and as an integral part of the Indo-Aryan speech. Those, who consider such verbs to be "sham," "fictitious" or "artificial" have to prove their contention and to shew, that, and how, the author or authors of the Dhâtupâṭha coined them. This rule, of course, holds good not only for the Indian languages, but *mutatis mutandis* for all linguistic research. If the grammatical tradition regarding the existence of a certain word is confirmed by the actualities in any dialect of a language, the presumption is that the tradition is genuine.

As I do not claim to possess prophetic gifts, I do not care to predict how many hundreds of roots will exactly be verified, when the search has been completed. But it is not doubtful that the majority of those verbs, which Prof. Whitney considers suspicious or fictitious, will turn up, and in addition a considerable number of such as have not been noted by the Hindu grammarians. On the other hand, **it would be wonderful, if the whole contents of the Dhâtupâṭha could ever be "belegt."** For, it has been pointed out repeatedly and must be apparent to the merest *tiro* in Indian palæography that a

[6] In accordance with the well-known maxim — बवयोर्डलयोरभित् ॥
[7] An example illustrating this rule occurs *ante*? where *viṇâ* has become, *metri causâ*, *viṇâ*.

certain proportion of the roots is the result of misreadings. This is, of course, highly probable in all cases where the Dhâtupâtha gives pairs like युछ and पुछ् or झष् and ऊष्. The characters for *jha* and *û* are almost exactly alike in the Nâgarî alphabet of the ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, just as those for *ya* and *pa* in the later MSS. More important is another point, which likewise has been frequently noticed, *viz.*, the fact that only a small portion of the Vedic literature, known to Pâṇini and his predecessors, has been preserved, and that of the ancient *laukika Śâstra*, the Kâvya, Purâṇa, Itihâsa and the technical treatises only very small remnants have come down to our times. **The assertion that the old literature has suffered terrible losses, is admitted by all Sanskritists.** It is only a pity that their extent has not been ascertained, at least approximately, by the preparation of a list of works and authors mentioned in the Śabdânuśâsana, the Brâhmaṇas, the Upanishads and the Vedâṅgas. Such a list, especially if supplemented by an enumeration of the numerous references to the spoken language, which Pâṇini's Śabdânuśâsana contains, would probably bar for the future the inference that a root or form must be fictitious, because it is not found in the accessible literature. This inference is based on a *conclusio a minori ad majus*, which with a list, shewing what existed formerly and what we have now, would at once become apparent. The loss Śâkhâs of the Vedas and the lost works of the *laukika Śâstra* amount to hundreds. If on an average a third or a fourth of them contained each, as is perhaps not improbable according to the results of the exploration of recently recovered Saṁhitâs and Sûtras, one or two of the as yet untraceable roots, that would be sufficient to account for all the lost stems.

Three other considerations, it seems to me, help to explain some of the most remarkable peculiarities, observable in the materials incorporated in the Dhâtupâṭha, *viz.*, the fact that a certain proportion of the roots really is and will remain isolated, neither derivatives nor cognate forms being traceable in the Indo-Aryan or in the Indo-European languages, and the indisputable fact that many roots may readily be arranged in groups, similar in sound and identical in meaning and inflexion. Both these peculiarities, as stated above, have been used by Prof. Edgren in order to prove that the verbs, shewing them, must be fictitious. And it has been pointed out, that the number of the isolated and barren verbs is not so great as Prof. Edgren supposes, the inflected forms or representatives of a certain proportion being found in the Prakrits and in the unexplored Sanskrit literature. Nevertheless, a certain number of instances will remain, which requires accounting for. With respect to the second fact, it has been pointed out that many of the curious variants are clearly dialectic and derived from lost or preserved parent-stems in accordance with phonetic laws valid in the Prakrits and in Sanskrit.[8]

The chief considerations, which in my opinion do account for these peculiarities are (1) the great length of the period, during which the materials of the Dhâtupâṭha were collected, (2) the enormous extent of the territory from which the Hindu grammarians drew their linguistic facts, and (3) the great diversity of the several sections of the Indo-Aryans inhabiting this territory.

It is admitted at all hands that Pâṇini's Śabdânuśâsana is the last link in a long chain of grammatical treatises, which were gradually enlarged and made more and more intricate, until the Hindu system of grammar became a science, which can be mastered only by a diligent study continued for years. According to the unanimous tradition of the Hindus, the Vyâkaraṇa is a Vedâṅga, *i. e.*, a science subservient to the study of the Veda, and it is highly probable that the older Hindu grammars exclusively or chiefly explained the Vedic forms, just like the oldest Koshas, the Nighaṇṭus, include very little that is not derived from Vedic texts. In Pâṇini's grammar the Vedic language is of minor importance. Its chief aim is to teach the correct

8 A perusal of Prof. Per Person's *Wurzelerweiterung und Wurzelvariation* would perhaps convince Prof. Edgren that many Indo-European roots may be arranged in *gaṇas*, similar to those in which he has arranged so many verbs of the Dhâtupâṭha.

forms of the *laukikî bhâshâ* for the use of students of Sanskṛit. The road, that leads from the Vedâṅga to the independent 'Sabdânuśâsana, is a long one, and has not been traversed in one or a few decades. Centuries were required in order to effect the change. For in India processes of development are particularly slow, except when extraneous impulses come into play. To the conclusion that the prehistoric period of the Vyâkaraṇa was a long one, point also Pâṇini's appeals to the authority of numerous predecessors. He not only mentions ten individual earlier teachers, but also the schools of the North and the East, and his grammar shews indeed very clear traces that it has been compiled from various sources. Now, if Pâṇini's Sûtras are the final redaction of a number of older grammatical works, the same must be the case with his Dhâtupâṭha. For the arrangement of all Indian 'Sabdânuśâsanas presupposes the existence of a Dhâtupâtha, and there is no reason to assume that the older grammars were deficient in this respect. It may be even suggested that the occasional discrepancies between the teaching of the Dhâtupâtha and rules of the 'Sabdânuśâsana, the existence of which has been alleged, as well as the inequality in the explanatory notes, appended to the roots, are due to an incomplete unification of the various materials which Pâṇini used. Similar instances of what looks like, or really is, carelessness in redaction[9] are not wanting in other Sûtras. In the Introduction to my Translation of Âpastamba's Dharmasûtra[10] I have pointed out that, though Âpastamba condemns in that work the raising of Kshetraja sons and the practice of adoption, he yet describes in the Śrauta Sûtra the manner in which a "son of two fathers" shall offer the funeral cakes, and that Hiraṇyakeśin has not thought it necessary to make the language of the several parts of his Kalpa agree exactly.

But, if Pâṇini's Dhâtupâtha must be considered as a compilation from various works, dating from different centuries and composed in various parts of India, it is only to be expected that it should contain many verbs which had already in his time become obsolete and isolated, many variants or dialectic forms. This supposition becomes particularly credible, if the extent of the territory is taken into consideration, from which the ancient grammarians drew their linguistic facts. It extends from the Khyber Pass and the frontier of Sindh in the West, about 71° E. L., to beyond Patnâ in the East, in 86° E. L., and from the Himâlaya to the Vindhya range, where the Narmadâ, the *mekhalâ bhuvaḥ*, divides the Uttarâpatha from the Dakshiṇâpatha, or roughly reckoning from the twenty-second to the thirty-first degree N. L. The Aryan population of this large tract was divided into a very great number of tribes, clans, castes and sects, as well as of schools of Vaidiks, Pandits and poets, and owed allegiance to the rulers of perhaps a dozen or more different kingdoms. In historic India tribal, sectarian, political and other divisions have always strongly influenced the development of the languages, and have caused and perpetuated dialectic differences. It seems difficult to assume that matters stood differently in prehistoric times, when there was not, as later, one single work which was generally considered as the standard authority of speech by all educated Aryans. The diversity of the words and forms in literary works and in the speech of the educated classes probably was very great and the task of the earlier grammarians, who had to make their selection from them very difficult.

This difficulty was, it might be expected, not lessened by their method of working. Even in the present day Indian Pandits rarely use any of the scientific apparatus, of which European scholars avail themselves. Indexes, dictionaries and "*Collectanea*," such as are at the service of the Europeans, are unknown to them. They chiefly trust to memory, and work in a happy-go-lucky sort of way. Even when writing commentaries, they frequently leave their quotations unverified or entrust the verification to incompetent pupils. The enormous quantity of the

[9] I say advisedly 'looks like or really is carelessness,' because it is always possible that the Sûtrakâras intentionally left contradictory rules unaltered in order to indicate an option. Very clear cases of carelessness in the working up of different materials, do, however, actually occur, *e. g.*, in the grammatical and lexicographical works of Hemachandra.

[10] *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. II. p. xxiii, p 130, note 7.

materials and the deficiencies in the system of working them up, explain why none of the Vedas or other old books have been excerpted completely, while the diversity of the materials and the length of the period, during which the collections were made, fully account for the occurrence of dialectic, and of isolated or obsolete, forms in the list of roots. In my opinion it is only wonderful that they are not more numerous.

I now come to the real object of my paper, **the practical suggestions for the continuation of the search for roots and forms and for an organisation of this search.** On the one hand it is necessary that all the unpublished Dhâtupâṭhas together with their commentaries should be edited critically with good indexes, and that the same should he done with the Sanskṛit Koshas, which furnish the tradition regarding the derivatives. On the other hand, all accessible Sanskṛit, Pâḷi and Prâkṛit books and MSS., as well as the Vernacular classics ought to be read and excerpted by competent scholars, with a view to the preparation of a Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Roots. This Dictionary ought to contain, not only the roots, included in the Dhâtupâṭha, together with their meanings and inflections, verified and unverified, as well with the corresponding forms of the Prakrits and Vernaculars, but also those verbs, which the grammarians have omitted, whether they are found in Vedic, Sanskṛit, Prâkṛit or Vernacular literature or speech. If the materials are arranged methodically and intelligibly, and if a good index is added, such a book would be of very considerable use to all linguists, who study any of the Indo-European languages. And if the excerpts are made with the necessary care, a portion of them can be made useful for the Sanskṛit, Pâḷi and Prâkṛit dictionaries of the future.

The magnitude of the undertaking would preclude the possibility of its being carried out by one or even by a small number of students. The co-operation of a great many would be required, not only of Europeans and Americans, but also of the Hindus of the modern school, who alone can furnish the materials for the very important Vernaculars. Moreover, a careful consideration of the general plan would be necessary, as well as the settlement of definite rules and instructions for the collaborators. Perhaps one of the next International Oriental Congresses will be a suitable occasion for the discussion of such a scheme, and of its details as well as of the great question of ways and means. I believe, that if the idea finds the necessary support, the appointment of a permanent international Committee will be advisable, which should supervise the preparation of the work and the indispensable preliminary labours. A small beginning has already been made with the latter by the Imperial Austrian Academy's *Series of Sources of Sanskrit Lexicography*, of which the first volume has appeared and the second, containing Hemachandra's Uṇâdigaṇasûtra with the author's commentary, is ready for the press, while the third, the Maṅkhakosha with its commentary, has been undertaken by Prof. Zachariae. It is a matter of congratulation that the Council of the Société Asiatique has expressed its willingness to co-operate and has commissioned M. Finot to edit the Ajayakosha on the same principles, which Prof. Zachariae has followed in preparing the Anekârthasaṁgraha. I have hopes that the Austrian Academy will sanction the issue of some more volumes, including also some Dhâtupâṭhas, *e. g.*, those belonging to Hemachandra's grammar and to the Kâtantra. If Prof. Lanman, the German Oriental Society, the Asiatic Society of Bengal and other corporations or individuals publishing editions of Sanskṛit texts would each agree to undertake a few volumes, the necessary auxiliary editions might be prepared without too great a delay and without too heavy a strain on the resources of one single body.

At the same time it would be quite feasible to begin with the excerpts from the literary works, the results of which could be published preliminarily in the *Journals* of the various Oriental Societies and in the Transactions of the Academies. The form of publication ought to be such that they could easily be used by the editor or editors of the Dictionary, and the original excerpts, done according to uniform principles, might be deposited for future reference in the libraries of the learned bodies, publishing the results. With a well considered plan, which might follow partly the lines of that, adopted for the new *Thesaurus Totius Latinitatis*, the

" Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Roots" might be completed within the lifetime of those among us who at present are the *madhyamavṛiddha* Sanskritists.

If the idea is ever realised and a standard book is produced, a great part of the credit will belong to Prof. Whitney. In his *Supplement*, which, in spite of my different views regarding the character of the linguistic facts handed down by the ancient Hindus and regarding various details, I value very highly and in his justly popular *Sanskrit Grammar*, the statistical method has been first applied to Saṁskṛit, and these two works mark a decided advance in the study of the ancient Brahmanical language.

Vienna, 31*st Jan*. 1894.

MISCELLANEA.

SOME REMARKS ON THE KALYANI INSCRIPTIONS.

(*Continued from page* 224.)

(5) Gôḷamattikanagaraṁ.

"Any structure built of loam, earth (Pâḷi *mattikâ*, Skr. *mṛittikâ*), brick, or stone is called [in Talaing and Burmese] *taik*. The Talaing **Taikkulâ (Takkula)** and the Burmese **Kulâtaik** is the correct rendering of **Gôḷamattikâ**. In old Talaing manuscripts the Pâḷi name is written Gôlamattikâ, and in modern manuscripts Gulâmattika and Kulâmattikâ. The Talaing equivalents are Taikgôlâ and, by a natural assimilation of *g* to *k*, Taikkôlâ, which changed in course of time to Taikkulâ."[1]

The ruins of Taikkulâ are still extant between Ayetþèmà and Kinywâ in the Bilin township of the Shwêgyin district.

"Though the seashore is now about 12 miles to the west, this place was still an important seaport in the 16th and 17th centuries; it is marked on the map of Prof. Lassen as **Takkala**, but erroneously placed a few miles north of Tavoy. Cables, ropes, and other vestiges of seagoing vessels are still frequently dug up about Taikkulâ."[2]

The subject of the identification of the Takôla of Ptolemy and the Kalah of Arabian Geographers is discussed by Forchhammer at pages 12-16, and at pages 198 and 199 of McCrindle's *Ancient India Described by Ptolemy*.

If the evidence afforded by the Kalyâṇî Inscriptions can be relied on, the settlement in Suvaṇṇabhûmi was apparently colonized from Bengal by the Gôḷas, = Gauḍas, during one of the struggles for supremacy between Buddhism and Brahmanism, and possibly Jainism also.

(6) The Stone at Gôḷamattikanagaram.

Ante, Vol. XXI. p. 17, it is stated that when Sôṇa and Uttara conquered the *rakkhasas* at Gôḷamattikanagara, images of *rakkhasas* were put on children as protective charms. These charms are stated in the text to have been inscribed *bhujê vâ paṇṇê vâ*, and I have translated this "on armlets, wristlets and leaves." I was misled by the Burmese version, and the allusion is evidently to the *bhûrjapatra*, the palm-leaf MS. (the *bhôjpatr* of modern India) of modern and mediæval times, whatever it may have been originally.

It is further stated that **the image of the Rakkhasî was engraved on a stone placed "on the top of a hill to the North-East of the town."** "*Taṁ rûpaṁ yav' ajjatanâ dissati*, this image is to be seen to this day" says the inscription in 1476 A. D.

A stone answering this description is reported still to exist. Forchhammer says, *Notes on the Early History and Geography of British Burma, II.* page 10:—"Of the town nothing remains now except traces of brick walls and the stone image alluded to in the text taken from the Kalyâṇî Inscriptions. It is now lying half buried underground, near a small tank to the south of the Kumârachêtî, and consists of a huge, phantastically-shaped boulder, similar in appearance to that strange freak of nature, the supposed lost species of *megatherium* preserved in the public garden at Prome."

(7) The Pestilence in Râmaññadêsa.

After the appearance of Sôna and Uttara there is reference (*ante*, Vol. XXII. p. 17) to an **ahivâtarôga, which afflicted Râmaññadêsa.** This word is rendered by "pestilence" in translating the *Mahâvagga*, I. 50. See *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XIII. p. 204.

The pestilence referred to might well have been the result of the drying up of the deltaic lands of Râmaññadêsa, such as has been witnessed in our own time in Lower Bengal.

(8) The Seven Kings.

After the pestilence mentioned in the last note **Râmaññadêsa "was conquered by the armies**

[1] Forchhammer's *Notes on the Early History and Geography of British Burma. II.—The First Buddhist Mission to Suvaṇṇabhûmi*, page 9.

[2] *Op. cit. p.* 7.

of the seven Kings" (*sattarâjasênâyâbhibhûtattâ*).[3]

The seven kings alluded to here appear to refer to the autochthonous tribes inhabiting the valley of the Sittang and Salween rivers before the advent of the Talaings, such as the Taungbûs, Karens, and Yabêns, remnants of whom are still found scattered in what was once the Talaing Kingdom; or to the Cambodian Princes whose power was paramount in Indo-China between thee 6th and 7th centuries A. D.

Forchhammer, however, says, *Notes on the Early Hist. of British Burma*, II. p. 10:—"The Taungthûs, still numerous about Ayetthèmà and Thatôn, claim the region between the mouths of the Sittang and the Salween rivers as their original home, from which they were driven, according to their traditions, by the Talaings. The Taungthûs were divided into seven clans. I have little doubt that by the sattarâjasênâya of the Kalyâṇî Inscriptions, the seven clan chiefs of the Taungthûs are meant, who harassed the Talaings by their constant inroads. This must have happened in the 9th or 10th century after Christ, prior to the conquest of Thatôn by the Burmese King Anawratha. After the rise of Wâgarû, king of Martaban, at the close of the 13th century, the main body of Taungthûs, being conquered by the Talaings, left the country. Three clans (I owe this information to Dr. Cushing) went towards the north and the other four clans towards the north-east (Shân and Laos States). They appear to have been the cultivators of the soil from time immemorial, for in the Talaing law-books the word Khêttiya (Kshêtra), which, in the *Dhammathàts*, is erroneously often treated as a synonym of Khattiya (Kshatriya) of the Hindu *Dharmaśâstras*, and 'taken in the sense of tillers of the soil,' is always translated by 'Taungthus'."

For the Taungbûs see my remarks, *ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 379 ff.

(9) Eras and Reckoning.

The years of Sakkarâj (Þetkayit, the 'Vulgar Era' of the Burmese) throughout the inscriptions are expressed by means of mnemonic words,[4] the latter being written in the reverse order.

The following list contains the words most commonly used in this connexion:—

Cipher—*kha*; *suñña* (void), *nabha* (the sky).

One—*rûpa* (form).

Two—*dê* (or *dvê*); *chamma* (there being two kinds of skins); *yama* (a couple).

Three—*sikhi* (there being three kinds of fires, namely, of *lôbha* or *râga*, *dôsa*, and *môha*).

Four—*bêda* (the number of *Vêdas* being four).

Five—*pâna* (there being five kinds of intoxicants).

Six—*rasa* (there being six different kinds of tastes).

Seven—*muni* (there being seven kinds of sages).

Eight—*nâga* (there being eight kinds of *nâgas*).

Nine—*ruddha* (there being nine kinds of *samâpattis*: five *rûpajjhâna*, and four *arûpajjhâna*).[5]

Two eras, both of exotic origin, are in use among the Burmese:—the era of Religion, or Anno Buddhæ, reckoned by the Burmans from 544 B. C., and the Vulgar era, or Sakkarâj.

The Burmans would derive Sakkarâj from Sakka or Śakra, the Recording Angel of Buddhism, and *râjâ*, a king; because, according to them, the era was inaugurated by the king of the *dêvas*. In ancient books and inscriptions, however, the word is found written Sakarâj, which is more consonant with its true etymology from Śakarâjâ. It is in fact a form of the Śaka era of India, and is found in use in most of the Indo-Chinese countries and in Java, being reckoned properly from Monday, 14th March 78, A. D. (Julian era).

The earliest era used in Burma seems to have been the Era of Religion, reckoned as above; but, according to the Burmese, this era was abolished by Samundarî, King of Prome or Śrîkshêtra, in Anno Buddhæ 624, and a new era was established in its own second year, thus wiping out 622 years of the Era of Religion. Hence the era established by King Samundarî had the name of the Dôdôrasa Era applied to it.

It will be thus seen that the Dôdôrasa Era of King Samundarî reckons from 78 A. D., that is, from the Śaka Era of India. The correspondence of the beginning of this era in India and Burma, and of its very appellation, and the existence of architectural remains in Prome which resemble those of Upper India, are convincing proofs, to my mind, that there was frequent intercourse between India and Prome in

[3] *Ante*, Vol. XXII. p. 17.

[4] See Burnell's *Elements of South-Indian Palæography*, pages 58 and 59.

[5] [Compare Natesa Sastri's slang mnemonic numerals now used in South India, *ante*, p. 49 f. — ED.]

the first century after Christ, when the latter was a seaport, and that Indian influence was predominant in the Irrawaddy Valley.

But the Burmese and Indo-Chinese generally reckon, and have for centuries reckoned, the Sakkarâj from 638 A. D., adding, as they say, 622+560 to the Anno Buddhæ to arrive at it. That is, to convert a year Anno Buddhæ into a year Sakkarâj, the numbers 622 and 560 must be added to the former. How the number 622 was arrived at, we have already seen, and the next puzzle is to find out why 560 has also to be added.

Besides the name Sakkarâj, or Þetkayit, the name Khachhapañcha is applied to the Era which commences with 638 A. D., and the Burmese records are, so far as I know, silent as to the reasons for its introduction. For the matter of that they are silent as to the causes that led to the adoption of the Śaka era of 78 A. D.

But there is evidence to shew that the new Sakkarâj, or Era of 638 A. D., is of Chinese origin. Forbes, *Languages of Further India*, p. 26 f., talks of the "singular fact that all the nations of Ultra-India, although deriving their religion, their civilization and their literature from India, have not adopted any of the Indian Eras, but have borrowed from China." He then goes on to quote from Garnier:

"Les relations établies par les Thang avec les contrées du midi avaient propagé sans aucun doute les connaisances astronomiques et le calendrier Chinois, et c'est là peut-être l'origine de l'ère qui est aujourd'hui la seule employée à Siam (Cambodge), au Laos, et en Birmanie, et qui commence à l'an 638. Cassini a démontré en effet que le point de départ de cette ère était purement astronomique. **Le 21 Mars 638** la nouvelle lune coïncida avec l'entrée du soleil dans le premier signe du zodiaque et produisit une eclipse importante."

As to the travels of the Era from China to Burma, they can be accounted for thus. The Annamese, who became subject to China as long ago as the year 221 B. C. under the Emperor Hwangti, passed it on to their neighbours, the Cambodians, whose empire extended in the early centuries of the Christian era, prior to their conquest by the Siamese (1351-1374 A. D.), as far as the shores of the Gulf of Martaban. Traces of their influence and civilization are still to be found in the painting, sculpture and architecture of Burma.

To convert the present Sakkarâj into years A. D, it is simply necessary to add 638; thus 1255 + 638 = 1893. The year 1893 A. D. = the year 1255 B E. (Burmese Era). According to the Burmans the number 1255 is arrived at thus:—

1255 years Sakkarâj.
560 years Dôdôrasa.
622 years A. B.
——
2437 the present year A. B.

Subtract 1893 (years A. D) from 2437 (years A. B.), and 544 B. C. is arrived at as the commencement of the Era of Religion.

It will, however, be perceived that there is nothing Indian about the Sakkarâj of the modern Burmese, except its name and the traditions connected with it.

(10) Anuruddha or Anòrat'âzò.

Anuruddha and its Burmanized forms, **Anòrat'â and Anòrat'âzò, are the names of the hero-king who reigned at Pagàn about the beginning of the eleventh century A. D.**

His conquest of Thatôn in 1057 A. D., is thus described by Phayre, *History of Burma*, page 37:—"The king now desired to possess the Buddhist Scriptures, the *Tripitaka*. He knew that those precious volumes existed at Thahtun (Thatôn). He sent an ambassador of high rank to Manuhâ, the king of that city, to ask for a copy of the holy books. The king answered haughtily that he would give nothing. Anoarahtâ (Anòrat'â), with a sudden fierceness, altogether opposed to the spirit of the religion which he had embraced, determined to punish what he meeded an affront. He collected a large army and went down the Irâwadî. The king of Thahtun had no means of meeting the invader in the field, but the city was well defended by a wall. After a long siege the citizens were reduced by famine and the city was surrendered. King Manuhâ, his wives and children, were carried away captive to Pugân. The city was utterly destroyed. Nobles and artificers, holy relics and sacred books, golden images and treasures of all kinds were carried off; and from that time the country of Pegu became for more than two centuries subject to Burma. As a fit sequence to such a war the unhappy Manuhâ, his whole family, and the high-born captives were thrust down to the lowest depth of woe by being made pagoda slaves."

During the three centuries[6] that preceded the accession of Anòrat'â, Buddhism was expelled

[6] [But see *ante*, Vol. XXII. p. 358 ff., as to the travels of Dîpaṅkara in Lower Burma in the tenth century A. D. — ED.]

from India, and its votaries found a refuge in the neighbouring countries, namely, Tibet, China, the Malay Archipelago, Indo-China, and Ceylon. To this fact may, perhaps, be attributed the religious and architectural activity manifested at Pagàn at the beginning of the eleventh century, and the preparedness of the Burmans to assimilate the civilization of the Talaings transplanted through Anòrat'â's conquest.

However, it has hitherto been the fashion[7] **to represent Anòrat'â as the leader of a barbarian horde,** who swept down upon Thatôn, and from thence carried away captive its king, Manuhâ, together with "five elephant-loads of Buddhist Scriptures and five hundred Buddhist priests;" and that it was during his reign that the Burmans received their religion, letters, and other elements of civilization from the Talaings. **Such statements do not appear to be warranted by the evidence afforded by the following considerations relating to this period:—**

(*a*) The tract of country extending from Toungoo to Mandalay was colonised under feudal tenure in order to prevent the recurrence of the constant raids from the neighbouring Shân hills; and, with a view to attract population, the irrigation-works, which have been a source of wealth and prosperity to later generations, were constructed. A similar cordon of towns and villages was also formed on the Northern frontier to safeguard against aggressions from the Shân Kingdom of Pông. Coupled with these facts was that of the subjection of the Talaings to Burmese rule for over two centuries. These circumstances appear to indicate that the Burmans of that period were possessed of the elements of civilization and were acquainted with statesmanship, the methods of good government, and the arts of settled life.

(*b*) **A debased form of Buddhism, which was probably introduced from Northern India, existed at Pagàn. Its teachers, called Arîs,** were not strict observers of their vow of celibacy; and it is expressly recorded in Native histories that they had written records of their doctrines, the basis of which was that sin could be expiated by the recitation of certain hymns.

The sacred language of Buddhism at the time of its introduction was Sanskṛit, and not Pâḷi. This is abundantly clear from the terra-cotta tablets bearing Sanskṛit legends found at Tagaung, Pagàn, and Prome, from the preference shewn for the Sanskritic form of certain words, as noticed by Fausböll and Trenckner, in the Buddhistic books of Burma, and from the existence in the Burmese language of words importing terms in religion, mythology, science, and social life, which are derived directly from Sanskṛit.[8]

(*c*) It is expressly recorded in the *Mahâyâzàwin* that Anòrat'â and Manuhâ had inscriptions erected at the pagodas built by them, and that the Buddhist scriptures, which were in the Mun or Talaing character, were, by Anòrat'â's command, transcribed in the Burmese character at Pagàn. **Inscriptions of the 11th and 12th centuries have been found at Pagàn, whose palæographical development is clearly traceable to the Indo-Pâḷi alphabet of Kanishka** (*vide* Cunningham's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Plate XXVII.), and not to the South-Indian alphabet of the Eastern Châlukya dynasty of Kalinga (*vide* Burnell's *Elements of South-Indian Palæography*, Plate IV.) from which the Talaing alphabet was undoubtedly derived.

(*d*) The Shwêzîgôn and several other pagodas were built by Anòrat'â, who enshrined in them the relics obtained by demolishing certain religious edifices in Arakan, Prome, and Hànḇawadî. The sudden outburst of architectural energy, which followed Anòrat'â's conquest of Thatôn, and which covered the Upper Valley of the Irâwad with pagodas and other religious buildings, could not have been possible unless the Burmans of that period had reached a certain stage in the scale of civilization.

It is to be hoped that further researches, both historical and antiquarian, will bring to light the social, intellectual, moral, and religious condition of the Burmans on the eve of their conquest of Thatôn in the 11th century. For the present, however, the available materials are either scanty or unreliable.

According to the Kalyâṇî Inscriptions, the period extending from the establishment of

[7] Compare Forchhammer's *Jardine Prize Essay*, p. 4:—
"We shall in vain explore the reputed sites of ancient Burmese capitals for any architectural remains, antedating the rise of Anawrahta, which can be traced to Burmans. The conquest of Anawrahta inaugurated the career of the Mranmas or Burmans as a historical nation.
"Nor did they, prior to this event, possess an alphabet, much less a literature. Their most ancient inscriptions are not older than six centuries and display the art of writing in its infancy." [This last statement is at any rate wrong. *Vide ante*, p. 167, footnote 7: Cunningham's *Mahabodhi*, p. 75. — ED.]

[8] See the discussion on Sanskrit words in the Burmese Language ending with Mr. Houghton's "Rejoinder," *ante*, p. 165ff. *Pace* Mr. Houghton, I still hold to my original opinion.

Buddhism to the reign of Manuhâ, — a period extending over thirteen centuries, — "the power of Râmaññadêsa declined, because civil dissensions arose and the extensive country was broken up into separate principalities, because the people suffered from famine and pestilence, and because, to the detriment of the propagation of the excellent religion, the country was conquered by the armies of the seven kings."

This very rapid *rèsumè*, amounting practically to silence, is thus explained by Forchhammer, *Jardine Prize Essay*, page 25 f.:—"From the 6th to the 11th centuries the political history of the Talaings is a blank.[9] During this period the ancient kingdom of Khmêr or Camboja attained to its fullest power; it extended from the Gulf of Martaban to Tonquin. The kings, who ruled over Khmêr from the year 548 A. D. to the 11th century, favoured Brahmanism to the almost total exclusion and suppression of Buddhism. The splendid ruins of Khmêr date from this period; the temples are dedicated to Śiva and Vishṇu; the inscriptions are written in Sanskrit. Camboja is the 'great kingdom of Zabej' of Arabian geographers, which, in the eighth and ninth centuries, extended also over the groups of islands south and west of Malacca, including Borneo, Java, and Sumatra; **Kala (Goḷanagara)**, north of Thatôn, was then an important sea harbour, and according to Abuzaid and Kazwînî, an Indian town, subject at that time (9th century) to the king of Camboja. The country of the Talaings was then, no doubt, also a dependency of the same kingdom, and the silence of their records during that period is fully explained thereby. They mention, however, the struggle for ascendancy between Brahmanism and Buddhism; the latter prevailed, chiefly because the maritime provinces of Burma became a place of refuge to a great number of Buddhist fugitives from India."

In this connexion it may be noted that, in order to comprehend accurately the history of Burma, the history of Indo-China should be studied as a whole.

(11) Sirisaṅghabôdhi-Parakkamabâhurâjâ.

These inscriptions are so full of dates relating to the doings of the Talaing emissaries to the Court of the Sinhalese kings that they should go far towards establishing the still doubtful chronology of the line. Parakkamabâhu is placed usually in 1153-1186 A. D. See App. XI. p. lxvi. to Turnour's *Mahâwanso*: and Tennent's *Ceylon*, Vol. I. p. 407.[10]

(12) Narapatijayasûra or Narapatisiþû.

King Narapatijayasûra, or Narapatisiþû, was the seventh king of Pagàn after Anòrat'â and reigned for thirty-seven years, from 1174 to 1211 A. D. He built the Gòdòpalin and Chûḷâmani Pagodas at Pagàn, besides many other religious edifices in various parts of his kingdom. His reign is also memorable in the annals of Burma because of the communications with Ceylon. His own preceptor, Uttarâjîvamahâthêra, visited that island, where one of the preceptor's disciples, Chapaṭa, a native of Bassein, received *upasampadâ* ordination and remained for ten years. Chapaṭa returned to Pagàn, accompanied by four other *mahâthêras*, namely,—

(1) Sîvali, of Tâmalitthi, *i. e*, Tamlûk;
(2) Tâmalinda, son of the king of Kambôja which may perhaps, in this instance, be identified with one of the Shân States;
(3) Ânanda, a native of Kiñchipura, which is probably the well known Kâñchîpura, or Conjeveram;
(4) Râhula, of Laṅkâdîpa, *i. e.*, Ceylon.

The advent of these priests, and their subsequent disagreements among themselves, heralded the existence of religious schisms in Burma.

The apostolical succession of Uttarâjivamahâ, thêra, mentioned *ante*, Vol. XXII. p. 17, is interesting, as it bears testimony to the early intercourse between Thatôn and Magadha and to the fact that the Talaing priests of those days were renowned for their piety and learning.

It may be noted by the way that Kappuṅganagara is locally identified with Kabaing, a small village a few miles to the south-west of Rangoon, and that Sudhammaṇagara is a classical name of Thatôn.

The reign of Narapatisiþû is also memorable in Burmese history, for the high culture of the Burmese poetry of the period, and four, in Burma, immortal verses are attributed to Anàntasûriya on the eve of his execution in this reign: — *vide Mahâyâzàwindògyi*, Vol. I. page 357.

TAW SEIN-KO.

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9 [Chiefly, I think, for the same reason that the history of the same centuries was blank for so long in India, — *viz.*, the very numerous Talaing inscriptions have not yet been deciphered and read. — ED.]

10 [Mr. Bell, *Arch. Survey of Ceylon, Report on the Kêgalla District*, 1892, p. vii. wishes to put forward the date of Parakkamabâhu (Parâkrama Bâhu) to 1164 A. D. He suggests various other alterations in dates, and tells me that the Kalyâṇî Inscriptions have supported his views. — ED.]

THE HEMP PLANT IN SANSKRIT AND HINDI LITERATURE.

A search through all the Sanskṛit and Hindî books accessible to me, has resulted in the following notes on the references to the hemp plant occurring in the literatures of those languages.

The hemp plant is met with in Sanskṛit and Hindî literature under various names. The principal are — (1) **Bhaṅga.** (2) **Indrâsana.** (3) **Vijayâ or Jayâ.** The earliest mention of the word **gañjâ**, which I have noted, is dated about the year 1300 A. D.

Whenever the word *vijayâ* is used, it is doubtful whether the hemp plant is meant or the yellow myrobolan, as the word means both. The name *bhaṅga* occurs in the *Atharvavêda*, say, B. C. 1400. The hemp plant is there mentioned simply as a sacred grass. Pâṇini who flourished, say, B C. 300, mentions the pollen of the hemp flower (*bhaṅgâ*). In the commencement of the sixth century A. D. we find the first mention of *vijayâ* which I have noted. It is a sacred grass, and probably means, in this instance, the hemp plant. The first mention of *bhaṅga* as a medicine, which I have noted, is in the work of Suśruta, before the eighth century A. D., where it is called an antiphlegmatic. During the next four centuries *bhaṅgâ* (feminine) frequently occurs, in native Sanskṛit dictionaries, in the sense of hemp plant. In the tenth century the intoxicating nature of *bhaṅg* seems to have been known: and the name **Indrâsana**, Indra's food, first appears, so far as I know, in literature. Its intoxicating power was certainly known in the beginning of the fourteenth century. In a play written in the beginning of the sixteenth century it is mentioned as being consumed by *jôgîs* (Śaiva mendicants). It is there named "Indra's food." In later medical works it is frequently mentioned under various names. Below will be found a more detailed account of the passages, in which I have noted the use of the Indian hemp. I may add that I have not traced in literature any difference between the uses of the word *gañjâ* and of the word *bhaṅga*, though modern *kavirâjas* tell me that they are distinct plants.

In the **Atharvavêda** (*cir*, 1400 B. C.) the *bhaṅg* plant is mentioned (11, 6, 15) once:—"We tell of the five kingdoms of herbs headed by Sôma; may it, and *kuśa* grass, and *bhaṅga* and barley, and the herb *saha*, release us from anxiety." Here reference is evidently made to the offering of these herbs in oblations.

The grammarian **Pâṇini** (*cir.* B. C. 300) mentions (5, 2, 29) *bhaṅgâkaṭa*, the pollen of the hemp flower, as one of his examples. The fact that the pollen of this special flower was quoted is worth noting.

Varâhamihira (A. D. 504), in his *Bṛihatsaṁhitâ* (XLVIII. 39), mentions *vijayâ* as used with other grasses, in the rites of the Pushya bathing festival. *Vijayâ* in this passage certainly means some plant or other. The word may mean either the Indian hemp plant, or be a synonym of *harîtakî* (the yellow myrobolan) Dr Hœrnle informs me that in the oldest medical works the word is explained by commentators in the latter sense It is doubtful, however, what meaning we are to adopt, and the word *may* mean the hemp-plant *bhaṅga*. In the passage from the *Atharvavêda* already quoted, amongst the five plants specially honoured as oblations, *bhaṅga* is closely connected with the herb *saha*. So also, in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitâ*, *vijayâ* is mentioned as one of a long list of plants to be used in the offering, and the very next plant mentioned is *sahâ*, which is apparently the same as *saha*. This would encourge the theory that the *vijayâ* of the *Bṛihatsaṁhitâ* was more probably the same as the *bhaṅga* of the *Atharvavêda*.

In **Susruta** who flourished before the eighth century (*Ut.* XI. 3), *bhaṅga* is recommended together with a number of other drugs as an antiphlegmatic. *Vijayâ* is mentioned in the same work as a remedy for catarrh accompanied by diarrhœa (*Ut.* XXIV. 20) and (*Ut.* 39, p. 415, 20) as an ingredient in a prescription for fever arising from an excess of bile and phlegm. In these two passages, however, *vijayâ* is probably an equivalent of *harîtakî*, the yellow myrobolan, and does not mean hemp.

In the various **kôshas** or dictionaries, *bhaṅgâ* is frequently mentioned as meaning the hemp plant. Thus, — (1) *Amarakôsha*,[1] 2,9,20; (2) *Trikâṇḍaśêsha*,[2] 3, 364; (3) Hêmachandra's *Anêkârthakôsha*,[3] 2, 37; (4) Hêmachandra's *Abhidhânachintâmaṇi*, 1179. The *Sârasundarî* (date not known to me), a commentary on the *Amarakôsha* mentioned above, by Mathurêśa, and quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma*, mentions that the seed of the *bhaṅgâ* plant is the size of that of millet (*kalâya*).

Chakrapâṇidatta is said to have flourished under Nayapâla, a prince who reigned in the eleventh century A D. In his *Śabdachandrikâ*, a medical vocabulary, he gives the following Sanskṛit names for bhaṅg:—(1) *Vijayâ* (victorious), (2) *Trailôkyavijayâ* (victorious in the three worlds, (3) *Bhaṅgâ*, (4) *Indrâśana* (Indra's food),

[1] Cir. A. D. 500. [2] Tenth or eleventh century. [3] Twelfth century.

(5) *Jayá* (victorious). These names seem to shew that its use as an intoxicant was then known.

The *Rájanighaṇṭu* of **Narahari Paṇḍita** (A. D. 1300) adds the following names to those given by Chakrapâṇidatta in the *Śabdachandriká* above mentioned:—(6) *Vírapattra* (hero-leaved or the leaf of heroes), (7) *Gañjá*, (8) *Chapalá* (the light-hearted), (9) *Ajayá* (the unconquered), (10) *Ánandá* (the joyful), (11) *Harshiṇí* (the rejoicer) He adds that the plant possesses the following qualities:—(1) *kaṭutva* (acridity); (2) *kasháyatva* (astringency); (3) *ushṇatva* (heat); (4) *tiktatva* (pungency); (5) *vátakaphápahatva* (removing wind and phlegm); (6) *saṁgráhitva* (astringency); (7) *vákpradatva* (speech-giving); (8) *balyatva* (strength-giving); (9) *mêdhákáritva* (inspiring of mental power); (10) *śrêshṭhadîpanatva* (the property of a most excellent excitant).

The *Śárṅgadharasaṁhitá*, a medical work by **Sârṅgadhara**, the date of which is unknown, but which must have been compiled during the Muhammadan period of Indian History (say A. D. 1500), specially mentions (1, 4, 19),[4] *bhaṅga* as an excitant (*vyaváyin*). In the same passage it mentions opium.

The **Dhûrtasamâgama**, or "Rogues' Congress," is the name of an amusing, if coarsely written, farce of about the year 1500 A. D., the author of which was one Jyôtirîśa. In the second act two Saiva mendicants come before an unjust judge, and demand a decision on a quarrel which they have about a nymph of the *bázár* The judge demands payment of a deposit before he will give any opinion. One of the litigants says:—"Here is my *gañja* bag; let it be accepted as a deposit." The judge (*taking it pompously, and then smelling it greedily*) says:—"Let me try what it is like (*takes a pinch*). Ah! I have just now got by the merest chance some *gañja* which is soporific and corrects derangements of the humours, which produces a healthy appetite, sharpens the wits, and acts as an aphrodisiac." The word used for *gañja* in the above is *Indráśana* (Indra's food).

The *Bhávaprakáśa*, another medical work written by **Bhavadêvamisra** (*cir*. A. D. 1600)[5] has as follows:—

Bhaṅgá gañjá mátulânî
mádiní vijayá jayá I
Bhaṅgá kaphaharî tiktá
gráhiṇî páchanî laghuḥ I
Tîkshṇô-'shṇá pittalâ môha-
mada-vâg-vahni-vardhinî II

"*Bhaṅga* is also called *gañjá*, *mátulání*, *mádiní* (the intoxicating), *vijayá* (the victorious) and *jayá* (the victorious). It is antiphlegmatic, pungent, astringent, digestive, easy of digestion, acid, bile-affecting, and increases infatuation. intoxication, the power of the voice, and the digestive faculty."

The *Rájavallabha*, a *Materia Medica* by **Nârâyaṇadâsa-kavirâja**, the date of which I do not know, but which is quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma*, and is believed to be ancient (? 17th century), has the following:—

Śakrá-'śanaṁ tu tíkshṇô-'shṇaṁ
môha-krit kushṭha-náśanam I
Bala-mêdhá-'gni-kṛit ślêshma-
dôsha-hári rasáyaṇam II
Játá mandara-manthanáj jala-nidhau
pîyûsha-rûpá purá I
Trâilôkyê vijaya-pradê 'ti vijayá
śrî-dêvarája priyá II
Lôkânáṁ hita-kámyayá kshiti-talê
práptá naraiḥ kámadá II
Sarvá-''tanka-vináśa-harsha-jananî
yaiḥ sêvitá sarvadá II

"Indra's food (*i. e.*, *gañja*) is acid, produces infatuation, and destroys leprosy. It creates vital energy, the mental powers and internal heat, corrects irregularities of the phlegmatic humour, and is an *elixir vitæ*. It was originally produced, like nectar, from the ocean by the churning with Mount Mandara,[6] and inasmuch as it gives victory in the three worlds, it, the delight of the king of the gods, is called *vijayá*, the victorious This desire-fulfilling drug was obtained by men on the earth, through desire for the welfare of all people. To those who regularly use it, it begets joy and destroys every anxiety."

The **Rasapradîpa**, a work the date of which is unknown to me, and which is quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma*, mentions *jayá* as a remedy for indigestion.—

Kshâratrayaṁ sûtagandhau
panchakôlam idaṁ śubham I
Sarvais tulyá jayâ bhrishṭá
tad-ardhá śigrujá jaṭá II

"Natron saltpetre and borax, mercury and sulphur, and the prosperous five spices (long pepper, its root, *piper chaba*, another pepper, and dry ginger). To these add an equal amount of parched *jayâ* and half of that amount of horse-radish (*môringa*) and *jaṭâ*."[7] It is not certain whether *jayâ* here means *bhaṅg* or *harîtakî* (yellow myrobolan). The word has both significa-

[4] I quote the MS. in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

[5] According to Dutt "not before 1535 A. D."

[6] Nectar was produced in this fashion

[7] The name of several plants; I do not know which is meant here.

tions. The latter, perhaps, suits the formula best.

In the **Rasaratna-samuchchaya**, a work written in the south of India, *jayâ* is classified as a semi-poison,—

Lângalî vishamushṭiś cha
karavîrô jayâ tathâ |
Tilakaḥ kaṇakô 'rkaś cha
vargô hy upavishâtmakaḥ ||

"*Lâṅgalî*,[8] *Vanguiera spinosa*, the root of the Fragrant Oleander, *jayâ*, *Symplocos racemosa*, *kaṇaka*[9] and *âk* (a kind of *Euphorbia*), are semi-poisonous."

Bhaṅg is frequently mentioned by **vernacular poets**. The oldest instance with which I am acquainted is the well-known hymn by **Vidyâpati Ṭhâkur** (1400 A. D.) in which he calls Śiva "Digambara bhaṅga" in reference to his habit of consuming that drug. According to an old Hindî poem, on which I cannot now lay my hands, Śiva himself brought down the *bhaṅg* plant from the Himâlayas and gave it to mankind. *Jôgîs* are well-known consumers of *bhaṅg* and *gâñja* and they are worshippers of Śiva.

In **folk-songs**, *gañjâ* or *bhaṅg* (with or without opium) is the invariable drink of heroes before performing any great feat At the village of Baurî in Gayâ there is a huge hollow stone, which is said to be the bowl in which the famous hero Lôrik mixed his *gañjâ*. Lôrik was a very valiant general and is the hero of numerous folk-songs. The epic poem of Âḷhâ and Rûdal, of uncertain date, but undoubtedly based on very old materials (the heroes lived in the twelfth century A. D), contains numerous references to *gañjâ* as a drink of warriors. For instance, the commencement of the canto dealing with Âḷhâ's marriage describes the pestle and mortar with which the *gañjâ* was prepared, the amount of intoxicating drink prepared from it (it is called *sabzî*) and the amount of opium (an absurdly exaggerated quantity) given to each warrior in his court.

That the consumption of *bhaṅg* is not considered disreputable among Râjputs may be gathered from the fact that Ajabês, who was court poet to the well-known Mahârâja Bishwanâth Singh of Rîwâ, wrote a poem praising *bhaṅg* and comparing *siddhi* (a preparation of the drug) to the "success" which attends the worshipper of "Hari" Here there is an elaborate series of puns. The word *siddhi* means literally "success," and *hari* means not only the god Hari, but also *bhaṅg*.[10]

NOTES AND QUERIES.

DEMONOLATRY AMONG THE KACHINS.

The following characteristic and instructive note is taken from the diary of a native township officer of the Bhamo District, kindly forwarded to me by Mr Thirkell White, C.I.E, Commissioner of the Northern Division, Upper Burma.

Maung P'ô T'un, Myô$_o$bûgyî (village headman) states:—"One day, east of Manyà, in the valley of the Nànhû Chaung (River), near the source of the river and situated in the jungle, there is a place known as the Nagâ-yôk (Snake-image). There is a painted dragon there curled round a rock, the head being formed out of a slab thereof. It is not known whether the dragon-image got there of itself or how, and there is no inscription of any sort. I visited it five days ago (October 1893) when at Kyû Saing, whence the image is situated about half a day's journey to the eastwards, and off the main road. There is a narrow path leading to it, and the Kachins go near it to fish. The rock stands out from the bed of the Nànhû Chaung. I cannot say that the dragon is man's handy-work. I should doubt it, as no one could paint a dragon in such a position.

Also on the road back to Manyà from Kyû Saing there is a pagoda called Kaingbônyàn. This has a curious rock at its base, and the Kachins say that in Tabaung-lâbyî and lâzàn[1] it bears two kinds of flowers, green and red!"

R. C. TEMPLE.

A BURMESE LOVE-SONG.

The following is a love-song popular in Burma and much admired for its depth of meaning, which, however, is quite lost in any rendering that might be made of it. It details the love of Mê K'in for her absent Maung Pê, whom she suspects of enjoying himself with another damsel, after the fashion of Burmese youth.

P'ò-ma-sêng ch'êng-'lwâ 'lit-pâ lô$_o$!
Chông$_o$ lâ$_o$ nga k'et$_o$ k'u$_o$ wè !

[8] The names of several plants, — *Jussiœa repens*, *Hemionitis cordifolia*, *Rubia munjista*, *Hedysarum lagopodioides*.

[9] Said by a *kavirâja* to mean *dhatûrâ*.

[10] [The above very valuable notes formed part of Dr. Grierson's evidence before the Hemp-drugs Commission, 1893-4. — ED.]

[1] [*I. e.*, full and new moon of Phâlguna. — ED.]

B'àn kaþit pya-du lè hmá
Shu-bê-dè ma mwê.
Pú-ya-ϑú: yadet ñá ngè ;
Ta yet wè ch'á: b'ú, Maung$_{o}$ Pé$_{o}$!
Hó ta-myê$_{o}$ t'á-ní hmá
Yá yí ngè pyò-bê$_{o}$!
Ñá-ñî-dò p'ò twê$_{o}$ lô$_{o}$,
S'wê ta-mê$_{o}$ þak'in !
Hàn-myê hmá sàn né tin$_{o}$-'nain-b'ú$_{o}$!
Pyàn-wê$_{o}$ k'win$_{o}$ k'ò-bá pyàn-jin !
Ñaung kun 'mò sabè-byin hmâ
Mê K'in-ϑí sêk 'nin$_{o}$!
S'í: chôk lô$_{o}$ ma pyê-bá-'naing
Wè þô$_{o}$ yè aing !
Shwê myet$_{o}$-yí aing-ta-aing ngè.
Naing$_{o}$-ta-naing tin:-bá-ya-ϑê: !

Lost am I as if I had lost my blanket!
That is my condition now!
On my bed of sandal-wood
Lying I cannot sleep.
Miserable and wretched am I;
Worried every day, Maung Pê!
In that new land
Happy art thou in thy wandering!
Thou hast taken to thyself a new match,
O my dear Lord!
Miserable I cannot remain in the land of Hàn.[1]
Come back; I call thee! Thou shouldst come back!
Thinking only of thy absence on her bed of jasmine,
Mê K'in ceases not to weep!
As a whirlpool ceases not to run
Her tears fall!
So great (is my sorrow) that my tears run into a lake.
(On thy return only) I feel I could restrain my weeping.

BOOK-NOTICE.

COL. JACOB'S VEDANTASARA.[1]

Colonel Jacob's name is a sufficient guarantee for the scholarly performance of the task which he has imposed upon himself. The work consists of the carefully edited text of Sadânanda's *Vêdânta-sâra*, with Nṛisiṁha-sarasvatî's commentary printed at the foot of each page (pp. 1-72), followed by Râmatîrtha's workmanlike (though here and there prolix) commentary (pp. 73-165). Then we have Col Jacob's notes (pp. 167-199), and the book ends with four Appendixes, *viz.*, (1) Index to Quotations, (2) Index to Important Words and Phrases, (3) List of Works cited in Text and Commentaries, (4) Addenda and Corrigenda (pp. 203-215).

Dr. Ballantyne's translation of the text of the *Vêdântasâra* has long been out of print. The text itself was printed in Böhtlingk's *Saṁskṛit Chrestomathy* published in 1877, and incorrect editions of the commentaries have appeared at various times in India, but this is the first attempt to publish a critical edition of the text and commentaries combined.

A special feature of the volume is the care with which citations from older works are indicated and their sources identified. The two Indexes are also worthy of notice and furnish a most convenient and much wanted aid to students of Indian Philosophy. The author's notes are of great value, more particularly to Saṅskṛit scholars beginning the study of the Vêdânta system. Indeed a better introduction than this complete, well-edited, clearly printed handbook cannot well be conceived. G. A. G.

OBITUARY.

PROF. W. DWIGHT WHITNEY.

Another of the links which connect the Saṅskṛit scholarship of the present day with a former generation has snapped. Forty years ago, Prof. Whitney was one of the assistants who worked with Böhtlingk and Roth in the preparation of the great *St. Petersburg Dictionary*, and to-day his views on Saṅskṛit Grammar are known as being more advanced than those of the younger scholars of the ninth decade of the century. He has been *Hibernior Hibernis ipsis*.

The sad intelligence of his death reached us almost simultaneously with a printed copy of his latest essay, on the Vêda in Pâṇini. He died sword in hand, as all true scholars would die, fighting with unabated vigour in the battle of the moderns against the ancients. This is not a fitting occasion for me to discuss the arguments

[1] Hanþawadî = here Rangoon.

[1] The Vêdântasâra of Sadânanda with the commentaries of Nṛisiṁha-sarasvatî and Râmatîrtha, edited with notes and indices by Col. G. A. Jacob, Bombay Staff Corps, Fellow of the Bombay University. Bombay, Nirṇaya-sâgar Press, 8vo, Price Re. 1-8.

in his latest work. I must confess to belonging to the opposite camp, but that fact need not prevent a humble opponent from casting one more wreath on the tomb of one of the greatest Sanskṛit scholars whom the Western world has known.

William Dwight Whitney was born at Northampton, Massachusetts, on the 9th of February 1827. He studied at Williams College, where he took his degree in 1845. He then spent three years as a clerk in a bank, which uncongenial occupation he gave up in 1849 to serve as assistant in the United States Geological Survey. In the autumn of the same year he went to Yale, where he continued the study of Sanskṛit which he had commenced in 1848. In 1850, he visited Germany, where he spent some years in Berlin and Tübingen at the feet of Profs. Weber and Roth It was at the latter place that he laid the foundations of that reputation for industry and accuracy which ever subsequently distinguished him. He returned to America in 1853, and in 1854 became Professor of Sanskṛit at Yale, a post which he held during the remainder of his life. Shortly after his appointment he published the first volume (containing the text) of his well known edition of the Atharva Vêda. the second volume of which, comprising translation and notes, he had nearly completed at the time of his death forty years after the publication of the first. The appearance of this first volume fixed the course of Saṅskṛit scholarship in America. Under Whitney's tuition, and encouraged by the example of his unflagging industry, a school of Vedic students rapidly sprung up round his chair, from which have issued many valuable works, bearing the double impress of German solidity and care for minutiæ, coupled with American originality and grasp of general principles. Whitney himself directed his researches to the Atharva Vêda and in due course scholars hailed with admiration and gratitude his *Atharva Vêda Prâtiśâkhya* (1862), and, in 1881, his *Index Verborum of the Atharva Vêda.* In the interval, he had also issued an edition of the *Taittirîya Prâtiśâkhya* in 1871.

In 1879 Prof. Whitney broke new ground by the publication of his *Saṅskṛit Grammar*, in which he definitely took his stand, not on the grammar as handed down by Pâṇini and his successors, but on the grammar as revealed by Saṅskṛit Literature itself. Few works have provoked so much controversy as this revolutionary challenge of the Yale Professor. Sanskṛit scholars soon became divided into three camps: the extreme Pâṇineans, according to whom, whatever the old grammarian said was true, and whatever he had not said was "not" grammatical "knowledge," the extreme Whitneyites who denied that grammatical salvation could be found in the Gospel of Pâṇini, and that the actual usage of Saṅskṛit literature was the only possible guide; and the Moderates, who while not binding themselves to everything that Pâṇini laid down, believed that he knew more about the Sanskṛit of his time than the most learned Europeans of the nineteenth century, and that till every Sanskṛit text in existence had been published and analysed, it would be impossible to ascertain what the actual usage of the literary language was Whitney's *Grammar* was thus only a grammar of the Sanskṛit Literature to which Whitney had access, and nothing bears stronger testimony alike to the depth and to the wide extent of his learning, than the admirable practical completeness of this work as a whole.

Besides the above greater works Whitney had time to write several minor essays. These were subsequently collected and published in his *Language and the Study of Language* (1867), and *Oriental and Linguistic Studies* (1873-74). Like everything else that he did, these shew the same impress of perspicuity and mastery of details. He followed his own line, and not seldom was engaged in controversy, which though sometimes conducted with acrimony, was always noteworthy for fairness and a love of truth.

In subjects outside the range of Oriental scholarship, he is best known as the author of *Essentials of English Grammar*, and as Editor-in-chief of the *Century Dictionary of the English Language*.

For the past eight or nine years Prof. Whitney had been suffering from a serious disorder of the heart. His disease did not interrupt his life work, and he laboured to the end, which came at New Haven on the 7th of June, 1894.

During his busy life he received many honours He was Honorary Member of all the great Oriental Societies, and was a member or correspondent of the Academies of Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Rome (the Lincei), and of the Institut of France. He was also a Foreign Knight of the Prussian Order "pour le mérite" for Science and Arts, filling the vacancy caused by the death of Thomas Carlyle. Many Universities conferred honorary degrees on him, and these only served as illustrations of the universal respect and affection in which this scholar, as simple-minded as he was distinguished, was held by the members of the great brotherhood of Oriental scholarship.

G. A. G.

THE BHASHA-BHUSHANA OF JAS'WANT SINGH.

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY G. A. GRIERSON, PH.D., C.I.E.

(*Continued from p.* 238.)

ATHA ARTHÂLAṄKÂRA-NÂMA CHATURTHAḤ PRAKÂŚAḤ ||

LECTURE IV.

Ornaments of Sense.

[Rhetorical ornaments are divided into two classes, *arthâlaṅkâra*, or **Ornaments of Sense**, and *śabdâlaṅkâra*, or **Verbal Ornaments**.

Some ornaments partake of the nature of both classes, and are arranged under one or the other according to the predilection of the author who treats of the subject. For instance, the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* (v. 641) treats *vakrôkti*, or Crooked Speech, as a Verbal Ornament, but the *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa* (v. 189) treats it as an Ornament of Sense.

Verbal Ornaments are those, such as Alliteration or Rhyme, which depend on the external form of words. **Ornaments of Sense**, such as the Simile, the Metaphor, or the Poetical Fancy, are those which essentially depend on the meaning of words, and not necessarily on their external form. The principal of these are founded on similitude, and hence the *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa*, like other works on rhetoric, commences this lecture by describing the *Upamâ* or Simile, which is the foundation of all such ornaments.]

Text.

Upamâlaṅkâra.

Upamêya 'ru upamâna jaha· *vâchaka dharma so chârî* |
Pûrana upamâ, *hîna taha·* **luptôpamâ** *vichârî* || 44 ||
Ihi vidhi saba samatâ milai· **upamâ** *sôî jâni* |
Śaśi sau ujjvala tiya-vadana *pallava sê mṛidu pâṇi* || 45 ||
Vâchaka dharma 'ru varananiya *hai chauthau upamâna* |
Eka binu, dvai binu, tîni binu **luptôpamâ** *pramaṇa* || 46 ||
Bijurî sî paṅkaja-mukhî *kanaka-latâ tiya lêkhi* |
Vanitâ rasa-śṛiṅgâra kî *kâraṇa-mûrati pêkhi* || 47 ||

Translation.

The Simile.

[Cf. *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 647 and ff. 'A resemblance between two things, expressed by a single sentence, and unaccompanied by a contrast or difference, is termed a simile.']

A simile (*upamâ*) consists of four component parts, *viz.* : —

(1) The **Subject compared**, *upamêya* [or, *varṇanîya*].

(2) The **Object with which Comparison is made**, *upamâna*.

(3) The **Word implying Comparison** [*aupamyavâchin*, or] *vâchaka* (such as 'as,' 'like').

(4) The **Common Attribute** [*sâmânya dharma*, or] *dharma*.

A Simile is **Complete** (*pûrṇôpamâ*) when it has all its component parts. It is to be considered as **Incomplete** (*luptôpamâ*) when (one or more) are wanting.

[Some copies omit the above verse. It is possibly not original as its contents are repeated lower down.]

In this way when you find all (four component parts) together, know it to be a (Complete) Simile, as for example: —

'The lady's face is bright as the moon, her hands are tender as a young branch.'

[Here the subjects compared are, respectively, the lady's face, and her hands; the objects with which they are compared are, respectively, the moon, and a young branch; the word

implying comparison is in each case 'as' (*sau, sê*); and the common attributes are, respectively, brightness and tenderness.]

When one, two, or three of the four (*viz.*, the word implying comparison, the common attribute, the subject compared, and the object with which it is compared) is or are wanting, it is an instance of the Incomplete Simile, as for example;

(*a*) 'The lotus-faced lady is [slender] as a flash of lightning.'

[Here the Common Attribute, slenderness, is wanting.]

(*b*) 'Behold, the lady is [fair] [as] a golden jasmine.'

[Here the Common Attribute, and the Word implying Comparison are both wanting.]

(*c*) 'Lo, the Lady (is) [fair] [as] [love itself], (for she) is the causal image of the erotic sentiment.'

[Here the Common Attribute, the Word implying Comparison, and the Object with which the lady is compared, are all three wanting.]

[A work called the *Luptôpamâvilâsa* by Kavi Hîrâchand Kânhjî (date unknown to me) gives the following poem, containing examples of the fifteen possible kinds of a simile:—

(1) *Pûrṇôpamâ,* The Complete Simile.

Gaja kî gati sî gati manda lasê, 'Thy gait appears dignified as the gait of an elephant.'

(2) *Vâchaka-luptôpamâ.* Incomplete. Wanting the word implying comparison.

Yuga jaṅgha ju kêra ke khambha nayê, 'Thy two thighs are fresh (or plump) [as] plantain stems.'

(3) *Dharma-luptô°,* Wanting the common attribute.

Kati sôhata siṁhana kî kaṭi sî, 'Thy waist appears [slender] like that of a lioness.'

(4) *Upamâna-luptô°,* Wanting the object with which comparison is made.

Ibha-śâvaka sê kucha uchcha bhayê, 'Thy bosom is round like [the frontal bones of] a young elephant.'

(5) *Upamêya-luptô°,* Wanting the subject compared.

Vidhu pûrana sô paramôda karê, '[Thy face] causes joy like the full moon.'

(6) *Vâchaka-dharma-luptô°,* Wanting both the word implying comparison, and the common attribute.

Sruti sîpa samîpa sumukta chayê, 'Pearls adorn thine ear [delicate] [as] a pearl-oyster-shell.'

(7) *Vâchaka-upamâna-luptô°,* Wanting both the word implying comparison, and the object with which comparison is made.

Musukyâni praphullita ânana mê', 'On thy face, which blossomed [like] [a flower], hath appeared a smile.'

(8) *Vâchaka-upamêya-luptô°,* Wanting the word implying comparison, and the subject compared.

Sita kunda ki pâ'ti subhâ'ti layê, 'Thou hast displayed the beauty of [thy teeth] [like] a row of white jasmine blossoms.'

(9) *Dharma-upamâna-luptô°,* Wanting the common attribute, and the object with which comparison is made.

Tiya, tô sama-tûla na prîtama kê, 'Lady, thou art not [fair] (merely) like [other ladies] to thy beloved.'

(10) *Dharma-upamêya-luptô°,* Wanting the common attribute, and the subject compared.

Daî âsava-pâna samâna mayê, 'Lady, [the touch of thy lip] produced intoxication [like] drinking wine.'

(11) *Upamâna-upamêya-luptô°,* Wanting both the object compared, and that to which it is compared.

Pika sí madhurí na durí chhavi tê, '[Thy voice] is gentle as [the sweet notes of] the cuckoo, (though, unlike the cuckoo) thou art not devoid of beauty.'

(12) *Vâchaka-dharma-upamâna-luptô°*, Wanting the word implying comparison, the common attribute, and the object with which comparison is made.

Tila hê ju kapôla su chitta khayê, 'A mole upon thy cheek [black] [like] [love's bowstring] ravishes (*khayê* = *kshaya*) the soul.'

(13) *Vâchaka-dharma-upamêya-luptô°*, Wanting the word implying comparison, the common attribute, and the subject compared.

Kadalí-dala, '[A back] [broad] [as] a plantain leaf.'

(14) *Vâchaka-upamâna-upamêya-luptô°*, Wanting the word implying comparison, the object with which comparison is made, and the subject compared.

Âya chaḍhî ḍasi kê, Uta, 'On one hand, [thy hair] [like] [snakes] hath mounted (on thy head) to bite me.'

(15) *Dharma-upamâna-upamêya-luptô°*, 'Wanting the common attribute, the object with which comparison is made, and the subject compared.

hai ita kîra samâna jayê, 'On the other hand [thy nose] is [curved] like a parrot's [beak].'

[The *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* gives also another classification of the Simile as **Direct** (*śrautî*) and **Indirect** (*ârthî*). The first is a simile in which the comparison is suggested by such words as *iva, jimi, jau*, *lau*, and the like, all answering to the English word 'as.' A simile is indirect when such words as *tûlâ* 'equal to,' *sarisa* 'like' are employed.]

[A **Simile** differs from a **Metaphor** (*rûpaka*) (vv. 55-58), in that, in the latter, the resemblance is suggested, not expressed. Thus, — 'He sprang on them like a lion' is a Simile, but 'the lion (*i. e.*, the hero) sprang upon them' is a Metaphor, the resemblance being suggested and not distinctly expressed. In a metaphor, too, the resemblance is suggested as an embellishment (or the reverse), while in the simile, the two things compared are said to be equal.

A **Simile** differs from the **Poetical Fancy** (*utprêkshâ*) (vv. 70, 71), because, in the latter, the subject of the figure is fancied as acting in the character of the object, and not merely as resembling it. Thus — 'He sprang upon them as though he were a lion' is a Poetical Fancy.

It differs from the figure of **Contrast** (*vyatirêka*) (v. 92), in that, in the latter, the difference is also expressed. Thus an example of Contrast is — 'He sprang on them like a lion, but without its cruelty.'

It differs from the **Reciprocal Comparison** (*upamânôpamêya* (v. 49), in that, in the latter, more than one sentence is employed. Thus — 'His lion-like bravery shines like his virtue, and his virtue like his lion-like bravery,' is an example of the Reciprocal Simile.

It differs from the **Comparison Absolute** (*ananvaya*) (v. 48), because in the latter there is only one thing which is compared to itself. Thus — 'The king sprang like himself upon the foe,' is a Comparison Absolute.

It differs from the ornament of the **Converse** (*pratîpa*) (vv. 50-54), because in the latter the object with which comparison is made is itself made the subject of comparison. Thus — 'The lion springs upon its prey, as this hero sprang upon his foe,' is an example of the Converse.]

[The *Lâla-chandrikâ* describes a kind of simile, which may be called the '**Implied Simile**,' **âkshêpôpamâ**. The following is an example :—

Ḍara na ṭarai, nîda na parai *harai na kâla-vipâka* ‖
Chhina chhâkai uchhakai na phiri *kharau vishama chhavi-chhâka* ‖ 47a ‖

'(Unlike that caused by wine), the violent intoxication caused by beauty is not quenched by fear. It does not allow sleep, nor does it disappear with the lapse of time. If you feel its effects for but an instant, never will you be sober again.'

This is an instance of the figure of Contrast (v. 92). The *Lâla-chandrikâ* says that if the words 'is not like' are taken as the *vâchaka* or word implying comparison, it is also an instance of Implied Simile. Of this the word 'like' is implied. But the whole *vâchaka* is not *lupta* (or wanting) for the word 'not' is given. The full simile would be, —

'The intoxication of love is not (fear-dispelling, etc.) [like] that of wine.'

The same work (341) describes the **dûshaṇôpamâ**, in which the subject compared is exhibited as not equal to the object with which comparison is made. An example is the following:—

Nahi· Hari lau· hiyarâ dharau *nahi· Hara lau· ardhaṅga* ।
Êkata-hî kari râkhiyê *aṅga aṅga prati aṅga* ॥ **47b** ॥

'Like Vishṇu bear not thy beloved upon thy heart: Like 'Siva incorporate not thyself with her (for thou art not equal to them); but clasp her close to thee, body to body, limb to limb.']

[Text.

Mâlôpamâlaṅkâra.

Jaha· êkahi upamêya kê *baranê bahu upamâna* ।
Tâhi kahahi· mâlôpamâ *kavi su-jâna matimâna* ॥ **47c** ॥

Yathâ,—

Mṛiga sê, manamatha-vâna sê *pîna, mîna sê svachchha* ।
Kañjana sê, khañjanana sê *manarañjana tô achchha* ॥ **47d** ॥

Translation.

The Garland of Similes.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 665.]

It is the **Garland of Similes** when we have several comparisons of the same object, as for example: —

'Thine eyes (*achchha* = *akshi*) are like deers, like Cupid's arrows, full-orbed, bright-glancing like fish, like lotuses, (mobile) like *khañjana*-birds, and delight the soul.']

(Not in *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa*. Taken from Giridhara-dâsa, *Bhâratî-bhûshaṇa*, 30, 31.]

[Text.

Raśanôpamâlaṅkâra.

Kathita prathama upamêya jaha. *hôta jâta upamâna* ।
Tâhi kahahi· raśanôpamâ *jê jaga su-kavi pradhâna* ॥ **47e** ॥

Yathâ,—

Sati sî nati, nati sî vinati, *vinatî sî rati châra* ।
Rati sî gati, gati sî bhagati, *tô mê· pavana-kumâra* ॥ **47f** ॥

Translation.

The Girdle of Similes.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 664.]

If a subject of comparison is turned further and further into what it is compared to, it is termed the **Girdle of Similes**, as for example:—

'O Hanumat, in thee the faith is (strong) like thy going; thy going is (strong) as thy delight (in me); thy delight is pleasing as thy obeisance; thy obeisance as thy humility, and thy humility as that of a virtuous woman.']

[Not in *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa*. Taken from *Bhâratî-bhûshaṇa*, 32, 33.]

Text.

Ananvayâlaṅkâra.

Upamê-hî upamâna jaba *kahata* **ananvaya** *tâhi* ı
Têrê mukha kê jôra kau *têrau-hî mukha âhi* ıı 48 ıı

Translation.

The Comparison Absolute.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 666.]

When the subject compared, and the object with which comparison is made, are the same, it is called the **Comparison Absolute.** Thus — 'The only fellow of thy face is thy face itself.'

[Here the Heroine's face is compared to itself, as the only possible object of comparison, and not to a lotus or the like. According to the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* (666), the comparison must be expressed by a single sentence.]

Text.

Upamânôpamêyâlaṅkâra.[1]

Upamâ lâgê parasapara *sô upamânupamêi* ı
Khañjana hai tua naina sê *tua driga khañjana sêi* ıı 49 ıı

Translation.

The Reciprocal Comparison.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 667, where it is called *upamêyôpamâ.*]

When the simile is reciprocal, the figure is called **Reciprocal Comparison.** Thus — 'Thine eyes are like the *khañjana*-bird, and the *khañjana* is like thine eyes.'

Text.

Pratîpâlaṅkâra.

Sô **pratîpa** *upamêya kau* *kîjê jaba upamânu* ı
Lôyana sê ambuja banê *mukha sô chandra bakhânu* ıı 50 ıı
Upamê kô upamâna tê *âdara jabai na hôi* ı
Garva karai mukha kau kahâ *chandahi nîkê jôi* ıı 51 ıı
Ana-âdara upamêya tê *jaba pâwê upamâna* ı
Tichchhana naina kaṭâksha tê *manda kâma kê bâna* ıı 52 ıı
Upamê kô upamâna jaba *samatâ lâyaka nâhi* ı
Ati uttama driga mîna sê *kahai kauna vidhi jâhi* ıı 53 ıı
Vyartha hôi upamâna jaba *varṇanîya lakhi sâra* ı
Driga âgê mriga kachhu na, yê *pañcha pratîpa prakâra* ıı 54 ıı

Translation.

The Converse.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 742, 743.]

The figure of **Converse** has five varieties, *viz.*:—

(1) When the thing with which a comparison is usually made is itself turned into a subject of comparison. Thus — 'The lotus is lovely like thine eyes,' or 'The moon is like thy face.' [Here it would be more usual to say: 'Thine eyes are like the lotus,' and 'Thy face is like the moon.']

[1] Called also *upamêyôpamâ.*

(2) When honour does not accrue to the subject compared from the object with which it is usually compared. Thus — 'Why art thou proud of thy face? See how fair the moon is (in comparison with it).'

(3) When the object with which comparison is usually made obtains dishonour from the subject compared. Thus — 'By the piercing glances of her eyes, Cupid's arrows seem but blunt.'

(4) When the object with which comparison is usually made is declared to be not fully equal to the subject compared. Thus — 'Who would compare to the (silvery darting) fish, her perfect eyes (floating in tears).'

(5) When the object with which comparison is usually made is declared to be useless beside the merits of the subject compared. Thus — 'The eyes of the deer are naught before her eyes.'

Text.

Rûpakâlaṅkâra.

Hai **rûpaka** *dwaya bhâ'ti kau* *mili* **tadrûpa abhêda** ।
Adhika nyûna sama *duhuna kê* *tîni tîni yê bhêda* ॥ 55 ॥
Mukha śaśi yâ śaśî tê' adhika *udita jyôti dina râti* ।
Sâgara tê' upajau na yaha *kamalâ apara suhâti* ॥ 56 ॥
Naina kamala yaha aina hai *aura kamala kihi kâma* ।
Ga'wana karata nîkî lagati *kanaka-latâ yaha vâma* ॥ 57 ॥
Ati śôbhita vidruma-adhara *nahi samudra-utpanna* ।
Tua mukha-paṅkaja bimala ati *sarasa suvâsa prasanna* ॥ 58 ॥

Translation.

The Metaphor.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 669 and ff.]

The metaphor is of two kinds according as it depends on (alleged) **Resemblance** (*tadrûpa*) or (alleged) **Identity** (*abhêda*), and each of these kinds has three varieties according as (the Resemblance or Identity of the thing compared) is **Excessive** (*adhika*), **Incomplete** (*nyûna*), or **Complete** (*sama*).

(1) An example of a metaphor depending on **Excessive Resemblance** is 'Her face, — a moon, but more perfect than this moon (we see in heaven), for its radiance is ever in the skies both day and night.' [Here the face is said to resemble the moon and is not identified with it, and moreover it exceeds or surpasses the moon in the very point on which the resemblance is founded,— *viz.*, its full-orbed splendour.]

(2) An example of a metaphor depending on **Incomplete Resemblance** is, 'She is not sprung from the sea, but she is another fair Lakshmî.' [Here the resemblance to Lakshmî is incomplete.]

(3) An example of a metaphor depending on **Complete Resemblance is,** 'There are eyes which are lotuses in this house, what need is there of (thy searching for) other lotuses (elsewhere)'? [Here a friend of the heroine invites the hero, as he is searching for lotus flowers, into the heroine's house. The resemblance between her eyes and the flower is represented as complete.]

(4) An example of a metaphor depending on **Excessive Identity** is, 'The lady — a golden creeper, — appeareth beautiful when walking.' [Here the lady is identified with a golden creeper, with the additional advantage of being able to walk.]

(5) An example of a metaphor depending on **Deficient Identity** is, 'Her coral-lips are glowing, though not sprung from the ocean.' [Here her lips are identified with coral, but with this deficiency that they are not ocean-born.]

(6) An example of a metaphor depending on **Complete Identity** is, 'Thy lotus-face is very spotless, full of nectar, fragrance and joy.'

[The difference between a **Metaphor** and a **Simile** (v. 44) has been explained under the head of the latter, but it is not always easy to distinguish between the two. The *Bhûshaṇa-kaumudî* dealing with the third example given above, says that the difference between a metaphor of complete resemblance (*tadrûpaka-samôkti*) and a simile with the word signifying resemblance and the common attribute omitted (*vâchaka-dharma-luptôpamâ*) is this,— that in the metaphor the thing compared is embellished by the comparison with the thing to which it is compared, whereas in the simile the two are considered as equal. In the ornament of the **Converse** (*pratîpa*) (above, vv. 50-54) the thing compared may also be embellished by the comparison, but in it, the word signifying comparison (*vâchaka*) is always mentioned.]

[The *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* (669 and ff.) defines a metaphor as 'the superimposition of a fancied character upon an object unconcealed or uncovered by negation' (*rûpakaṁ rûpitârôpâd vishayê nirapahnavê*). It classifies its varieties on principles entirely different from that given above. A metaphor is either **Consequential** (*paramparita*), **Entire** (*sâṅga*, or according to other authorities, *sâvayava*), or **Deficient** (*niraṅga*), These are again subdivided, but the further classification need not be given here. Examples of the three main classes are as follows:—

Consequential, — 'May the four cloud-dark arms of Hari, rough by the contact with the string of his horny bow, preserve you, — arms that are the pillars to the Dome of the triple world.' Here the ascribing of the nature of a pillar to the arms of Hari, is the *consequence* of the attribution of the character of a dome to the triple world.

Entire, — That dark cloud, Kṛishṇa, disappeared, having thus rained the nectar of his words (upon the deities), — the corn withered by the drought of Râvaṇa.' Here the nature of a cloud being attributed to Kṛishṇa, his words are represented as nectar-rain, the deities as corn, and Râvaṇa's tyranny as drought.

Deficient, — 'When a servant commits an offence, the master's kicking him is but proper, and it is not for the kick received from thee that I grieve, fair lady; but that thy tender foot is pricked by the points of those thorns — the hard shoots of my hairs that stand erect (at the thrilling touch), this is my sore distress.'

In the Entire Metaphor the principal object is metaphorically figured or represented together with those subordinate (*aṅginô yadi sâṅgasya rûpaṇaṁ sâṅgam êva tat*). When all the constituent or subordinate metaphors are expressed in an entire metaphor, it is called *samasta-vastuvishaya*, or *savishaya*. When any of them are understood, it is called *êkadêśavivartin*. An Entire Metaphor is sometimes founded on a *paronomasia* (v. 99), and is then called *ślêsha-garbhita*. If the principal object is alone figured, it is Deficient Metaphor.]

Text.

Pariṇâmâlaṅkâra.

Karai kriyâ upamâna hwai varṇanîya **pariṇâma** ।
Lôchana-kañja viśâla tê dêkhati dêkhô vâma ॥ 59 ॥

Translation.

Commutation.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 679.]

When the subject compared (*varṇanîya* or *upamêya*) acts after becoming (or being identified with) the object to which it is compared, it is the ornament of **Commutation** [in which the object superimposed is *commuted* into the nature of the subject of superimposition], as for example:—

'See the lady, she looks with those large lotuses, her eyes.' [Here the lotus is actually represented as seeing. The eye is identified with the lotus, and, *in that character*, performs the

action of seeing. · This figure hence differs from the **Metaphor** (vv. 55-58), in which the superimposition is simply an embellishment of the principal subject, and in which the object superimposed does not do the action of the subject of superimposition.]

Text.

Ullêkhâlaṅkâra.

Sô **ullêkha** *ju êka kau'*	*bahu samujhai bahu rîti* |
Arthina sura-taru, tiya madana,	*ari kau' kâla pratîti* || 60 ||
Bahu vidhi varanê êka kau'	*bahu guṇa sau'* **ullêkha** |
Kîrtî arjuna, têja ravi,	*sura-guru vachana-viśêkha* || 61 ||

Translation.

Representation.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa,* 682.]

[The figure of **Representation** is of two forms according as it is **Subjective** or **Objective.**] In the first form, a number of perceivers understand the same thing in different ways, as for example :—

'To those who ask for alms, of a certainty, he is a Tree of Plenty, to women he is the God of Love, and to his enemies he is Death.' [Here the hero is given a variety of characters according to the subjective feelings of the perceivers.]

In the second form, the same thing is described under a variety of characters, based on differences in its own qualities, as for example: —

'In heroism he is Arjuna, in brilliance he is the sun, and in discretion of language he is Bṛihaspati.' [Here the differences, it will be noted, are objective, not subjective, and do not depend on the feelings of the observer.]

Text.

Smaraṇa-bhrama-saṁdêhâlaṅkâra.

Sumirana bhrama saṁdêha *yaha*	*lakshaṇa nâma prakâsa* |
Sudhi âwata wâ vadana kî	*dêkhî sudhâ-nivâsa* || 62 ||
Vadana sudhâ-nidhi jâni yaha	*tua sa'ga phirata chakôra* |
Vadana kidhau' yaha sîta-kara	*kidhau' kamala bhaya bhôra* || 63 ||

Translation.

Reminiscence, Mistake, and Doubt.

The distinguishing attributes of these three figures are apparent from their names (and hence no description is necessary).

[The *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* defines these three as follows : —

(668) A recollection of an object, arising from the perception of something like to it, is called **Reminiscence** (*smaraṇa,* or according to others **smṛiti**).

(681) The **Mistaker (bhrântimân)** is the thinking, from resemblance, of an object to be what it is not, — suggested by a poetical conceit (*pratibhâ*).

(680) When an object under description (*pratibhâ-utthita*) is poetically suspected to be something else, it is called **Doubt (saṁśaya** or *saṁdêha*).]

An example of **Reminiscence** is the following: —

'When I see the Moon, the abode of nectar, I am reminded of her face.'

An example of **Mistake** is the following : —

'The mountain partridges wander about with thee, imagining thy face to be the moon (with which they are enamoured).' [This figure must be distinguished from **Bhrânti**, Error, v. 194a, q. v.]

An example of **Doubt** : —

'Is this (my lady's) countenance, or is it the cool moon, or is it a lotus born at dawn' ?

Text.

Apahnutyalaṅkâra.

Dharama durai· ârôpa tê·	**śuddha-apahnuti** *jâni* |
Ura para nâhi· urôja yaha	*kanaka-latâ-phala mâni* || **64** ||
Vastu durâwai· yukti sau·	**hêtu-apahnuti** *hôi* |
Tîvra chanda na raini ravî	*baḍavânala-hî jôi* || **65** ||
Paryastahi *guṇa êka kê*	*aura bikhai ârôpa* |
Hôi sudhâ-dhara nâhi· yaha	*vadana-sudhâ-dhara ôpa* || **66** ||
Bhrânti apahnuti *vachana sau·*	*bhrama jaba para kau jâi* |
Tâpa karata hai jvara nahî·	*nâ·, sakhi, madana satâi* || **67** ||
Chhêka-apahnuti *yukti kari*	*para sau· bâta durâi* |
Karata adhara-kshata piya nahî·	*sakhî śîta-ṛitu-bâi* || **68** ||
Kaitava-'pahnuti *êka kau·*	*misu kari varanata âna* |
Tîchchhana tîya kaṭâksha-misu	*barakhata Manmatha vâna* || **69** ||

Translation.

Concealment.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 683, 684.]

[There are six kinds of this figure, according as it is (1) **Simple** (*śuddha*), or depends on (2) a **Cause** (*hêtu*), or on (3) a **Transposition** (*paryastâpahnuti*), or on (4) a **Mistake** (*bhrânti*), or on (5) an **Artful Excuse** (*chhêka*), or on (6) a **Deception** (*kaitava*).]

[The *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* (*l. c.*) gives a less elaborate classification. It merely says: 'The denial of the real (nature of a thing), and the ascription of an alien (or imaginary, character constitute the figure of) **Concealment.** If, having given expression to some secret object one should construe his words differently, either by a *paronomasia* or otherwise, it, too, is **Concealment.**']

When by the superimposition (of a fancied quality), the real nature (of the thing compared) disappears, it is called **Simple Concealment** (*śuddhâpahnuti*), as for example : —

'These are not the swelling orbs upon (thy lady's) bosom; know them to be the (fair round) fruit of a golden creeper.'

When the thing compared is concealed by an ingenious turn of expression (shewing the reason), it is termed **Concealment dependent on a Cause** (*hêtvapahnuti*), as for example : —

'This cannot be a fierce moon (shining) by night, but must be the sun (burning) amid subaqueous fire.' [Here the heroine explains that in her fevered condition, even the moonbeams seem burning hot. The fierceness of the moon is the cause of the comparison.]

When the qualities of one thing are superimposed by transfer on another thing, it is an instance of **Concealment by Transposition** (*paryastâpahnuti*), as for example : —

'This (light upon the way) is not (the sheen of) the moon; it is the (reflection of the) brightness of thy moon face.' [Here brightness, the quality of the moon, is transferred to the face of the lady.]

When by means of words, another's mistake is corrected, it is called **Concealment dependent on a Mistake** (*bhramâpahnuti*), as for example : —

'It is true, O friend, that I am hot and shivering ; but it is not fever. No, it is the torment of love.'

When a person conceals a thing from another with artfulness, it is an instance of **Concealment dependent upon an Artful Excuse** (*chhêkâpahnuti*), as for example : —

'It is true, my friend, that there are wounds on my lower lip, but they are not caused by (the kisses of) my beloved ; they are (chapped) by the winter wind.'

When one thing is mentioned as pretending to be another thing, it is an instance of **Concealment dependent on Deception** (*kaitavâpahnuti*), as for example : —

'Under the pretence that they are but the piercing glances of my Lady, Love showers his arrows upon me.'

Text.

Utprêkshâlaṅkâra.

Utprêkshâ *saṁbhâvanâ*	**vastu, hêtu, phala** *lêkhi* ।
Naina manô˙ aravinda hai	*sarasa viśâla viśêkhi* ॥ 70 ॥
Manô˙ chalî â˙gana kaṭhina	*tâ tê˙ râtê pâi* ।
Tua pada samatâ kau˙ kamala	*jala sêvata ika bhâi* ॥ 71 ॥

Translation.

The Poetical Fancy.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 686 and ff.]

When, after considering a **Thing**, a **Cause**, or a **Purpose**, one imagines it (in the character of another), the figure *Utprêkshâ* or **Poetical Fancy** is used.

(1) An example of a **Poetical Fancy depending on a Thing** is : —

'Her eyes are specially large and luscious, as though they were lotuses.'

(2) An example of a **Poetical Fancy depending on a Cause** is : —

'Her feet are rosy, as though from walking on a rough court yard.'

(3) An example of a **Poetical Fancy depending on a Purpose** is : —

'The Lotus ever worships the Water(-God), with but one object, (as though) to achieve (a beauty) equal to that of thy feet.'

[The subject of the Poetical Fancy, or *Utprêkshâ* has been developed at great length by writers on rhetoric ; both by the author of the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, and by authors who wrote subsequently to Jas'want Siṅgh, such as Padmâkara and others. A brief account of the various subdivisions may be given, as the numerous technical terms are frequently met with in various works.]

[According to the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, a Poetical Fancy is the imagining (*saṁbhâvanâ*, or according to others, *tarka*) of an object under the character of another. As being **Expressed** (*vâchyâ*) or **Understood** or **Implied** (*pratîyamânâ*),[2] it is first held to be two-fold. It is expressed when the particles *iva*, 'as,' and the like are employed, and understood when they are not employed. Since in each of these a **Genus** (*jâti*), a **Quality** (*guṇa*), an **Action** (*kriyâ*), or

[2] [The Expressed Poetical Fancy is also called *vyañjikâ* (in Hindî *vyañjaka*) and the Implied *vyaṅgyâ*, *gamyâ*, or *luptâ* (the Hindî uses the masculine forms). Thus, Giridhara-dâsa's *Bhâratî-bhûshana*, 87 : —

Utprêkshâ vyañjaka manahu˙	*manu janu âdika âhi* ।
Jahâ˙ nahî˙ yê, jâniyê	*gamyôtprêkshâ tâhi* ॥

'A Poetical Fancy is 'Expressed' (*vyañjaka*), when the words *manahu˙*, *manu*, *janu*, &c., all meaning 'as though,' are used. When these words are not used it is 'Implied' (*gamya*).]

a **Substance** (*dravya*), may be fancied, the figure becomes eight-fold. In each of these eight sorts, again, the fancy being (1) **Positive**, or (2) **Negative** (*bhâvâbhâvâbhimânataḥ*), and the **Occasion** (*nimitta*) of the fancy being in the shape of (3) a **Quality**, or (4) an **Action**, they become thirty-two fold.

Of these, the **Expressed** (*vâchyâ*) sorts are, with the exception of that of substance (*dravya*) each three-fold, as pertaining to (1) a **Nature** (*svarûpa*), (2) a **Purpose or Effect** (*phala*), and a **Cause** (*hêtu*).

Of these, the sorts pertaining to a **Nature** (*svarûpa*) are again two-fold, according as the **Occasion** (*nimitta*) **of the Fancy is Mentioned** (*ukta*) or **Not Mentioned** (*anukta*).

The divisions of the **Understood** or **Implied** (*pratîyamânâ*) poetical fancy, may each pertain to a **Purpose** or **Effect** (*phala*) or to a **Cause** (*hêtu*).

These, again, are two-fold, according as the **Subject** (*prastuta*) **of the Fancy is Mentioned** (*ukta*) or **Not Mentioned.**]

[It will be seen that the *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa* gives a different analysis of the figure: and this latter analysis has been much developed by later authors. All authors agree, in following the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* by defining the figure as the imagining (*saṁbhâvanâ* or *tarka*) of one thing (the subject) under the character of another. In its simplest form the following may be taken as an example. It is the first one given above, slightly developed :—

Her eyes, large and luscious, captivate the heart as though they were lotuses.

Here the subject of the figure, the eyes, is imagined under the character of the object of the figure, that is to say, lotuses.

The same idea expressed under the form of a **Simile** (*upamâ*) would be :—

Her eyes are large and luscious like lotuses.

This is merely an expression of the resemblance of two things, the eyes and the lotuses, expressed in a single sentence. The resemblance is expressed, not suggested as in the Metaphor. Moreover in the Simile, the two objects are said only to resemble the other, while in the Poetical Fancy one is imagined or fancied to act in the character of the other.

The same idea expressed under the form of a **Metaphor** would be :—

Her lotus-eyes are large and luscious.

Here the fancied character of the lotus is superimposed upon the object — the eyes. This differs from the Simile because the resemblance is suggested as an embellishment, and is not expressed by any word such as 'like,' etc. It also differs from the Poetical Fancy because the subject, *i. e.*, the eye, is not imagined *as acting in the character* of a lotus, but is imagined *to be* a lotus.

In a **Simile**, words expressing resemblance, such as, *iva, tulya, jaisê, lau'*, all meaning 'like,' are either expressed, or understood.

In the **Poetical Fancy**, words such *mânô'*, *jânô'*, 'methinks,' 'as though,' '*niśchaya-pragaṭata*, 'of a certainty appears as though,' are expressed or understood.]

[All authors subsequent to the *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa* agree that the Poetical Fancy is of three kinds according as it depends on a **Thing** (*vastu*),[3] a **Cause** (*hêtu*) or an **Effect or Purpose** (*phala*). That is to say, the subject of the Poetical Fancy is imagined to be another **Thing**, or it may be imagined to be in such a condition as to be **Caused** by some other fancied circumstance, or it may be imagined to be in such a condition as to have some other fancied circumstance for its **Effect.**

In the Poetical Fancy depending on a **Thing** (*vastûtprêkshâ*), the thing may be either simply a concrete noun substantive, or it may be a quality (adjectival), or it may be an action or condition (verbal).

[3] The *svarûpa* (nature) of the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*.

An example of the thing being a concrete noun substantive is: —

Her eyes, large and luscious, captivate the heart as though they are lotuses.

Here the lady's eyes are the subject of the Poetical Fancy, and are imagined to be acting in the character of a concrete thing, — a noun substantive, — lotuses.

An example of the thing being a quality is the following: —

His virtues, occasioning as they did other virtues, were, as it were, generative.

Here the hero's virtues are the subject of the Poetical Fancy, and they are imagined to possess the adjectival quality of generativeness.

An example of the thing being an action:—

In my dreams the night passed happily, as though I were sleeping in my beloved's arms.

Here the subject of the Poetical Fancy is the manner of passing the night, and it is magined to be acting in the character of the verbal action of sleeping in the arms of the beloved.

This Poetical Fancy depending on a thing (*vastûtprêkshâ*) is further divided into two classes, according as the **ground or occasion** (*âspada* or *vishaya*) for the fancy **is or is not mentioned.** In the first case the Poetical Fancy is called *uktâspadavastûtprêkshâ*, or *uktavishayâ vastûtprêkshâ.* In the latter case it is called *anuktâspadavastûtprêkshâ*, or *anuktavishayâ vastûtprêkshâ.*

An example of the ground for the Poetical Fancy being mentioned is the verse already given:—

Her eyes, large and luscious, captivate the heart as though they were lotuses.

Here the ground for imagining the eyes to be acting in the character of lotuses is that they are large and luscious and captivate the heart. This is mentioned.

Again:—

The spots shine beauteous on the moon, as though they were bees upon a lotus in the sky.

Here the spots on the moon are imagined to be acting in the character of bees on a lotus, and the ground for the imagination, *viz.*, that, being spots on a white surface, they are nevertheless still charming, is stated.

Again:—

The ornament of Kṛishṇa's ear, being shaped like a makara, *is beautiful as though it were the standard of the God of Love projecting from the gateway of the castle of Kṛishṇa's heart.*

Here the ornament is imagined to be acting in the character of the standard of the God of Love. And the ground for the imagination, its being shaped like a *makara* (the standard of the God of Love is also a *makara*), is stated.

An example of a Poetical Fancy depending on a thing, in which the occasion is not expressed, is the following:—

The face of the deer-eyed one gladdens the heart as if it were another full moon.

The grounds for fancying the lady's face to possess the characteristics of a full moon (*viz.*, its peculiar fairness, roundness, etc.), are not mentioned.

Again:—

Aloes and incense caused as it were a thick night.

Here the occasion of the Poetical Fancy, the smoke arising from the incense, is not mentioned.

As the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* remarks, in a Poetical Fancy depending upon a **Cause** or upon an **Effect**, the occasion must always, as a matter of course, be mentioned. For if the occasion, for instance, in the example immediately following, *viz.*, 'holding deep silence,' be not mentioned, the sentence would be unconnected, or absurd.

The following is an example of a Poetical Fancy depending on a **cause** (*hêtûtprêkshâ*):—

I saw an anklet fallen on the ground, holding deep silence, as if from the sorrow of separation from the lotus-foot.

This Fancy in its simplest form is this:—

It was silent, as though it were in sorrow.

Here sorrow is fancied as the cause of the silence, and the suggestion (*tarka*) of this fact forms the Poetical Fancy.

Again:—

The lover gave his darling his heart, as though he were at a wedding ceremony.

A wedding ceremony is a cause of giving presents to the Bride, and here it is fancied as the cause for the Bridegroom presenting his heart to the Bride. The suggestion (*tarka*) of this fact forms the Poetical Fancy.

Again:—

The women of the house made as much of the Bridegroom, as if he were about to start on a long journey.

Here the starting on a long journey is imagined as the cause for the affection shewn to the Bridegroom.

Again (the example of the *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa*):—

Her feet are rosy, as though from walking on a rough courtyard.

Here rosy, instead of brown, feet are an embellishment, but the colour is represented poetically as being caused by her having walked on rough ground.

A Poetical Fancy depending on a **cause** is of two kinds, according as the occasion of the Fancy is **an Actual, Natural thing which exists** (*siddhavishayâ hêtûtprêkshâ* or *siddhâspada-hêtûtprêkshâ*) or **an Imaginary thing which does not exist, but** is only imagined and invented for the nonce (*asiddhavishayâ hêtûtprêkshâ*, or *asiddhâspadahêtûtprêkshâ*). We shall take the latter first.

Examples of a Poetical Fancy depending on a cause with an imaginary occasion are:—

Kṛishṇa is glorious with the moon-like spots on his peacock diadem, as though, out of enmity with Śiva, he had crowned his head with a hundred moons.

Here the suggestion (*tarka*) of the moon in the moon-like spots forms the occasion of the Poetical Fancy. The Fancy consists in imagining that the cause of Kṛishṇa wearing such a diadem is his enmity to Śiva. But the moon-like spots are only imaginary moons. Hence the occasion is imaginary. The *Lâla Chandrikâ* (3) states that in this passage it is the enmity which is the imaginary occasion, but in this the author is, I consider, wrong. For the enmity is the cause of the occasion of the Poetical Fancy not the occasion itself. It is the *hêtu*, not the *âspada*.

Again:—

Thy face hath become the enemy of this lotus, as if it were the moon.

Here the emulation with the lotus is imagined to be the cause of the face becoming the moon. The face being the the enemy of the lotus is the occasion (*âspada*) of the Poetical Fancy and it is of course imaginary.

On the other hand, a Poetical Fancy depending on a **cause, with a natural or actual occasion** is exemplified in the following:—

She raised the wreath with both her hands, but was too much overcome by emotion to place it round Râma's neck. Her hands and arms became languid in the glory of his moon-like face, as though because they were two lotuses, each with flower and stem, shrinking at the moonlight.

Here the Poetical Fancy consists in the suggestion that Sîtâ's arms became languid because they took the character of two lotuses. That is to say, the occasion of the Poetical Fancy is that her arms were languid. It was a natural, actual, circumstance, and not an imaginary one.

Again:—

Her brows are arched, as though she were in anger at the unfaithfulness of her lover.

Here the occasion of the Poetical Fancy is the beautiful curve of the Heroine's eyebrows. This is a natural and not an imaginary fact. The Fancy suggests that the cause of this characteristic is the anger of the lady.

A Poetical Fancy depending on an **Effect** or **Purpose** (*phalôtprêkshâ*) is also divided, like that depending on a cause, into two classes, as the **Occasion is Actual or Natural** (*siddhavishayâ phalôtprêkshâ* or *siddhâspadaphalôtprêkshâ*) or **Imaginary** (*asiddhavishayâ phalôtprêkshâ* or *asiddhâspadaphalôtprêkshâ*).

An example of a Poetical Fancy depending on **Effect** in its simplest form is the one given in the *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa* :—

'*The lotus ever worships the water-god, as though to obtain a beauty equal to that of thy feet.*'

Here the suggestion is that the abiding of the lotus in the water is an act of worship for the purpose of obtaining more perfect beauty.

The following is an example of the **Occasion (âspada) being Actual** (*siddha*) :—

The Creator made her bosom exuberant, as though to cause her hips to sway by its weight.

Here the graceful swaying of the hips is suggested as possessing the character of being the effect of the weight of the bosom. The occasion (*âspada*) of the Poetical Fancy is the actual fact of the weight of the bosom. Hence the Poetical Fancy is *siddhâspada.*

Again :—

He abandoned his home and friends and ran to Râma, as though he were a miser running to loot a treasure.

Here the runner is imagined in the character of a miser, and the running of the miser is the effect of the desire for wealth, just as the running of the other was the effect of his love to Râma. The occasion of the Poetical Fancy is the running to Râma and was an actual, not an imaginary, circumstance.

An example of a Poetical Fancy depending on a **Purpose, with an Imaginary Occasion** is the following :—

Such was her beauty that her ornaments could not enhance it. They were but as though the Creator, to preserve her pure fairness from defilement, had laid them there as mats on which to wipe the feet of prurient gazes that approached her.

Here the suggestion is that the ornaments were placed upon her body for the purpose of protecting her from defilement, and not to enhance her beauty. The occasion (*âspada*) of the Poetical Fancy is the imaginary supposition that the ornaments do not enhance her beauty. There is also the imaginary circumstance suggested that eyes have feet, and that their gaze can be wiped on anything. Hence the occasion, indeed the whole basis of the Fancy, is imaginary, and the *utprêkshâ* is *asiddhâspada.*]

Text.

Atiśayôktyalaṅkâra.

Atiśayôkti rûpaka *jahâ·* *kêvala-hî· upamâna* ।
Kanaka-latâ para chandramâ *dharai· dhanukha dvai vâna* ॥ 72 ॥
Sâpahnava *guṇa êka kau* *aurahi· para ṭhaharâi* ।
Sudhâ bharyau yaha vadana tua *chanda kahai baurâi* ॥ 73 ॥

Atiśayôkti bhêdaka *wahai* *jô ati bhêda dikháta*[4] ।
Aurai ha·sibau dêkhibau *aurai yá kî báta* ॥ 74 ॥
Sambandhâtiśayôkti *jaha·* *dêta ayôgahi yôga* ।
Yá pura kê mandira kahai· *śaśi lô· uṅchau lôga* ॥ 75 ॥
Atiśayôkti dûjî wahai *yôga ayôga bakhâna* ।
Tô kara ágai· kalpa-taru *kyô· páwai· sanamâna* । 76 ॥
Atiśayôkti akrama *jabai* *kárana káraja saṅga* ।
Tô śara lágata sáthahî· *dhanukhahi aru ari aṅga* ॥ 77 ॥
Chapalâtyukti *jo hêtu sau·* *hôta śîghra jô káju* ।
Kaṅkana-hî bhai mû·darî *piya ga·wana suni áju* ॥ 78 ॥
Atyantâtiśayôkti *sô* *pûrvápara krama náhî·* ।
Vána na puhu·chai· aṅga lô· *ari pahilai· giri jáhî·* ॥ 79 ॥

Translation.

Hyperbole.

[The *Sáhitya-darpaṇa* (693) defines a Hyperbole (*atiśayôkti*) as a Poetical Fancy (*utprêkshá*) in which the introsusception (*adhyavasáya*) is complete (*siddha*). That is to say, the introsusception is incomplete in the Poetical Fancy, where the subjective notion is expressed with uncertainty. Whilst in the Hyperbole, it being conceived with certainty, the introsusception is complete.]

[A Hyperbole is of seven kinds accordingly as it (1) depends on a **Metaphor** (*rûpakâtiśayôkti*), or (2) on a **Concealment** (*sápahnavátiśayôkti*), or (3) on a **Distinction** (*bhêdakátiśayôkti*), or (4) on a **Relationship** (*sambandhátiśayôkti*), or (5) on **Cause and Effect occurring simultaneously** (*akramátiśayôkti*), or (6) on **Effect immediately following the Cause** (*chapalátiśayôkti*), or (7) on **the Sequence to a Causation being inverted** (*atyantátiśayôkti*).]

(1) A **Metaphor** becomes **Hyperbole** when the object with which comparison is made (*upamána*) is alone mentioned, as for example : —

'I saw a moon upon a golden creeper, which bore two bows and two arrows.'

[Here the subjects with which comparison is made, the face, the body of the lady, the eyebrows, and her arrow-glances are not mentioned. Only the objects with which the comparison is made are mentioned.]

(2) When the qualities of one thing are (transferred to, and) established upon another it is called **Hyperbole dependent on Concealment** (*sápahnavátiśayôkti*, or according to another reading *apahnavarûpakâtiśayôkti*), as for example:—

'It is thy face which is filled with nectar. If any say that (thy face) is the moon he is mad.' [Nectar properly speaking is contained in the moon.]

(3) A **Hyperbole** is said to **depend upon a Distinction**, when it insists on an extreme difference (between two objects). [This figure is properly called *bhêdakátiśayôkti*, but some writers owing to a misreading of the first four syllables, which are frequently used as a contraction for the whole name, incorrectly call it *bhêda-kánti*.] An example is :—

'Her smile is altogether different (from that of others, that is to say, very excellent), so are her glances, and so her language.'

(4) **Hyperbole depending on a Relationship** is of two kinds :—

(*a*) In the first kind there is (an implication of) connexion where there is no connexion, as in the following example :—

'People call the temple of this city as high as the moon.'

[4] v. l. *sabai* *ihi vidhi varnata játa.*

[Here there is no real connexion between the height of the temple and of the moon, but nevertheless there is an implication of such connexion.]

(b) In the second kind there is a denial of connexion when there is connexion, as for example[5] :—

'In the presence (of thy generous) hand, how can the *kalpa-taru* obtain honour'?

[Here the connexion of the *kalpa-taru*, with the tree of plenty, and the hand of a generous giver is eminently proper, but it is denied in this special case.]

(5) When **Cause and Effect are represented as occurring simultaneously**, it is an instance of *akramâtiśayôkti* or **Hyperbole not in Sequence**, as for example : —

'Thine arrows reach thy bow and thine enemies' bodies at the same instant.'

[Here the placing the arrow in the bow is the cause of it reaching the body of the enemy, and the two, the cause and its result, are hyperbolically represented as occurring simultaneously.]

(6) When the **Effect is represented as following the Cause very quickly**, it is called the **Hyperbole of Immediate Sequence** (*chapalâtiśayôkti*), as for example :—

'Immediately on hearing of the departure of her beloved to-day, her ring became her bracelet (*i. e.*, she became so thin with grief that her ring was able to go round her wrist).'

(7) A Hyperbole may depend on the **Sequence to a Causation being inverted** and is then called **Exaggerated Hyperbole** (*atyantâtiśayôkti*), as for example :—

'His enemies fall, before his arrows reach their bodies.'

Text.

Tulyayôgitâlaṅkâra.

Tulyayôgitâ *tîni ê* *lakshaṇa krama tê· jâni* ।
Êka śabda mê· hita ahita *bahu mê· êkai bâni* ॥ 80 ॥
Bahuta su samatâ guṇana kari *ihi vidhi hôta prâkâra* ।
Guṇa-nidhi nîkai dêta tû· *tiya kau· ari kau· hâra* ॥ 81 ॥
Navala vadhû kî vadana-duti *aru sakuchita aravinda* ।
Tû-hî· śrî-nidhi, dharma-nidhi, *tu-hî· indra, aru chanda* ॥ 82 ॥

Translation.

Equal Pairing.

[The *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* (695) defines this figure as follows: — 'When objects in hand or others are associated with one and the same attribute (*dharma* = quality, *guṇa*, as well as action, *kriyâ*) it is Equal Pairing.' The *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa's* description is not in accordance with this.]

The following are the three (varieties of) **Equal Pairing** (*tulyayôgitâ*). Learn their peculiarities in order — (1) when in the same word both an auspicious and an inauspicious (meaning are suggested); (2) when one attribute (is associated) in several (words); and (3) when many (attributes) are detailed in equal co-existence. Such are the three varieties. Examples are : —

(1) 'O thou abode of virtue, thou givest necklaces to thy Lady, and discomfiture to thine enemies.' [Here the same word *hâra* is used in two senses, one auspicious, *i. e.*, 'a necklace,' and one inauspicious, *i. e.*, 'discomfiture.']

(2) 'Faded (at nightfall) are the charms of the bride's countenance, and the lotus.' [Here the same attribute, fading, is attributed both to the bride's countenance, and to the lotus (with which it may be compared).]

[5] [Some authors, *e. g. Bhâratî-bhûshaṇa*, 96, call this *asambandhâtiśayôkti*.]

(3) 'Thou alone art the abode of Good Fortune, thou alone art the abode of virtue, thou alone art (mighty as) Indra, thou alone art glorious as the moon.' [Here a number of different attributes are mentioned one by one as equally co-existent in one person.]

[The *Bhâratî-bhûshaṇa* of Giridhara-dâsa (104 and ff.) supplies the connexion between the *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa* and the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*. It defines what the *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa* calls the second kind of Equal Pairing (that in which one attribute is associated in several words), as follows :—

Kriyâ aura guṇa kari jahâ· *dharma êkatâ hôi* ।
Varṇyana kô kai itara kô *tulya-yôgitâ sôi* ॥ 82a ॥

Prastuta-tulyayôgitâ-udâharâṇa : —

Aruṇa-udaya avalôki kai *sakuchahi kuvalaya chôra* ।
Indu-udaya lakhi svairiṇî *vadana vanaja chahu· ôra* ॥ 82b ॥

Aprastuta-tulyayôgitâ-udâharaṇa : —

Lakhi têrî sukumâratâ *ê rî, yâ jaga mâhi·* ।
Kamala gulâba kaṭhôra sê *kâ kô bhâshata nâhi·* ॥ 82c ॥

When (*a*) objects in hand (*varṇyana*, or *prastuta*), or (*b*) others, are associated with one and the same attribute which may be either an action or a quality, it is Equal Pairing ; examples are : —

(*a*) 'When they see the rising of the dawn, the night-lily and the thief lament. So also when they see the rising of the moon, in all directions, do the countenances of the free woman and the blue lotus.' (Here the description of the rising of the sun and of the moon is in question, and the lily and the thief, the free woman and the blue lotus, which are respectively connected therewith, are associated with the same action of lamenting.)

(*b*) 'Fair maid, who in this world that has perceived the softness of thy (body), does not speak of the hardness of the lotus and of the rose.' (This is a translation of the corresponding verse in the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*. Here the description of the softness of the lady's body is the subject in hand, and the lotus and the rose which are unconnected with it, are associated with the same quality of hardness.)

It thus appears that the definition of the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* corresponds to the second kind of Equal Pairing defined in the *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa*.]

Text.

Dîpakâlaṅkâra.

Sô **dîpaka** *nija guṇani sau·* *varani itara eka bhâva* ।
Gaja mada sau· nṛipa têja sau· *śôbhâ lahata banâva* ॥ 83 ॥

Translation.

The Illuminator.

[Cf. *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 696 :— 'When a thing-connected-with-the-subject (*prastuta*) and another unconnected-with-it (*aprastuta*) (are associated with one and the same attribute) ; or when the same case is connected with several verbs (cf. *kâraka-dîpaka*, v. 150 below) ; it is called the Illuminator.' Compare the definition of Equal Pairing above, with which the definition of the Illuminator is closely connected.]

When a thing in hand (*varani*=*varṇya*) and something else are each described as possessing the same attribute, each on account of its own peculiar qualities, it is called the **Illuminator** ; for example : —

'The elephant and the king each takes enhanced glory, the one from his being in rut, and the other from his valour.'

[Here two things the subject in hand (the king), and something else (the elephant) are described each as possessing the same attribute of glory, though in each case from a different cause, the cause in each case being the peculiar nature of the king and the elephant respectively.]

Text.

Dîpakâvrittyalaṅkâra.[6]

Dîpaka âvriti *tîni vidhi*	*âvriti pada kî hôi* |
Puni hwai âvriti artha kî	*dûjî kahiyai sôi* || 84 ||
Pada aru artha duhûra kî	*âvriti tîjî lêkhi* |
Ghaṇa barasai hai, rî sakhî,	*niśi barasai hai dêkhi* || 85 ||
Phûlai vṛiksha kadamba kê	*kêtaka bikasê âhi* |
Matta bhaê hai môra aru	*châtaka matta sarâhi* || 86 ||

Translation.

The Illuminator with Repetition.

[Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa.*]

The Illuminator with Repetition is of three kinds — (*a*) In the first there is repetition of a word (*padâvṛitti*) (but not of its meaning). (*b*) In the second there is a repetition of meaning (*arthâvṛitti*) (but not of the same word). (*c*) And in the third there is repetition both of the word and of its meaning (*padârthâvṛitti*). Examples are : —

(*a*) 'O friend, the clouds rain ; see, it is a night of the rainy season.' Here the word 'rain' is repeated, but each time in a different sense.

(*b*) 'The *nauclea* tree is in blossom, and the *kêtaka* tree is flowering.' Here the words 'is in blossom' and 'is flowering' are different, but their meaning is the same.

(*c*) Excited is the peacock, and excited is the *châtaka*-bird worthy to be praised.' Here the word 'excited' is repeated, each time in the same meaning.

[It will be observed that all the above are examples of the Illuminator (v. 83, above).]

Text.

Prativastûpamâlaṅkâra.

Prativastupamâ *samajhiyai·*	*dôû vâkya samâna* |
Âbhâ sûra pratâpa tê·	*śôbhâ sûra ka vâna* || 87 ||

Translation.

The Typical Comparison.

It is **Typical Comparison** when the same idea is implied by two different expressions. As for example : —

'The sun gaineth its brilliancy from its fierce heat, as the hero gaineth his glory with his arrow.'

[Here the actions of 'gaining brilliancy' and 'gaining glory,' though the same, are expressed by a difference of words to avoid repetition. Cf. *Sâhitya-darpaṇa,* 697, where the definition is 'Typical Comparison is when in sentences or descriptions, of which the correspondence is implied, the same common attribute is differently expressed.' As its name in the vernacular implies, the figure is closely connected with the *upamâ* or simile (vv. 44 and ff., above).]

[6] Or *Âvṛittidîpaka.*

Text.

Dṛishṭântâlaṅkâra.

Alaṅkára **dṛishṭânta** *sô* *lakshaṇa nâma pramâṇa* ।
Kântimâna sasi-hî banyau *tô-hî kîratimâna* ॥ 88 ॥

Translation.

Exemplification.

The nature of the figure of **Exemplification** can be gathered from its name. An example of the figure is: —

'The moon alone was created a thing of perfect beauty, as thou alone of perfect fame.'

[The *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 698, defines the figure as the reflective representation (*pratibimbana*) of a similar (*sadharma*) attribute, (not of the same attribute, in which case the figure would be Typical Comparison, v. 87 above).

Giridhara-dâsa's definition in the *Bhârati-bhûshaṇa* (119) is fuller than that of the *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa*: —

Varṇya avarṇya duhûna kô *bhinna dharma darasâi* ।
Jahâ *bimba pratibimba sô* *sô dṛishṭânta kahâi* ॥ 88a ॥

When different attributes are shewn as belonging respectively to the subject under discussion and to something not under discussion, — they bearing the mutual relationship of type and antitype, it is **Exemplification**.]

Text.

Nidarśanâlaṅkâra.

Kahiyai *trividhi* **nidarśanâ** *vâkya artha sama dôi* ।
Êka kiê, puni aura guṇa *aura vastu me* *hôi* ॥ 89 ॥
Kahiyai *kâraja dêkhi kachhu* *bhalau burau phala bhâu*
Dâtâ saumya so aṅka binu *pûraṇa chanda banâu* ॥ 90 ॥
Dêkhô, sahaja-hi dharata yaha *khañjana-lîlâ naina* ।
Têjaswî sau *nibala bala* *mahâdêva aru maina* ॥ 91 ॥

Translation.

Illustration.

[Cf. *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 699. When a possible, or, as is sometimes the case, even an impossible connection of things (*vastusaṁbandha*) implies a relation of type and antitype (*bimbânubimbatva*), it is Illustration.]

Illustration (*nidarśanâ*) is of three kinds, *viz.*, (*a*) when the meaning of the two sentences is the same; (*b*) when the quality of one thing exists in another; and (*c*) when from a consideration of the effect (of a similar action), the good or bad results of an action may be foretold. Examples of the three kinds are: —

(*a*) 'This gentle giver is without spot; in the same manner that the full moon is without spot.'

[The *Bhushaṇa-kaumudî* remarks that this must not be taken as an instance of **Exemplification** (v. 88); for in the latter there is no superimposition, merely comparison; while here the quality of the spotlessness of the moon is superimposed upon the person compared, — the giver. In fact Exemplification bears much the same relation to this kind of Illustration, that a Simile does to a Metaphor.]

(*b*) 'Behold, her eye naturally contains the sportive play of the (fluttering) *khañjana* bird.'

[Here the quality of the fluttering motion of the *khañjana* is used as an illustration of sportive play of her eyes, and is mentioned as existing in them. This form of the figure must be distinguished from **Hyperbole dependent on Concealment** (*Sápahnavátiśayôkti*, v. 30), in which all the qualities of one thing are taken away from it and established in another, while here there is no denial of the fact that the *khañjana* still possesses a fluttering motion, though the heroine's eye also possesses it.]

(c) 'When a weak person uses force against a mighty one, (it is an instance) of the story of Mahâdêva and the God of Love.'

[The fatal result of the attack of the feeble God of Love upon the mighty Mahâdêva is well known.]

Text.

Vyatirêkâlaṅkâra.

Viyatirêka *upamâna tê·* *upamêyâdika dêkhi* |
Mukha hai ambuja sô, sakhî, *mîṭhî bâta viśêkhi* || **92** ||

Translation.

Contrast.

When a subject compared with another excels it, it is an instance of **Contrast** (*vyatirêka*), as for example:—

'This face of hers, O friend, is a lotus, but has this superior excellence, that sweet words issue from it.'

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 700, where it is said that the subject compared may either excel or fall short of the other. With this figure may be compared the ornament of the Converse (*pratîpa*), vv. 50 and ff.]

Text.

Sahôktyalaṅkâra.

Sô **sahôkti** *saba sâtha-hi·* *varanai rasa sarasâî* |
Kîrati ari-kula saṅga-hî· *jala-nidhi pahu·chî jâi* || **93** ||

Translation.

Connected Description.

This figure occurs when all of several facts are elegantly described as occurring simultaneously, as for example: —

'Thy fame, together with the hordes of thy foes, have reached the ocean at the same time (the one in triumphant progress, the other in headlong flight).

[The *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* (701) insists that this figure must be founded on a Hyperbole (*atiśayôkti*, vv. 29 and ff.); but this is not admitted by others. The *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa* considers that it is sufficient that the coincidence should be elegantly expressed *rasa sarasâî, rasa-kô sarasita kari kai*, Comm. So *Bhâratî-bhûshaṇa*, 132, *jahâ mana-rañjana varaṇiyê*.]

Text.

Vinôkti.

Hai vinôkti dwai bhâ·ti kî *prastuta kachhu binu kshîṇa* |
Aru śôbhâ adhikî lahai *prastuta kachhu ika hîna* || **94** ||
Driga khañjana-sê kañja-sê *añjana binu śôbhai· na* |
Bâlâ, saba guṇa sa-rasa tanu[7] *rañcha rukhâî hai· na* || **95** ||

[7] V. l. *bali saba guṇa sarasâta tua.*

Translation.

The Speech of Absence.

[Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa.*]

The figure of the **Speech of Absence** is of two kinds:—(*a*) in one, the subject of description loses by the absence of something; (*b*) in the other, owing to the same cause, it gains enhanced beauty, but is still wanting in something (necessary). Examples are: —

(*a*) Thine eyes are (glancing) as the *khañjana* bird, and (full orbed) as the lotus, but without collyrium they have no lustre.

(*b*) Fair damsel, thy body is luscious and filled with every charm. (Thou displayest) no harshness [which is necessary to bring thy lover to thy feet].

Text.

Samâsôktyaḷaṅkâra.

Samâsôkti prastuta phurai — *prastuta varṇana mâ'jha* |
Kumudini-hû praphulita bhaî — *dêkhi kalâ-nidhi sâ'jha* || 96 ||

Translation.

The Modal Metaphor.[8]

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa,* 703. **The Modal Metaphor** is when the behaviour (or character) of another is ascribed (*vyàvahârasamârôpa*) to the subject of description (*prastuta*), from a **Sameness of (1) Action, (2) Sex (or Gender), or (3) Attribute.**]

The Modal Metaphor is when, in the account of a thing which is not the subject of description (*aprastuta*), the subject of description is itself manifested, as for example :—

'The lily also expanded (or became full of joy) when it saw the approach of the moon at eventide.' [Here the subject of description is the heroine, and not the lily. The real meaning (which has been manifested by the Modal Metaphor) is, 'The heroine became full of joy, when she saw the approach of her beloved at eventide.']

[This is an example of what the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* would call a Modal Metaphor dependent on Community of Attribute. As, however, the word *praphulita* is equally applicable to a lily or to a woman, the example is not a good one, as there is nothing to point out that it is really the heroine and not the lily that was referred to. Had the word been 'smiled,' there would have been no doubt that the heroine was intended, and it would have been a true Modal Metaphor.

The *Bhûshaṇa-kaumudî* insists that the second *prastuta* must be translated as if it were '*aprastuta.*' Such a violent assumption is certainly necessary for the translation given above. Perhaps a more literal translation might be: 'When in the account of (one) subject of description, (another) subject of description is manifested.' The word '*aprastuta*' will not scan. The text is probably corrupt. The *Bhâratî-bhûshaṇa* (137), says :—

Prastuta mê' jaba-hî' phurai — *aprastuta vṛittânta* |
Samâsôkti bhûshaṇa kahai' — *tâ kô kavi-kula-kânta* || 96a ||

Yathâ :—

Sajanî, rajanî pâi śaśi — *viharata rasa-bhara-pûra* |
Âliṅgata prâchî mudita — *kara pasâri kai sûra* || 96b ||

'O friend, the moon, when she findeth the night rejoices, full of nectar (or love), and intoxicated with affection, when she appeareth in the east, stretcheth forth her rays (or arms) and embraceth the sun.]

[8] Literally, Speech of Brevity.

Text.

Parikarâlaṅkâra.

Hai **parikara** *âśaya liyê* | *jahâ· viśêshana hôi* ॥
Śaśi-vadanî yaha nâyikâ | *tâpa harati hai jôi* ॥ **97** ॥

Translation.

The Insinuator.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 704.]

Where there are significant epithets it is an instance of this figure.

This heroine reduceth the fever (of love). Rightly is she (called) the moon-face (the moon being a reducer of fever).

Text.

Parikarâṅkurâlaṅkâra.

Sâbhiprâya viśêshya jaba | **parikara aṅkura** *nâma* ।
Śûdhê-hû piya kê kahai· | *nêku na mânata vâma* ॥ **98** ॥

Translation.

The Passing Insinuation.

[Not in *Śâhitya-darpaṇa*.]

But when special significance is given (not to the qualifying epithet), but to the object qualified itself, it is an instance of this figure, as, for example:—

'The lady (*vâma*) does not heed a single word of what her lover says, even though he stand erect before her.' Here the use of the word *vâma* is significant, as it not only means 'lady,' but also 'crooked,' in contradistinction to the erectness of her lover.

[**Text.**

Punaruktivadâbhâsâlaṅkâra.

Not in *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa*. I have only met it in *Lâla-chandrikâ*, 678, which defines the figure as follows: —

Dikhai artha punarukti sau | **punaruktivadâbhâsa** ॥ **98a** ॥

Yathâ:—

Mana-môhana sau· môha kari | *tû Ghana-śyâma sa·hâri* ।
Kuñj-vihârî sau· vihari | *Giridhârî ura dhâri* ॥ **98b** ॥

Translation.

Apparent Tautology.

Where there are a number of names each referring to the same person, but each having special significance, it is **Apparent Tautology,** as for example:—

'Shew love to Manô-Môhana (the Heart-entrancer). Bring peace to Ghana-śyâma (or envelope him in thy cloud-dark hair). Sport thou with Kuñja-vihârin (he who sporteth in the bower), and clasp to thy (mountain-like) bosom Giridhârin (the Upholder of the Mountain). Here all these names of Kṛishṇa have special significance. The figure is a further development of the Passing Insinuation (98).]

Text.

Ślêshâlaṅkâra.

Ślêsha *alaṅkṛiti artha bahu* | *êka śabda tê· hôta* ।
Hôi na pûraṇa nêha binu | *aisô vadana udôta* ॥ **99** ॥

Translation.

Paronomasia or Coalescence.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 705.]

When several meanings come from the same word, it is an instance of this figure, as, for example:—

'Her face would not so shine, if there were not full love (or a full supply of oil),' [the word *nêha* meaning both 'love' and 'oil'].

Text.

Aprastutapraśaṁsâlaṅkâra.

Alaṅkâra dwai bhâ·ti kau	**aprastuta parasansa** |
Ika varṇana prastuta binâ	*dûjai· prastuta ansa* || **100** ||
Dhani yaha charchâ jñâna kî	*sakala samai sukha dêtu* |
Visha râkhata hai kaṇṭha śiva	*âpa dharyau ihi hêtu* || **101** ||

Translation.

Indirect Description.

[*The Sâhitya-darpaṇa* (706) thus defines this figure, which can hardly be said to be defined at all by the *Bhâsha-bhûshaṇa*. 'When (1) a particular (*viśêsha*) from a general (*sâmânya*), or (2) a general from a particular, or (3) a cause (*nimitta*) from an effect (*kârya*), or (4) an effect from a cause (*hêtu*), or a thing similar from what resembles it (*samât samaṁ*), is understood, each of the former being in question (*prastuta*) and the latter not so, it is Indirect Description.' This definition must be borne in mind as understood in the following.]

The figure of **Indirect Description** (*aprastutapraśaṁsâ*) is of two kinds, according as (*a*) description takes place without (mention of) the subject in question, and (*b*) description takes place with only a partial reference to the subject in question. Examples are: —

(*a*) 'Blessed is this pursuit of knowledge, which continually gives happiness.' [Here the subject in question is divine knowledge. It is not mentioned, but it is inferred that the particular knowledge which is in question can only be divine knowledge, from the effect described, *viz.*, that it gives happiness at all times.]

(*b*) Śiva bears the (*halâhala*) poison in his throat, and therefore (to allay the burning) he placed the water (of the Ganges) on his head.' [Here the Ganges, which is the subject in question, is only hinted at by the word 'water.' It is understood that it is that particular river which is in question, from the effect; for no other river could allay the burning of the *halâhala* poison.]

[This last example is not an instance of *Kâvya-liṅga* or Poetical Reason (v. 153). In that figure, the reason given is a completive corroboration of a fact intimated, which is not the case here]

[Giridhara-dâsa thus defines this figure in the *Bhâratî-bhûshaṇa* :—

Aprastuta varṇana bishai·	*prastuta varṇyô jâi* |
Aprastuta-parasansa tehi	*kahahi· kavina kê râi* || **101a** ||

It is Indirect Description when, by the description of a thing which is not in hand, the subject in hand becomes described.

So also Raghu-nâtha in the *Rasika-môhana* (106):—

Aprastuti kî hôti jaha·	*prastuti sô· asphûrti* |
Aprastuti-praśaṁsa kahata	*alaṅkâra kari sûrti* || **101b** ||

Again Padmâkara-bhaṭṭa in the *Padmâbharaṇa* (107) says :—

Aprastuta viritânta maha·	*jaha· prastuta kô jñâna* |
Aprastuta-parasansa sô	*pañcha prakâra pramâṇa* || **101c** ||

Ika sârûpya-nibandhanâ *viya sâmânya-nibandha* ।
Bahuri viśêshya-nibandhanâ *kahi kavi rachata prabandha* ॥ 101d ॥
Chauthî hêtu-nibandhanâ *kâja-nibandhanâ âna* ।
Yâ vidhi pañcha prakâra sau· *tâhi kahata matimâna* ॥ 101e ॥

Indirect description occurs when in the description of a thing not in question, the thing in question is inferred. It is of five kinds, *viz.* : —

(1) When it originates in a resemblance (between the thing described and the thing inferred).

(2) Wnen it originates in a general statement (from which a particular is inferred).

(3) When it originates in a particular statement (from which a general is inferred).

(4) When it originates in a cause (from which an effect is inferred).

(5) When it originates in an effect (from which a cause is inferred).

This agrees with the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, and gives the clue to the connexion between the definition given in that work, and that of the *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa*.]

Text.

Prastutâṅkurâlaṅkâra.

Prastuta aṅkura *hai kiyai·* *prastuta mê· prastâi* ।
Kahâ· gayau ali kê·warê *chhâ·ḍi sukômalatâi* ॥ 102 ॥

Translation.

The Passing Allusion.

[Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*.]

It is the figure of **Passing Allusion**, when allusion (*prastâi=prastâva*) (hinting a connexion with) the subject in the mind of the speaker (is made to some passing circumstance) as for example : —

'O Bee, why hast thou deserted the delicacy (of other flowers) and gone to the *kê·warâ*? Here under the passing allusion to the bee, it is hinted that some person, who has attached himself to the pleasures of this world (the *kê·warâ* flower), and abandoned the sweet flowers of the name of Râma.

Another interpretation of this verse is as follows :— A heroine has been detected by her friend returning from the embraces of her lover. The friend thus addresses her, alluding to the scratches, marks of the love-conflict, on her face :—

'My dear (*ali*), what (thorny) *kê·warâ* flower hast thou been visiting, that thou hast loss the tender smoothness (of thy face)'? Here the lover is figuratively alluded to as a *kê·warâ* flower.

Text.

Paryâyôktyalaṅkâra.

Paryâyôkti *prakâra dvai* *kachhu rachanâ sau· bâta* ।
Misu kari kâraja sâdhiyai· *jô hai chitta sohâta* ॥ 103 ॥
Chatura wahai jehi· tua garê *binu guṇa ḍârî mâla* ।
Tuma dôû baiṭhau ihâ *jâti anhâwana tâla* ॥ 104 ॥

Translation.

Periphrasis.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 708. 'Periphrasis is when the fact to be intimated (*gamya*) is expressed by a turn of speech.']

Periphrasis is of two kinds: (*a*) In the first a statement is made by some ingenious turn of speech. (*b*) In the other the object which is desired by the agent's heart is accomplished by some pretext. Thus, for example: —

(*a*) 'Clever is he, who threw a necklace round thy neck — a necklace without a binding-string' According to the *Bhûshaṇa-kaumudî*, a friend has detected the heroine returning from an assignation, and the necklace without a binding-string represents periphrastically the arms of the lover. The passage is also capable of interpretation like the passage from the *Raghuvaṁśa* quoted in the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*. Thus: — 'A skilled (conqueror) is he, who placed on thy neck a necklace without a binding-thread (composed of the tears trickling down thy bosom in drops large like pearls, welling forth at the defeat of thy husband, his foe).

(*b*) 'You two are seated here (for a flirtation).' 'No friend, we are on our way to bathe in the lake.' Here the hero and heroine have accomplished their desire for an assignation, under pretext of having accidentally met on their way to the bathing *ghâṭ*.

Text.

Vyâjastutyalaṅkâra.

Vyâjastuti *nindâ misahi* *jabai baḍâî jôhi* ।
Swarga chaḍhâyê patita lai *gaṅga kâ kahau· tôhi* ॥ **105** ॥

Translation.

Artful Praise.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 707.]

When under pretence of blame, praise is expressed, — it is to be considered as an instance of **Artful Praise**, as for example: —

'O Ganges, what (good) can I say of thee. Thou hast raised sinners to heaven.' [Here under pretence of blaming the Ganges for defiling heaven with sinners, the poet really praises it for its salvation-giving properties.]

[The *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* includes under this figure its converse, — the giving blame under pretence of praise. So also *Bhâratî-bhûshaṇa*, 154,[9] which further includes the expression of praise, under pretence of praising somebody else. *E. g.*, Praising the All-purifying God, under pretence of praising the pure man in whose heart He abides, *i. e.*, the exact, converse of the succeeding.]

Text.

Vyâjanindâlaṅkâra.

Vyâja-ninda *nindâ misahi* *nindâ aurai hôi* ।
Sadâ kshîṇa kînhau na kyô· *chanda manda hai sôi* ॥ **106** ॥

Translation.

Artful Blame.

[Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*.]

It is the figure of **Artful Blame** (*vyâjanindâ*) when, under pretext of blaming one person, another person is also blamed; as for example:—

'Why did not (the Creator) make the moon ever and always emaciated? It was an evil action of His (not to have done so).'

[Here a heroine, distraught of the absence of her beloved, blames the moon for not being always as emaciated as herself, under cover of blaming the Creator. Cf. the note to the preceding figure.]

[9] So also *Rasika-môhana*, 110, and *Padmâbharaṇa*, 126.

Text.

Âkshêpâlaṅkâra.

Tîni bhâ·ti **âkshêpa** *hai* | *êka nishêdha-abhâsu* ।
Pahilahi kahiyai· âpu kachhu | *bahuri phêriyai· tâsu* ॥ 107 ॥
Durai nishêdha jo vidhi-vachana | *lakshaṇa tînô· pêkhi* ।
Hai nahi· dûtita agini tê· | *tiya-tana tâpa visêkhi* ॥ 108 ॥
Sîta-kiraṇa dai darśa tû· | *athavâ tiya-mukha âhi* ।
Jâi daî mô janma dê | *chalai dêśa tuma jâhi* ॥ 109 ॥

Translation.

The Hint.

[The definition of the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* (714, 715) differs, though the third example of the *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa* is nearly the same as one given in the former work. It (the definition) is as follows: — 'When something, really intended to be said, is apparently suppressed or denied (*nishêdhâbhâsê*), for the purpose of conveying a particular meaning, it is termed Hint, and is two-fold as pertaining to what is about to be said or what has been said. Another figure (also termed Hint) is held, likewise (*i. e.*, for the purpose of conveying a particular meaning) to be an apparent permission (*vidhyâbhâsa*) of something really unwished for.' The first of these two definitions corresponds to the first definition of the *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa*, and the second definition of that work is really included in it. The second definition of the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* corresponds to the third of the *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa*.]

The **Hint** is of three kinds:— (*a*) In the first there is an apparent suppression (or denial for the purpose of conveying a particular meaning). (*b*) In the second, the speaker himself at first commences a statement, and then turns it aside. (*c*) In the third, a refusal (of permission) is concealed under words signifying permission. Examples are: —

(*a*) 'In the lady's body there is a fever more fierce than fire, — but no, she has not its brilliancy.'

[Here the pangs of separation felt by the friend of the speaker are hinted at in general, but the particular fact that she is pale and about to die is suppressed.]

(*b*) 'O Cool-rayed (Moon) reveal thyself, — or, stay, is it my lady's face (which I see).'

[Here the hero commences to compare his lady's face to the moon, but stops and addresses her directly, after giving a hint of what was in his mind.]

(*c*) 'Depart (my love) to a far country (if thou art resolved to go) —— And may God give me again birth there.'

[Here the permission to go is really a prohibition. Moreover the lady hints that if her beloved does go she will of a certainty die, and will have to be reborn elsewhere.]

Text.

Virôdhâbhâsâlaṅkâra.

Bhâsai jabai virôdha sô | *wahai* **virôdhâbhâsa** ।
Uta rata hau, utarata nahî· | *mana tê· prâṇa-nivâsa* ॥ 110 ॥

Translation.

Apparent Contradiction.

[Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*; cf. however 718, *virôdha*, contradiction.] When an incongruity is (at first sight) apparent (but there is really no incongruity), it is called **Apparent Contradiction**; as for example: —

''Tis there (*uta*, *i. e.*, with some other lady) that thou art devoted (*rata*). She, the abode of thy life, departeth (*utarata*) not from thy heart.'

[Here the speaker is a jealous heroine. The apparent contradiction dwells in the use of the two expressions *uta-rata* (devoted there), and *utarata nahî·* (does not depart). It will be seen that this particular example is also an instance of the ornament of *Yamaka* or Pun (v. 203). In a Pun, however, the incongruity is not a necessary part]

Text.

Vibhâvanâlaṅkâra.

Hôhi· chha bhá·ti **vibhâvanâ**	*kárana bina-hî kája* ।
Binu yávaka dînai charana	*aruṇa lakhai hai áju* ॥ 111 ॥
Hêtu apûraṇa tê· jabai	*káraja pûrana hôi* ।
Kusuma-vána kara gahi madana	*saba jaga jîtyau jôi* ॥ 112 ॥
Pratibádhaka-hû hôta hai	*káraja pûrana máni* ।
Niśi-dina śruti-saṁgati taû	*naina rága kî khâni* ॥ 113 ॥
Jabaï akáraṇa vastu tê·	*káraja prakaṭa-hi hôta* ।
Kôkila kî vâṇî abai	*bôlata sunyau kapôta* ॥ 114 ॥
Káhû káraṇa tê· jabai	*káraja hôta viruddha* ।
Karata mõhi santápa-hî·	*sakhî, sîta-kara śuddha* ॥ 115 ॥
Puni kachhu káraja tê· jabai	*upajai káraṇa rûpa* ।
Naina-mîna tê· dêkhi yaha	*saritá bahata anûpa* ॥ 116 ॥

Translation.

Peculiar Causation.

[*Sáhitya-darpaṇa*, 716. 'When an effect is said to arise without a cause (*hêtu*), it is Peculiar Causation (*vibhâvanâ*), and is two-fold, according as the occasion (*nimitta*) is or is not mentioned.' It will be noticed that the *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa* (and indeed all other later authors whom I have consulted) gives a much wider definition.]

Peculiar Causation is of six kinds, *viz.*: —

(1) When an effect (is said to arise) without a cause, as for example: —

'Without applying red-lac dye, a rosy hue appears upon her feet.' Here the rosy hue of the feet, which is an enhancement of beauty, is shewn as existing without its usual cause.

(2) When a full effect (is said to arise) from a cause which is incomplete, as for example: —

'Behold, although the God of Love has merely grasped his dart of flowers, he has conquered the whole world.'

(3) When, in spite of an obstacle, the effect is nevertheless complete, as for example: —

'Although they are ever near (*i. e.*, long, extending to) her ears (or, by a *paronamasia*, in the neighbourhood of religious books), still her eyes are full (lit., mines) of anger.'

(4) When an effect appears to arise from a thing which cannot be the cause, as for example: —

'Lo, I heard a dove utter just now the call of a cuckoo.' [In this example, a friend of the hero is inviting the heroine to come to the place of assignation, and suggests this apparent miracle as a pretext.]

(5) When a contrary effect is said to arise from a cause, as for example: —

'O friend, this pure cooling moon only gives me fever.' [The heroine is lamenting the absence of her beloved.]

[The *Lála-chandriká*, 436, mentions a figure called **Virôdha** which is closely connected with the fifth variety of Peculiar Causation. Cf. *Sáhitya-darpaṇa*, 718.

The example given is :—

Máryau manuhárani bhari *gâryau khari miṭhâhi·* ।
Wâ kau ati anakhâhaṭau *musakâhaṭa bina nâhi·* ॥ **115a** ॥

'Even her beatings of me are full of captivatings of the soul. Even her abuse is very sweet. Even her extreme anger is not without a smile.']

(6) When originating from some effect, the appearance of a cause is produced, *i. e.*, when the sequence of cause and effect is inverted, as for example : —

'See those (clear) darting fishes, her eyes. From them flows a river.' [Here from the eyes metaphorically considered as fishes, taken as an effect, the torrent of tears, further metaphorically considered as the cause (or essential of existence) of these fishes, *viz.*, a river, is represented as being produced by them.]

Text.

Viśêshôktyalaṅkâra.

Viśêshôkti *jô hêtu sau·* *kâraja upajai nâhi·* ।
Nêha ghaṭata hai nahi· taû *kâma-dîpa ghaṭa mâhi·* ॥ 117 ॥

Translation.

Peculiar Allegation.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 717.]

When, in spite of the existence of a cause, there is an absence of effect, it is **Peculiar Allegation**, as for example : —

'Although the lamp of desire (is burning) in her body, still the oil (or her love) diminishes not.' [Here there is a *paronomasia* on the word *nêha*, which means both 'oil' and 'love.']

[This figure is two-fold according as the occasion (*guṇa* or *nimitta*) for the absence of the effect is mentioned (*ukta*) or is not mentioned (*anukta*). An example of *uktaguṇa viśêshôkti* is *Bihârî-sat'saî*, 533 : —

Tyau· tyau· pyâsê-î rahata *jyau· jyau· piyata aghâi* ।
Saguṇa salaunê rûpa kau· *ju na chakha tṛishâ bujhâi* ॥ **117a** ॥

'The more my eyes drink to satiety, the more thirsty they become. Their thirst for his lovely (or salt) form is not extinguished.' Here the cause for the absence of the quenching of the thirst, *viz.*, the beauty (or, by a *paronomasia*, the saltness) of her beloved's form is mentioned.]

Text.

Asaṁbhavâlaṅkâra.

Kahata **asaṁbhava** *hôta jaba* *binu saṁbhâvana kâju* ।
Giri-vara dharihai gôpa-suta *kâ janai ihi âju* ॥ **118** ॥

Translation.

The Unlikely.

[Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*.]

They call the figure **The Unlikely**, when an effect occurs contrary to the usual course of events, as for example : —

'Who imagines to-day, that (Kṛishṇa) the cowherd's son would hold up (the mountain of) Gôvardhana'?

[So also *Bhâratî-bhûshaṇa*, 178, *Padmâbharaṇa*, 145, *Rasika-môhana*, 123.]

Text.

Asamgatyalankâra.

Tîni asamgati *kâja aru*	*kâraṇa nyârê ṭhâma* |
Aura ṭhaurahi kîjiyai·	*aura ṭhaura kau kâma* || 119 ||
Aura kâja ârambhiyai·	*aurai kariyai· daura* |
Kôkila mada mâti bhaî	*jhûmata â·bahi maura* || 120 ||
Têrê ari kî aṅganâ	*tilaka lagâyau pâni* |
Môha miṭâyau nâhi· prabhu	*môha lagâyau âni* || 121 ||

Translation.

Disconnection.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 719, where the definition corresponds only with the first of the three given by the *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa*.]

Disconnection is of three kinds : — (*a*) When an effect and a cause are (represented as) locally separated; (*b*) When an action occurs in a place other than the usual one; and (*c*) When a commencement is made towards one effect, but another is proceeded to. Examples are : —

(*a*) 'It is the flower clusters on the mangos which destil intoxicating juice, but it is the cuckoo (not the mango) which is drunk.'

(*b*) 'The wives of thy foes are wearing their forehead ornaments on their hands,' (which also, by a *paronomasia*, means 'have placed sesamum (*tila*) and water (*ka*) in their hands in token of submission.)

(*c*) 'O God, thou hast not wiped away my illusion, but has brought and enveloped me in more.' [Here God is represented as having commenced to wipe away illusion, and then to have ultimately added more instead. Or, according to another explanation, it is not God, but a lover who is addressed. He has just returned from a far country, and is about to start again on his journeys without seeing his beloved. A companion of the latter addresses him :— 'My Lord, thou hast come to relieve her woes, and (art departing) without doing so.']

[So also, *Bhâratî-bhûshaṇa*, 180, *Padmâbharaṇa*, 146, *Rasika-môhana*, 124.]

Text.

Vishamâlankara.

Vishama *alaṅkṛiti tîni vidhi*	*anamilitahi kau saṅga* |
Kâraṇa kau ra·ga aura kachhu	*kâraja aurai raṅga* || 122 ||
Aura bhalau udyama kiyê	*hôta burau phala âi* |
Ati kômala tana tîya kau	*kahâ· kâma kî lâi* || 123 ||
Khaḍga-latâ ati śyâma tê·	*upajî kîrati sêta* |
Sakhi lâyau ghanasâra pai	*adhika tâpa tana dêta* || 124 ||

Translation.

Incongruity.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 720.]

The figure of **Incongruity** is of three kinds : — (*a*) In the first there is association of incongruous things; (*b*) In the second, the qualities (or appearances) of a cause and its effect are opposed to each other; and (*c*) In the third a good endeavour brings an evil result. Examples are :—

(*a*) 'Very tender is the form of the lady. How can (it support) the burning flame of love (with which it is filled).' [Here there is an association of the two incongruous things,— a woman's tender frame, and the fire of love.]

(b) 'From the black tree of thy sword, has sprung the white (flower of thy) glory.'

(c) 'O friend, I applied (cooling) camphor, but it only increased the fever of her body.'

[The *Rasika-môhana*, 127 and ff., further developes the figure at great length.]

Text.

Samâlaṅkâra.

Alaṅkâra sama *tîni vidhi* — *yathâyôgya kau saṅga* ।
Kâraja mê· saba pâiyai· — *kâraṇa-hî kê aṅga* ॥ 125 ॥
Srama binu kâraja siddha jaba — *udyama karata-hi hôi* ।
Hâra vâsa tiya ura karyau — *apanê lâyaka jôi* ॥ 126 ॥
Nîcha saṅga acharaju nahî· — *Lachchhî jalajâ âhi* ।
Yaśa-hî-kau uddima kiyau — *nîkai· pâyau tâhi* ॥ 127 ॥

Translation.

The Equal.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 721. 'The Equal is the commendation of an object fitly united with another.' The *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa* definition is more developed.]

[The **Equal** is the converse of the figure of **Incongruity** (vv. 122 and ff.), that is to say], it is of three kinds:— (a) In the first there is association of congruous things; (b) In the second, there is to be found a complete concordance between cause and effect; and (c) In the third without any labour a complete result follows, immediately on making an endeavour. Examples are:—

(a) 'The lady made her bosom the abode of her necklace, considering it worthy of herself.' [Here there is a complete correspondence between the beauty of the necklace, and the beauty of the lady.]

(b) 'It is not wonderful that Lakshmî should associate with the lowly, for she is born of water.' [Here water is represented as naturally seeking a lower level, and hence there is a complete concordance between the cause, — the birth of Lakshmî in the water, and the effect, — her naturally seeking the lowly.]

(c) 'He made an effort for fame alone, and gained it easily.'

[So also *Bhâratî-bhûshaṇa*, 191, *Padmâbharaṇa*, 153, *Rasika-môhana*, 134.]

Text.

Vichitrâlaṅkâra.

Ichchhâ phala viparîta kî — *kîjai· yatna* vichitra ।
Na·vata uchchatâ lahana kau· — *jô hai purusha pavitra* ॥ 128 ॥

Translation.

The Strange.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 722.]

This figure occurs when an effort is made for the purpose of effecting a contrary result, as for example:—

'The pure minded man, for the purpose of being elevated, bows down.'

Text.

Adhikâlaṅkâra.

Adhikâî âdhêya kî — *jaba adhâra sau· hôi* ।
Jô adhâra âdhêya tê· — *adhika*, adhika *ê dôi* ॥ 129 ॥
Sâta dvîpa nava khaṇḍa mê· — *kîrati nâhî· samâta* ।
Sâta dvîpa nava khaṇḍa jaha· — *tua guṇa varanê jâta* ॥ 130 ॥

Translation.

The Exceeding.

[*Sáhitya-darpaṇa*, 723.]

The figure of the **Exceeding** is of two kinds: — (*a*) In one, the contained is represented as vaster than the container. (*b*) In the other, the container is represented as vaster than the contained. Examples are:—

(*a*) 'Thy fame cannot be contained within the limits of the seven continents and the nine regions.'

(*b*) 'In the seven continents and the nine regions, thy virtues are the theme of praise.'

Text.

Alpâlaṅkâra.

Alpa *alpa ádhêya tê·* . *súkshma hôi ádhára* ।
A·gurî kî mu·darî hutî *pahuchani karata vihára* ॥ 131 ॥

Translation.

The Less.

[Not in *Sáhitya-darpaṇa*.]

The **Less** is when the thing containing is represented as smaller than the thing contained, as for example:—

'It was a finger ring, and now she wears it on her wrist.' [This is a report of Uddhava to Kṛishṇa regarding the sad condition of the herd maidens of Gôkula. They are so wasted away in grief that their finger rings are actually used as wristlets.]

[Padmâkara-bhaṭṭa in the *Padmábharaṇa* (160), gives a second variety of this figure, corresponding to the second variety of the Exceeding (v. 129 above).

Alpa alpa ádhára tê· . *jaha· ádhêya bakhána* ।
Ati súchhama jô mana tahá· *tá-hú tê· laghu mána* ॥ 131a ॥

(A second variety of the figure of) the **Less** is when the contained is represented as smaller than the container, as for example:—

'Very little is her heart, but still less is the indignation (contained therein).']

[Text.

Âdhâra-mâlâlaṅkâra.

Not in *Bháshá-bhúshaṇa.* I have only met it in *Lála-chandriká*, 536, where it is defined as follows:—

Ika kau ika ádhára krama *mála adhára su cháhi* ॥ 131b ॥

Yathá, sôraṭhá: —

Tô tana avadhi anúpa *rúpa lagyau saba jagata kau* ।
Mô dṛiga lágê rúpa *dṛigani lagî ati chaṭapaṭî* ॥ 131c ॥

Translation.

The Serial Container.

When there is a succession of objects each contained in the preceding, it is the figure of the **Serial Container** (*ádhára-málá*), as for example:—

'Thy form is absolutely matchless. In thee is contained all the beauty of the world. In that beauty are immersed my eyes, and in my eyes is excessive agitation.' This is really a variety of the **Serial Illuminator** (v. 140).]

Text.

Anyônyâlaṅkâra.

Anyônyâlaṅkâra hai	*anyônyahi upakâra* |
Śaśi tê· niśi nîkî lagai	*niśi-hî tê· śaśi-sâra* || 132 ||

Translation.

The Reciprocal.

[*Sáhitya-darpaṇa*, 724.]

The Reciprocal (*anyônya*) is when (two things) mutually benefit each other, as for example: —

'The moon lends lustre to the night, and the night gives glory to the moon.'

(*To be continued.*)

FOUR CHOLA DATES.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

Of the numerous inscriptions of **Chôḷa** kings, which are scattered all over the Tamiḷ country, none, as far as we know at present, contains a date in the Śaka or any other era; and even the approximate time of the reigns of Parântaka I. and his successors would have remained unsettled unless the names of some of these kings did occur in dated inscriptions of their **Gaṅga** and **Châlukya** contemporaries. These contemporaneous references, which I have fully discussed on previous occasions,[1] are briefly the following ;—

I. — According to the Udayêndiram plates of the Gaṅga-Bâṇa king **Râjasiṁha** *alias* Hastimalla,[2] — this feudatory of the Chôḷa king Madirai-koṇḍa Kô-Parakêsarivarman *alias* **Parântaka I.** was the grandson of **Pṛithuyaśas,** who was a contemporary of Amôghavarsha, *i. e.* the Râshṭrakûṭa king **Sarva-Amôghavarsha I.** who ruled from A. D. 814-15 to 876-78.[3]

II. — According to the Âtakûr inscription, the Chôḷa king **Râjâditya,** eldest son of Parântaka I., was slain by the Gaṅga king **Bûtuga,** who was a feudatory of the Râshṭrakûṭa king **Kṛishṇa III.,** before A. D. 949-50.[4]

III. — **Kûndavâ,** the daughter of the Chôḷa king **Râjarâja,** great-grandson of Parântaka I., was married to the Eastern Châlukya king **Vimalâditya** (A. D. 1015 to 1022).

IV. — **Râjêndra-Chôḷa I.,** son of Râjarâja, fought with the Western Châlukya king **Jayasiṁha III.** (about A. D. 1018 to about 1042); and his daughter **Ammaṅgadêvî** was married to the Eastern Châlukya king **Râjarâja I.** (A. D. 1022 to 1063).

V. — The Chôḷa king **Râjêndradêva** fought with the Western Châlukya king **Âhavamalla II.** (about A. D. 1042 to about 1068); and his daughter **Madhurântakî** was married to the Châlukya-Chôḷa king **Râjêndra-Chôḷa II.** *alias* **Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa I.** who succeeded to the Chôḷa throne, and the year of whose accession (A. D. 1063) as well as that of his two immediate successors, **Vikrama-Chôḷa** (A. D. 1112) and **Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa II.** (A. D. 1127), is known from copper-plate inscriptions.[5] The dates Nos. 2, 3 and 4, which will be published below with Prof. Kielhorn's and Mr. Dikshit's calculations, prove the approximate correctness of the

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[1] *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 240; *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. pp. 32, 51 f. and 112, and Vol. II. p. 232; *Annual Report* for 1891-92, p. 2 ff.

[2] In Mr. Foulkes's edition of this inscription, the meaning of verse 21 is obscured by two misreadings. The original plates, which are in my hands, read :— तस्मान्नृपोलभत पट्टमयं प्रसादं बाणाधिराजपदलम्भनसाधनं यः [।*] आक्रामतो युधि परान्तकतो नरेन्द्रान् गंगान्वपा(वा)यसलिलाशयराजसिंह[:*] ॥

[3] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 54, Table.

[4] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 168 f.

[5] *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 32, and *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 283.

years of accession as recorded in the grants. Nos. 2 and 3 fix the date of the accession of Kulôttuṅga I. within narrower limits, and No. 4 yields the very day of Vikrama-Chôḷa's accession. Before publishing these three dates, I shall discuss afresh the only date admitting of calculation, which has hitherto been found in Chôḷa inscriptions previous to Kulôttuṅga I.

A. — RÂJARÂJA.

No. 1. — Inscription in the Bilvanâthêśvara temple at Tiruvallam in the North Arcot District.

This inscription mentions **a lunar eclipse** which occurred **on the day of the autumnal equinox in the 7th year** of the great Râjarâja. Dr. Fleet[6] has pointed out that, within the period to which Râjarâja's reign must be allotted, the only two years in which a lunar eclipse took place at or near the autumnal equinox, were **A. D. 991 and 1010.** In the first of these two years the eclipse occurred **on the day after the equinox,** while that of the second year was **invisible in India.** If the first eclipse is meant in the inscription, the year of Râjarâja's accession would be **A. D. 984 or 985,** and in the second case **A. D. 1003 or 1004.** If the second alternative is accepted, the conquest of Vêṅgî, which according to Râjarâja's inscriptions was effected between the 12th and 14th years of his reign,[7] must be placed between A. D. 1015 and 1017, *i. e.* within the reign of his own son-in-law Vimalâditya. Secondly, as Râjarâja's reign probably terminated in the course of his 29th year, the reign of his son and successor Râjêndra-Chôḷa I. would have commenced about A. D. 1033, and the latter's expedition against Jayasiṁha III., with whom he fought in the 8th or 9th year of his reign,[8] would fall between 1040 and 1041, while Jayasiṁha III. refers to wars with Râjêndra-Chôḷa in inscriptions of A. D. 1019 and 1024.[9] Consequently, we are forced to accept the date of the first lunar eclipse, and the year **A. D. 984-85** as that of the accession of the great Râjarâja. With this starting-point, the expedition against **Vêṅgî** fell between **A. D. 996 and 998,** *i. e.* within the break of thirty years in the succession of the Eastern Châlukya kings; the accession of **Râjêndra-Chôḷa I.** in about **A. D. 1014;** and the war between Râjêndra-Chôḷa I. and **Jayasiṁha III.** which is referred to in the inscriptions of the former, in **A. D. 1021 or 1022.** An earlier encounter between the two is recorded in an inscription of Jayasiṁha III. which is dated in A. D. 1019, *i. e.* the 6th year of Râjêndra-Chôḷa's reign. The Satyâśraya whom Râjarâja boasts of having conquered in the 21st year of his reign[10] (A. D. 1005), must be identified with the Western Châlukya king **Satyâśraya,** who ruled from A. D. 997-98 to about 1008.

B. — KULÔTTUṄGA-CHÔḶA I.

No. 2. — Inscription in the Naṭarâja temple at Chidambaram in the South Arcot District.

1. ‖ Svasti śrî ‖ Tiribuvanachchakkaravattigaḷ śrî-Kulôttuṅga-
2. Sôḷadêvar tiru-ttaṅgaiyâr Râjarâjaṉ Kundavaiy=Âḷvâr
5. . . . . nâ-ṉilattai muḻud=âṇḍa Jaya-
6. dararku nâṟpattu-nâḷ=âṇḍil [11]Miṉa=nigaḻ nâyaṟṟu Veḷḷi pe-
7. ṟṟa Urôśaṇi-nâḷ=Iḍabam pôdâl.

"In the forty-fourth year (*of the reign*) of **Jayadhara,**[12] who ruled all the four quarters, — at the time (*of the rising of the sign*) Ṛishabha on the day of (*the nakshatra*) Rôhiṇî, which corresponded to a Friday in the month during which (*the sign*) Mîna was shining, — Kundavai

[6] *ante,* Vol. XIX. p. 71.
[7] See my *Annual Report* for 1891-92, p. 4.
[8] See *ibid.*
[9] *South-Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. I. p. 96, notes 2 and 3, and p. 112 f.
[10] See note 7, above.
[11] Read *Mîṉam.*
[12] This was a *biruda* of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa I.; see *South-Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. II. p. 230, note 11. The actual name of the king is mentioned in connection with the donor, the princess Kundavai.

Âḷvâr, (*the daughter of*) Râjarâja[13] (*and*) the royal younger sister of the emperor of the three worlds *śrî*-**Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷadêva,** [gave, *etc.*]"

No. 3. — Inscription in the Âpatsahâyêśvara temple at Âlaṅguḍi in the Tanjore District.

I. || Svasti śrî || Pu[ga]ḻ śûḻnda[14] . . . .

30. . . . . kôv=[15]Arâjakêsaripatmar=âna Tribhuvanachchakrava[r]tti śrî-Kulôt-

31. tu[ṅga]-Śôḻadêvaṟku yâṇḍu 45âvadu Tulâ-nâyaṟṟu pû[r]vva-pakshattu Viyâḻa-kkiḻamaiyum saptamiyum peṟ[ṟa]

32. Uttira . . [ti]-nâḷ.[16]

"In the 45th year (*of the reign*) of king **Râjakêsarivarman,** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds *śrî*-**Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷadêva,** . . . . on the day of (*the nakshatra*) . . . . ,[17] which corresponded to Thursday, the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Tulâ."

Professor Kielhorn has favoured me with the following calculation of the dates Nos. 2 and 3.

"Kulôttuṅga I. having ascended the throne in A. D. 1063, I have made the necessary calculations for the years A. D. 1105-1110; and have found that the only year which yields satisfactory results for both the dates (Nos. 2 and 3), is **A. D. 1107.**

"No. 2 is **Friday,** the 1st March, A. D. 1107; = Chaitra *śudi* 5. On this day the sun was in **Mîna,** which it had entered on the 22nd February, A. D. 1107; and the moon was in **Rôhiṇî,** according to the *Brahma-Siddhânta* from 8 h. 32 m., and according to Garga from 9 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

"No. 3 is **Thursday,** the 24th October, A. D. 1107, when **the 7th tithi of the bright fortnight** of Kârttika *commenced* 0 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise, and when at sunrise the moon was in **Uttarâshâḍhâ.** The sun was in **Tulâ,** which it had entered on the 27th September, A. D. 1107."

Mr. Dikshit adds to the above :—

"The two dates of Kulôttuṅga I. appear to have been regulated by solar reckoning, and the day of his accession falls evidently **between the 2nd March and 24th October** (both inclusive) **of A. D. 1063.**"

C. — VIKRAMA-CHÔḶA.

No. 4. — Inscription in the Tyâgarâja temple at Tiruvârûr in the Tanjore District.

1. Svasti śrî [||*] Pû-mâlai midaindu[18] . . . .

[13] On a previous occasion I identified this Râjarâja with the Chôḷa king Râjarâja (*South-Indian Inscriptions.* Vol. I. p. 97) and consequently Kundavai's elder brother Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa with the Chôḷa king Râjêndra-Chôḷa I. (*ibid.* p. 168). As, however, Jayadhara is now known to have been a surname of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa I., it is evident that the present Kundavai was the younger sister of the latter, and hence the daughter of the Eastern Châlukya king Râjarâja I. We have thus to distinguish between three princesses of similar names :— 1. Kundavai, the daughter of Parântaka II., elder sister of the Chôḷa king Râjarâja, and queen of Vallavaraiyar Vandyadêvar (*South-Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. II. p. 68); 2. Kundavâ, the daughter of the Chôḷa king Râjarâja, younger sister of Râjêndra-Chôḷa I., and queen of the Eastern Châlukya king Vimalâditya (*ante,* Vol. XIV. p. 53); and 3. Kundavai, the daughter of the Eastern Châlukya king Râjarâja I. and younger sister of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa I.

[14] The historical introduction of this inscription resembles that of the Tañjâvûr inscription of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa I., which was published in *South-Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. II. p. 232 ff.

[15] Read *Irâja.*

[16] It is not clear if the actual reading is *Uttiraṭṭâdi-nâḷ* or *Uttirâḍatti-nâḷ* (for *Uttirâdatti-nâḷ*).

[17] The *nakshatra* was either Uttara-Bhadrapadâ or Uttarâshâḍhâ.

[18] The historical introduction of this inscription resembles that of the Tañjâvûr inscription of Vikrama-Chôḷa, which will be published as No. 68 of *South-Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. II.

3. . . . . kô=Ppara[k]êsarivarmmar=âna Tribhuva[na]chakrava[rttiga]ḷ śrî-Vikrama-Chôḷa[dê]varkku [y]â[ṇ]ḍu aiñjâ[vadu] Mi[thu]na-nâyaṟṟu pûrvva-pakshattu saptamiyum Nâ[yi]ṟṟu-kkiḻamaiyum Attamum=âna nâḷ munnûṟṟu-nâṟ[pa]di[n]âl.

"In the fifth year (*of the reign*) of king **Parakêsarivarman,** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds *śrí*-**Vikrama-Chôḷadêva,** . . . . on the three-hundred-and-fortieth day, which was (*the day of the nakshatra*) Hasta and Sunday, the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mithuna."

To Mr. Dikshit I am obliged for the following calculation of the date No. 4.

"Assuming that Vikrama-Chôḷa began to reign in A. D. 1112, his 5th year would be about A. D. 1116. Having made calculations for 1115, 1116 and 1117, I find that **A. D. 1116** is the only year which corresponds with the details of the given date. In that year, Âshâḍha **sukla 7** ended on **Sunday,** the 18th June, at about 21 hours after sunrise. This was the 25th day of the solar month **Mithuna.** On this day, at sunrise, the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Phalgunî, which ended at 7 hours 48 minutes after sunrise, when the *nakshatra* **Hasta** commenced. As this was the 340th day of the 5th year of Vikrama-Chôḷa's reign, the 1st day of the 5th year falls on the 14th July, A. D. 1115, which was the 18th day of the solar month Karkaṭaka. Accordingly, the 1st day of his 1st year, *i. e.* the day of his accession to the throne, was Srâvaṇa *śukla* 6, Friday, the day of the *nakshatra* Chitrâ, which corresponds to the 18th day of the solar month of Karkaṭaka, and to **the 14th July, A. D. 1111,** and which was, by the rules of astrology, an auspicious day for the accession of a king."

BOOK-NOTICE.

AN ORIENTAL BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY by T. W. BEALE, edited, revised, and enlarged by H. G. KEENE, C. I. E. (W. H. Allen & Co., 1894).

Our welcome to a second edition of this work must not be considered the less sincere, because we cannot join in the praise that has been given to it for its chronological exactitude. The labourers in this field are so few, that we should be sorry to discourage any one, on the ground that his work is imperfect. Least of all do we desire to cast any reproach upon Mr. Keene, to whom all students of Indian History are indebted for a series of charming works. Would that his zeal and enthusiasm had found more imitators! But Mr. Keene, as editor of a work of reference, provokes a curious sense of the incongruous. As fittingly might we yoke Pegasus to the plough.

We have used his Calcutta Edition ever since it appeared, and we have found it of much help. The most valuable notices are, no doubt, those of Indian saints, poets, and learned men of all ages, and those referring to Indian notables of the present century. Of the latter Mr. Beale had personal knowledge, and thus recorded many facts, which it is impossible to find elsewhere. At the same time, it was quite obvious, even on cursory perusal, that much of the matter needed reconsideration and revision. We therefore began to look through the new edition in the confident expectation that Mr. Keene, during an interval of about twelve years, had carried out a close and serious revision of his text. We much regret to find, however, that there are still as many doubtful, and even erroneous, statements as there were before, and that the little labour required to diminish the number of imperfectly told biographies has not been bestowed upon the book.

We are glad to observe that at least one reviewer holds the opinion, which we have entertained ever since we first knew the book, that its usefulness is greatly reduced by the non-quotation of authorities. If these had been added to each notice, as is generally done in such works, the value of the book to students would have been quadrupled. With regard to the remarks which follow, we must begin by pointing out that they are restricted entirely to one class of entries. The work covers an immense expanse both in space and time, no less than the whole Muhammadan world during the thirteen centuries that have passed since the Flight. As to much of this vast subject we claim no right to speak. We confine ourselves to the Indian notices, and among them to those belonging to the comparatively brief periods between the years 1100 A. H. and 1200 A. H. For this portion of the *Dictionary* we have noted, without having resort to any elaborate research, the statements, which, from our own reading, we know to be doubtful or incorrect.

Mr. Keene has not, we dare say, much respect

for the historical school, to which we may be assumed to belong:— those who have been styled, with some truth, but with more than necessary disparagement, "*les petits merciers de l' histoire.*" At any rate, we offer these pedlar's wares, such as they are, in the hope that until Mr. Keene's next edition appears, they may aid those who have bought and are using his book. To whatever school he may belong, no real historian can deem minute attention to detail out of place in a biographical dictionary; and we trust that Mr. Keene will not despise the assistance we wish to give him, so far as in us lies, in his self-imposed task. "*Le bonhomme*" says truly enough, as he will remember, "*on a souvent besoin d'un plus petit que soi.*"

We come first to 'Abd-uṣ-Ṣamad Khán (p. 14); and as space is precious, we content ourselves, for the most part, with stating results, although we could adduce chapter and verse for each assertion. Here the first edition was nearer the facts than the second; but the man was never Bahádur Jang, nor have we ever seen such a title as 'Alí Jang. As Mr. Keene rightly notes, we find everywhere else Daler Jang, and not 'Alí Jang. His original name was 'Abd-ur-Raḥím (son of 'Abd-ul-Karím), and it is very doubtful whether he was born in Agra; every one else says he was born in Samarkand. And he certainly never bore the title of Ṣamṣám-ud-Daula. The second edition tells us he died in 1739, "during the "invasion of Nádir Sháh." The first edition was better; it gives 1737, "a year before the inva-"sion of Nádir Sháh." The exact date is 10th Rabí' II. 1150 A. H. (6th August, 1737 N. S.), his age being then between 70 and 80 lunar years. A worse mistake, however, is confounding him with Khán Daurán on pages 214 and 286. Everybody knows that the Muẓaffar Khán on p. 286 was a brother of Ṣamṣám-ud-Daula, Khán Daurán (Khwája 'Áṣim), and not of 'Abd-uṣ-Ṣamad Khán. In the confusion the said Khán Daurán (son of Khwája Ḳásim), who appears on p. 148 of the first, seems to have dropped out altogether from the second edition. *That* Khán Daurán, however, did die in 1739; he died on the 19th Ẓú'l Ḳa'dh, 1151 (27th February, 1739), of wounds received at Karnál in a fight with Nádir Sháh's troops four days before his death.

Then on p. 15 and p. 45 there seem some doubtful statements about the Jodhpur Rajas. Ajít Singh was murdered in Shawwál, 1136 (June-July, 1724) and Abhai Singh, his eldest son, succeeded, as is correctly stated on p. 45. The statement on p. 15 is wrong. Bakht Singh did not succeed his father, but received from his brother, Abhai Singh, the fief of Nágor, to the north of Jodhpur. Abhai Singh lived until 1749 A. D., when his son, Rám Singh, followed. Bhakht Singh then defeated this nephew and took possession; in 1752 he was himself poisoned. His (Bakht Singh's) son, Bijai Singh, succeeded. Thus it was not Abhai Singh who was poisoned, nor was Bijai Singh that prince's son. For these facts see, for one place, Colonel Jarrett's translation of the *Áín-i-Akbarí*, II., 271, note 7, which is taken from Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, and they in turn were founded on the genealogies in Tod's *Rajasthan*.

On p. 49 we are told that 'Álam-gír's nine children were all by one mother. It is not necessary to go farther than to a popular manual in a popular series, Mr. Stanley Lane Poole's *Aurangzíb*, to discover the contrary. The nine children were by four different wives.

Again under Arárú (p. 77) we are told that he slew Ján Niṣár Khán, brother-in-law of the Wazír. The event took place in Ramẓán, 1144 (February-March, 1732), but the murderer was Bhagwant, Kíchar, and not his father, Arárú (or Udárú). 'Aẓímullah Khán, the officer sent against the rebel, was, no doubt, a relation,— a cousin, of the Wazír; but he was the son, not of Ján Niṣár Khán, but of Ẓahír-ud-Daula, Ra'áyat Khán (*ob.* 1137), son of Mír Bahá-ud-dín. The murdered man, Mḥd. Ibráhím, Ján Niṣár Khàn, was the son of Abu'l Mukáram, Ján Niṣár Khán (*ob.* 1131 A. H). And, being a stylist himself, what does Mr. Keene think of Mr. Beale's English — "the skin of his body was flayed off?" "Foh! a fico for the phrase."

Page 71, column 2, last line but one. Amír Khán, Sindhí, died, not before, but after Mḥd. Sháh's accession. The date is 28th Ẓú'l Ḳa'dh, 1132 (30th September, 1720), in the 2nd year of Mḥd. Sháh. His age was 77 lunar years.

Page 71, col. 2, line 46. Amír Khán, Governor of Kábul. This man's biography might as well be completed by giving the date of his death. Sayyad Mír, entitled Amír Khán, son of Mír Mḥd. Khán, Khwáfí, resigning his government, died at Sháhjahánábád on the 27th Rabí' II., 1081 (13th September, 1670). He was the brother of the Shekh Mír, *q. v.*, who was killed in 1069, A. H., fighting on Aurangzeb's side in the battle with Dárá Shukoh near Ájmer.

Most authorities tell us that Mḥd. Karím (p. 89, line 27) was the eldest, and not the second, son of 'Aẓím-ush-Shán. Then, on p. 102, we have doubts expressed as to whether Raja Chait Singh of Benares was the brother, or son, of Balwant Singh; while on p. 113, and again on p. 275, the fact is quite correctly stated, namely, that he was the son of Balwant Singh.

Page 115. Chatr Sál should be, by the Hindí

spelling, Chhatra, or Chhatar, Sál. The father's name was Champat, not Chait, Ráe. Chhatar Sál's earlier career is ignored: while the agreement with the Marathas took place in 1141 or 1142 A. H. (1728-29-30), not in 1146 (1733-4). Chhatar Sál died, not in 1733, but either on the 15th Jamádí II., 1144 (14th December, 1731 N S), or Pús badí 3, St. 1788 (16th December, 1731 N. S.). He had not two only, but some thirteen, sons, most of whom survived him.

The date of Dánishmand Khán (Á'lí's) death (p. 117) was 30th Rabí' I., 1122 (28th May, 1710), and not 1120 (1708) His non-completed *History* went up to the 10th Zú'l Ḳa'dh, 1120 (20th January, 1709), that is, nearly to the end of Bahádur Sháh's second year. The author laid part of it before that emperor, then encamped in the Dhár territory, on the 1st Zú'l Ḳa'dh, 1121 (1st January, 1710). There is an unnecessary repetition of Dánishmand Khán Á'lí's life on p. 291, where there is also a separate entry of a Ni'ámat 'Alí Khán, who is evidently the same person, under his previous title.

Donde Khán (p. 123) was most decidedly *not* the son of 'Ali Muhammad Khán, Rohela. The exact date of his death is the 5th Muḥarram, 1185 (19th April, 1771).

On p. 143 it is said that the date of 'Imád-ul-Mulk's death is not known. We give Mr. Keene a choice of several authorities: — (1) Ghulám Ḥusain Khán, author of the *Zikr-us-Sair*, who was with Chait Singh near Kálpí at the time, says the ex-Wazır died in 1213 A. H. (14th June, 1798 — 4th June, 1799); (2) Muftí Wali-ul-lah, in the *Táríkh-i-Farrukhábád*, gives the 10th Rabí' II., 1215 (1st September, 1800); (3) in the "*Historical Sketch* . . . ." (Edinburgh, 1835), p. 84, note, we are told that the Nawáb died at Kálpí in 1800. 'Abd-ul-Ḳádir Khán, Jáisí, informs us that when he was sent up-country on a mission in 1211 A H (1797), he heard that 'Imád-ul-Mulk had gone towards Láhor to visit Zamán Sháh, Abdálí. But the same year the Nawáb returned to Kálpi; and 'Abd-ul-Ḳádir Khán heard some of his adventures from his own lips, how he landed at Maskat, instead of Jadda, and travelled by land to Makka, and how he returned to India by the port of Bhúj in Kachh. 'Imád-ul-Mulk was born at Narwar, 44 miles south of Gwáliyár, on the 1st Shawwál, 1148 (13th February, 1736); see the work of Mḥd. Bakhsh (Áshob), India Office Library, MS. No. 250, Vol I fol. III. b.

Page 145. Girdhar Singh was not a Rájput, but a Nágar Brahman, and he was killed on the 7th Jamádí I, 1141 (8th December, 1728).

Page 149, Hafíz-ul-lah. The year 1767 (1181 A. H.) was not the 21st of Mḥd. Sháh, who died in 1748 (1161 A. H) That monarch's 21st year began 1st Rabí' II., 1151 (18th July, 1738) and ended 30th Rabí' I., 1152 (6th July, 1739). The year 1767 (1181) would be the 7th or 8th year of Sháh 'Álam II.

Page 149, col 2, Ḥaidar Khán, Mír. The correct date of Husain 'Alí Khán's death is 6th Zú'l Hajj, 1132 (8th October, 1720, N. S.)

Page 151. Ṣafdar Jang died 17th Zú'l Ḥajj, 1167 (5th October, 1754, N. S.) The year 1753 is not correct.

Page 159, Hazín. This man died on the 18th Jamádí I., 1180 (22nd October, 1767), and thus 1779 A. D. must be wrong. The year 1779 A.D. corresponds chiefly to 1193 A H., but includes a few days of both 1192 and 1194 A. H.

Page 160, Himmat Bahádur. This biography is very imperfect, for it entirely ignores the man's earlier history before he went, in 1764 or 1765, into Bundelkhand.

Page 161, Hoshdár Khán. The last sentence appears disconnected with what goes before; this is due to a misprint. For *that time* read *the time*, and *dele* the full stop after "time."

Page 175, 'Ibrat (Mír Ziyá-ud-dín). This biography appears twice on the same page.

Page 176, Ikhláṣ Khán is very imperfectly dealt with. He was a Ballí Khatrí, originally named Debí Dás, and was born at Kalánaur in the Bárí Dúáb, about 56 miles N.-E of Láhor; he died on the 2nd Jamádi II, 1140 (14th January, 1728). His first appointment was given him in the 25th year of 'Álamgír, 1092-1093 A. H. (1681-2 A. D) It might also have been added that his history of Farrukhsíyar's reign does not appear to have come down to us, unless it is identical with that of Mḥd. Iḥsán, Ma'ní Khán (Íjád), Samánawí, of which fragments are extant. The reference to Kishn Chand is misleading, the only connection between the two men being that Kishn Chand adopted the *nom de guerre* of Ikhláṣ, the Sincere.

Page 179. 'Ináyat-ul-lah Khán died on the 21st Rabí' I., 1138 (26th November, 1725), aged 75 years.

Page 186. 'Izzat-ud-Daula, died in Rabí' II., 1162 (March–April, 1749).

Page 187, col. 1. For *Jabila* every body else has *Chhabilah*. He was hardly a chief, but an imperial officer without any position apart from his office. He died in Zú'l Ḥajj, 1131 (October-November, 1719), on some day before the 25th of that month (7th November, 1719).

Page 188, Ja'far Khán. He died early in Zú'l Ḳa'dh, 1139 (19th June-18th July, 1727), aged 79 lunar years. His full titles were Mú'taman-ul-Mulk, 'Alá-ud-Daula, J. K., Bahádur, Nasírí, Násir Jang. It is rather misleading to talk of *his* dynasty (if dynasty there were), seeing that the fourth person in the list, 'Alíwirdí Khán,

Mahábat Jang, was a usurper, who overthrew and killed Ja'far Khán's grandson.

Page 190. Jahándár Sháh was surely not *surnamed* Mu'izz-ud-dín, seeing that this was his first name, given him by his grandfather at his birth. His mistress should scarcely be styled Lál *Kunwár* (The Virgin Ruby); the name was Lál Kunwar, or Kúar, an ordinary form for a woman's name. Jahándár Sháh's death took place on 16th Muḥarram, 1125 (11th February, 1713).

Page 200, Jaswant Singh. It is hardly correct to say that Jodhpur was restored to Ajít Singh by Farrukhsíyar, unless you preface this by mentioning that Ajít Singh first took it by force in 1708, after the death of 'Álamgír, and that Bahádur Sháh, after an abortive attempt to recover the country, left Ajít Singh in undisturbed possession.

Page 206. Kalb Ḥusain Khán (*takhallus* Nádir), died at Fatḥgarh, N.-W. P., *circa* 1878, at a great age. The father Kalb 'Alí Khán, a notable man in his time, might have had a place in the book.

Page 211, Khair-ud-din Muḥammad. This entry is exceedingly imperfect. He was the author of many other works besides his *Jaunpúr Náma*, not one of his best by any means. Some of the others are the *Gwáliyár Náma*, the *Tuḥfah-i-Táza* (a history of the Benares Rajas), and the *'Ibrat Náma*. He is also the author of a *Tazkira*, or Biography of Poets, the name of which we forget. He was born *c.* 1756 and died at Jaunpur after 1827. His English patrons at various times were David Anderson, Henry Vansittart (the younger) and Abraham Welland, Judge and Magistrate of Jaunpur.

Page 214, Khán Daurán. One man who bore this title is entirely omitted, namely, Khwája Ḥusain Khán, who received this title from Jahándár Sháh on the 25th Ṣafar, 1124 (2nd April, 1712). Another Khán Daurán was Niẓám-ul-Mulk, Áṣaf Jáh, who held the title for a short time in the reign of Bahádur Sháh (1118-1124). As already pointed out, Khán Daurán IV. is erroneously identified with 'Abd-uṣ-Ṣamad Khán, Daler Jang, a man who never held this title.

Page 214. Khán Jahán ('Alí Murád) died on the 13th Ẕú'l Ḥajj, 1124 (10th December, 1712).

Page 226, Law. The native version, Mushír Lás, is justified by the fact that the French themselves (strange though it may seem) pronounce the name Láss. The date of M. Law's death is not very hard to discover. Turning to the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* (Paris, 1859, Firmin-Didot) we find in Vol. 29, p. 945, that Jacques François Law de Lauriston, Count of Tancarville, was born on the 20th January, 1724, and died about 1785. He became Colonel in 1765, Major-General and Commander-in-Chief in French India, 1766, Brigadier of Infantry (16th April, 1767), Maréchal de Camp, 1st March, 1780. — For *Gáya* read *Gayá*.

Page 227. Luṭf-ul-lah Ṣádiḳ. This is more than usually imperfect. Luṭf-ul-lah, the second son of 'Abd-ur-Razzáḳ, Anṣárí, was born in 1080 A. H. (1669-70) and died in 1165 A. H. (1751-2), see the *Táríkh-i-Muẓaffarí*, a work which Mr. Keene well knows, under the reign of Aḥmad Sháh. His first title of Khán, added to his own name, was conferred by Bahádur Sháh in Ṣafar, 1119 (May, 1707). In that reign he rose rapidly, held several Court offices, and became a *Sih hazárí* (3,000), 2,000 horse. After the struggle between Bahádur Sháh's sons, although a partisan of Jahán Sháh, he succeeded in buying pardon and office from the victor, Jahándár Sháh. He was equally lucky in maintaining his position on the transfer of power, a few months afterwards, to Farrukhsíyar. But the Sayyad brothers procured his disgrace in Ẕú'l Ḥajj, 1126 (December, 1714) and he retired to his home at Pánípat. On the fall of the Sayyads, he returned to Court, and in 1133 (1720-21) Muḥammad Sháh made him Shams-ud-Daula, L. K., Bahádur, Ṣádiḳ, Neknám, Mutahawwir Jang. This position he held until his death. Khushál Chand (in the *Nádir-uz-Zamání*) accuses him of doing nothing in return for his *jágírs*, never having maintained an ass, much less a horse, or a trooper to ride on a horse.

Page 242, Mansá Rám. Here we have a very bad error, for it is a matter of common knowledge that Chait Singh was the son of Balwant Singh, and was, therefore, the *grandson*, and not the *son*, of Mansá Rám. The latter died, according to the *Tuḥfa-i-Táza* "in the beginning of 1152 A. H." That year began on the 9th April, 1739, and therefore 1739 would be more correct than 1740.

Page 253. Mirza Naṣír. The statement on this page that (Mḥd. Amín) Burhán-ul-Mulk, Sa'adat Khán, was once governor of Agra *fort* conflicts with that on p. 337 under Sa'adat Khán. The latter statement, namely, that he was *faujdár* of Bayána, is that commonly received, and is correct. He was then for a short time governor of Agra *ṣúbah* : (not of the *fort*).

Page 259. Mḥd. Akbar was the fourth, but not the *youngest*, son of Aurangzeb. Kám Bakhsh was the youngest son. Akbar died at Mashhad in Khurásán on the 17th Ẕú'l Ḥajj, 1117 (31st March, 1706). He was born on the 12 Ẕú'l Ḥajj, 1067 (9th October, 1657).

Page 260, Muḥammad Amín Khán. This man's father, Bahá-ud-dín, was not the brother of Niẓám-ul-Mulk, but his uncle. Thus Mḥd. Amín Khán was Niẓám-ul-Mulk's cousin, not his nephew.

Page 269. Muhammad Khán was first of all governor of Allahábád, and after his removal from that province, was sent to Málwa. There are his own letters in existence to prove this, besides confirmation from contemporary history. The error began with the *Sair-ul-Mutákharín*, which for those years is not a first-hand authority. Muhammad Khán's appointment to Allahábád was dated the 25th Safar, 1133 (25th December, 1720); the *sanad* for Málwa is dated 17th Rabí' I., 1143 (29th September, 1730) His troops crossed the Jamna into Bundelkhand on the 12th Jamádí II., 1139 (3rd February, 1727). His investment inside Jaitgarh began in March, and ended in May, 1729 He died on the 2nd Zú'l Ka'dh, 1156 (17th December, 1743), aged over 80 years. The succession to the principality of Farrukhábád is incompletely stated. After Muzaffar Jang came Imdád Husain Khán, Násir Jang, *ob*. 1st February, 1813. Khádim Husain Khán, Shaukat Jang, *ob*. 9th July, 1823 Tajammul Husain Khán, Zafar Jang, *ob*. 9th November, 1846. Then should follow the name of Tafazzul Husain Khán, the exiled Nawáb, who died at Mecca on the 20th March, 1882.

Page 271. Mhd. Sálih appears in three separate notices on this one page, once in the first, and twice in the second, column. The title of his history is correctly *'Aml-i-Sálih*, as in the first of these notices. His tomb is at Láhor.

Page 272, Mhd. Sháh. Roshan Akhtar was hardly his "surname," for that was the name given to him at birth. His enthronement took place on the 15th Zú'l Ka'dh, 1131 (28th September, 1719, N. S.).

Page 278. Mulla Firoz. *Qans* is a misprint for *Qaus*. There is no mention here of the *George-náma*, or of the Mulla Firoz Library at Bombay. On p. 278 there is another notice of the same man under F, where the *George-náma* is referred to.

Page 285. Muzaffar Jang of Farrukhábád was never named Muzaffar Husain Khán. His name was Daler Himmat Khán. He certainly never ceded his territory to the English in 1802, for he died in October, 1796. Tafazzul Husain Khán, who was his great-grandson and not his grandson, did not succeed him; Imdád Husain Khán, Násir Jang, Khádim Husain Khán, Shaukat Jang, and Tajammul Husain Khán, Zafar Jang, came between.

Page 286, Muzaffar Khán. This man's brother Khán Daurán, was not 'Abd-us-Samad Khán (Khwája 'Abd-ur-Rahím), but Samsám-ud-Daula, Khán Daurán, Bahádur, Mansúr Jang, (Khwája 'Ásim).

Page 294, Násir. The exact date of death was 1st February, 1813, which is by General Cunningham's tables the day of a solar eclipse. Násir Jang is omitted from the list of Farrukhábád Nawábs on p. 211.

Page 300, Neko Siar. This biography is very scanty and has not a single date. Nekúsíyar, the third son of Prince Akbar, was born in Sha'ban, 1090 (September-October, 1679). In 1092 (1681) with his mother and two sisters, he was sent by his grand-father, 'Álamgír, a prisoner to Agra. On the 25th Jamádí II., 1131 (14th May, 1719), the mutinous soldiery raised him to the throne in the fort at Agra, and coin was issued in his name. The garrison surrendered to Rafí'-ud-Daula's Mír Bakhshí, Husain 'Alí Khán, Bárha, on the 27th Ramzán, 1131 (12th August, 1719). Nekúsíyar was sent to prison at Dihlí, where he died on the 6th Rajab, 1135 (11th March, 1723), aged a little under 45 lunar years. His mother, Salíma Bánu Begam, is mentioned on p. 319.

Page 302, Nizám-ul-Mulk. In his father's name insert the word *Fírúz* between *Khán* and *Jang*, the whole reading as Ghází-ud-dín Khán, Fírúz Jang. Nizám-ul-Mulk was born on the 14th Rabí' II., 1082 (11th August, 1671), his maternal grandfather being Sa'd-ul-lah Khán, Sháhjahán's Wazír. His successive titles were Kamr-ud-dín Khán (1096), Chín Kilích Khán, Bahádur (1101), Khán Daurán, Bahádur (1119), Ghazí-ud-dín Khán, Bahádur, Fath Jang (1124), Nizám-ul-Mulk (1125), and finally Ásaf Jáh added to the last of these.

Page 313, Qadir. This is a repetition; see last entry on p. 312.

Page 315, col. 2, line 13, Qasim Ali. It was Major Hector Monro, and not Major Carnac, who commanded at the battle of Buxar (Baksar); see Marshman, 2nd Ed., p. 305; M. Elphinstone's *Rise of the British Power*, p. 414, or any other *History* of the period. Kasim 'Alí died in Rabí' II. of the year named (1191 A. H.)

Page 330, Ranoji Sindhia. This leader died on the 8th Jamádí II., 1158 (19th July, 1744) at Sháhjahánpur in Málwa.

Page 335. Rukn-ud-Daula, I'tikád Khán (Mhd. Murád), died on the 12th Ramzán, 1139 (2nd May, 1727), aged 72 lunar years.

Page 337. Sa'adat Khán died on the 10th Zú'l Hajj, 1151 (20th March, 1739), while Nádir Sháh was in Dihlí. Nádir Sháh entered the palace at Dihlí on the 6th Zú'l Hajj, 1151 (16th March, 1739) and left Dihlí on the 7th Safar, 1152 (15th May, 1739). Therefore Zú'l Hajj, 1152 A. H. must be wrong: and even if it were right, that date corresponds to 7th March, 1740, N. S., and not to 9th March, 1739. The wife of Safdar Jang was not "his (*i.e.* Sa'adat Khán's) only child"; he had a number of other

daughters. In the list of the Nawábs of Audh it should be noted that Sa'adat 'Alí' Khán was not the *son* of Ásaf-ud-Daula, but his younger brother, and therefore the son of Shujá'-ud-Daula.

Page 338, col. 1, line 4. The author of the *Gulistán-i-Raḥmat* was Mustajáb Khán, not Mustara Khán (Elliot, VIII. 301).

Page 352, Sarbuland Khán. His appointment as governor of Kábul is not mentioned.

Page 361, col 2, line 9. The Hijra year 1185 is wrong, it ought to be 1202 A. H., which began 12th October, 1787, and ended 30th September, 1788. We know (see Jonathan Scott, II. Part IV. p. 293) that the 10th August, 1788 is right, and we have worked out the corresponding Hijra date as the 9th Zú'l Ḳa'dh, 1202 A. H.

Page 386, Siráj-ud-din 'Alí' Khán (Árzú). As he was only born in 1101 A. H., he could hardly have been "an officer of rank" in Farrukhsíyar's reign (1124-1131). His period was later.

Page 407, Udaipurí Begam. She is generally styled Báe Udaipurí, or Udaipurí Maḥal. She died at Gwáliyár in Rabí' I, 1119 (June, 1707), a few days after the death of A'ẓam Sháh, which took place on the 18th of that month (18th June, 1707). One authority gives her title as Bádsháh Begam, and it may be inferred from one passage that she was once a dancing woman. Catrou says she was a Georgian from Dárá Shukoh's harem, and remained a Christian. The question of her origin remains a puzzle.

Page 427, Zamír. It might be noted that this gentleman was the father of Ghulám Ḥusain Khán, author of the *Sair-ul-Mutákharín*.

Page 428, Zínat-un-nissa Begam. The year of this lady's death is put as 1122 (1710), which is, no doubt, justified by the date on her tomb—see Beale's *Miftáḥ*, p. 297; *Aṣár-us-sanádíd*, p. 44; Francklin's *Shah Aulum*, p. 206; Thorn's *War in India*, p. 164. She really died eleven years later in 1133 A. H. (22nd Rajab = 18th May, 1721): but it would take too much space to set out here the evidence for this later date.

We do not feel sure of having pointed out every error within the period covered by our remarks, nor have we attempted to supply more than a few of the omissions. We conclude with a list of such misprints as we have noticed.

Page 9, col. 1, l. 16. For *Sawána* read *Samána*. *Id.* col. 2, l. 24, for *Auranzib* read *Aurangzíb*. *Id.* l. 34, for *or* read *of*. Page 35, col. 2, l. 19, for *Ardish* read *Aráish*, that is, *Aráish-i-Maḥfil*. Page 37, col. 1, l. 43, for *1810* read *1840*. Not many weeks ago we saw Don Pascual at the British Museum, old certainly, but still hearty, and a wonderful man indeed, if he was already an author 84 years ago. Page 45, col. 2, l. 12, why here and elsewhere, *Rathauri* instead of *Ráthaur* or *Ráthor?*

Page 118, col 2, l. 8, most authorities have *Jajhár* instead of *Chhajjar*. Page 130, col. 2, last line but one, for *'Azíz-ud-dín* read *A'zz-ud-dín*. Page 139, col. 2, l. 43, for *Ráughars* read *Rángars*. Page 151, col. 2, l. 38, for *Lakhalus* read *Takhallus*! Page 159, col 1, fourth line from end, for ر ا رى. read احوارى. Page 160, col. 2, l. 22, for *Bakhigani* read *Bakhshigarí*. *Id.* fifth line from end, for *Rekka* read *pakka?* Page 161, col. 2, l. 47, for "at *that* time" read "at *the* time," and *dele* the comma after *time*. Page 164, col. 1, l. 17, for *Alahwirdì* read *'Alíwirdí*. Page 181, col. 2, l. 45, for *political* read *poetical*. Page 186, col. 1, l. 10 and l. 12, for *Amír* read *Amín*. Page 189, col. 2, l. 2, for *1225* read *1125* Page 200, col. l. 19, insert *throne* between *the* and *Raja*.

Page 214, col. 2, l. 49, for *Alghans* read *Afgháns*. Page 219, col. 1, l. 36, for *Báhkhá* read *Bhákhá*. Page 223, under Kishn Chand cancel reference to Ikhláṣ Khán. Page 253, col. 1, l. 45, for *Izzaf* read *'Izzat*. Page 254, col. 1, ll. 2 and 5, for *Karnál* read *Karnúl*. *Id.* l. 8, for *Kalál* read *Ḳarúwal*. Page 270, col. 1, ll. 28 and 29, for *Jalain* read *Jálaun*, and for *Mirat at Urús* read *Mirát-ul-'Arús*. Page 272, col. 1, l. 42, for *pageants* we suggest *puppets*, as easier to elevate or cast down. Page 280, col. 1, l. 19, for *1103* read *1193*. Page 294, col. 2, l. 45, for *Singh* read *Sindh*. Page 310, col. 1, ll. 36 and 46, for *Jaudpúr* read *Jodhpur*, and for *Dauroji* read *Damají*. Page 332, col. 2, l. 2, for *Aosat*, following the transliteration of the rest of the book, read *Ausat*. Page 345, col. 1, l. 54, for *1866* read *1766*. Page 349, col. 1, l. 16, for *Rukn* read *Rafí'*. Page 355, col. 2, l. 30, for *was* read *is*, the gentleman being still alive. *Id.* l. 32, insert *-us-* between *Aṣár* and *Sanádíd*. Page 362, col, 2, l. 8, for *and* read *at*. Page 364, col. 1, l. 4, for قربن we suggest قران , and at the end of the fifth line فروز ا instead of فروز. Page 364, col. 1, l. 25, for *Muháru* read *Muhám*, and the man's name should be *Ṣadík Ḥusain Khán* and not *Ṣádíḳ Ḥasan Ḳhán*. He was a poor scholar from a village near Kanauj. Page 516, col. 1, l. 23, for *Lohari* read *Lohárú*. Page 393, col. 2, l. 26, for *buried* read *burned* Page 430, col. 2, l. 42, for الميل ا read اسمعيل.

We find that it has taken us at the outside ten days to put together these remarks. In the period of over ten years between Mr. Keene's first and second editions what might not have been done?

THE BHASHA-BHUSHANA OF JAS'WANT SINGH.

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY G. A. GRIERSON, PH.D., C.I.E.

(*Continued from p.* 296.)

LECTURE IV. (*continued*).

ORNAMENTS OF SENSE (*continued*).

Text.

Viśêshâlaṅkâra.

Tîni prakâra **viśêsha** *hai* *anâdhâra âdhêya* ।
Thôrô kachhu ârambha jaba *adhika siddhi kô dêya* ॥ 133 ॥
Vastu êka kô kîjiyai *varṇana ṭhaura anêka* ।
Nabha ûpara kañchana latâ *kusuma svachchha hai êka* ॥ 134 ॥
Kalpa-vṛiksha dêkhyau sahî *tô kô dêkhata naina* ।
Antara bâhira diśi vidiśi *wahai tîya sukha-daina* ॥ 135 ॥

Translation.

The Extraordinary.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 725.]

The **Extraordinary** is of three kinds:—(*a*) When something that depends on another is represented as existing without it. (*b*) When one in commencing with a thing of small importance, gives it great importance in the conclusion. (*c*) When one action is spoken of as occurring in many places simultaneously. Examples are: —

'In the upper sky (I see) a golden creeper with one charming flower.' [Here the lady's face is the charming flower. The creeper is represented as existing in the sky, as an *âkâśa-kuśuma* in fact, instead of on its natural support, a tree.]

'I see thee with mine eyes, — but in reality I saw a Tree of Plenty.' [Here a commencement is made with the commonplace statement that the hero saw the lady, — but the subject is raised to importance in the conclusion by unexpectedly comparing her to a Tree of Plenty.]

'Within and without, in the four cardinal points, and in the intermediate points, that lady is a giver of happiness.'

Text.

Vyâghâtâlaṅkâra.

Sô **vyâghâta** *jo aura tê* *kîjai kâraja aura* ।
Bahuri virôdhî tê jabai *kâja lâiyai ṭhaura* ॥ 136 ॥
Sukha pâwata jâ sô jagata *tâ sô mârata mâra* ।
Niśchai jânati bâla tau *karati kahâ parahâra* ॥ 137 ॥

Translation.

Frustration.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 726, 727.]

It is **Frustration** when, (*a*) by means (which are employed in bringing a thing to a particular state), a person brings it to an opposite one; and (*b*) when from an argument to the contrary effect, a course of action is justified. Examples are: —

(*a*) 'By those (arts of love), from which the world gains happiness, doth the God of Love kill (mortals).'

(*b*) 'The damsel certainly knows (that with a glance of the eye Śiva destroyed Love), why now does she use a similar glance (on me, to bring Love to life)'? [The above is the explanation of the *Bhûshaṇa-kaumudî*.]

Text.

Kâraṇamâlâlaṅkâra.

Kahiyai' gumpha paramparâ **kâraṇa-mâlâ** *hôta* ।
Nîtihi dhana, dhana tyâga puni, *tâ tê' yaśa uddyôta* ॥ 138 ॥

Translation.

The Garland of Causes.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 728.]

When something mentioned first is spoken of as the cause of what follows, and this again of what comes next, and so on, like a necklace, it is the **Garland of Causes**, as for example: —

'From virtue cometh wealth, from wealth generosity, and from generosity illustrious glory.'

Text.

Êkâvalyalaṅkâra.

Grahuta mukta pada rîti jaba **êkâvali** *taha' mâni* ।
Driga śruti para, śruti bâhu para, *bâhu jânu lô' jâni* ॥ 139 ॥

Translation.

The Necklace.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 730.]

When there is a succession of objects (each qualifying) the last mentioned, it is the **Necklace**, as for example: —

'Know that his eyes (are long reaching) to his ears. His ears (are long reaching) to his arms. His arms (are long reaching) to his knees.'

Text.

Mâlâdîpakâlaṅkâra.

Dîpaka êkâvali milai **mâlâ-dîpaka** *nâma* ।
Kâma-dhâma tiya-hiya bhayau *tiya-hiya kau tû dhâma* ॥ 140 ॥

Translation.

The Serial Illuminator.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 729.]

When the Illuminator (v. 83), and the Necklace (v. 139) are united, it becomes the **Serial Illuminator**, as for example: —

'The Lady's heart is the abode of love, and thou art the abode of the lady's heart.' [Here both the lady's heart and the hero are given the same attribute of being an abode, each on a different account. The reason in each case being the peculiar qualities of each. It is there an example of the Illuminator: and there is a succession of objects each qualifying the one preceding it; therefore it is also an example of the Necklace.]

Text.

Sârâlaṅkâra.

Êka êka tê' sarasa jaha' *alaṅkâra yaha* **sâra** ।
Madhu sô' madhurî hai sudhâ *kavitâ madhura apâra* ॥ 141 ॥

Translation.

The Climax.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 731.]

A succession of objects gradually rising in excellence is termed the **Climax**, as for example: —

'Nectar is sweeter than honey, and poetry is surpassingly sweeter (than nectar).'

[Other writers add (*b*) a climax of inferiority, and (*c*) a climax of mixed inferiority and excellence, thus Padmâkara-bhaṭṭa gives the following examples of these two varieties in the *Padmâbharaṇa*, 182, 183:—

(*b*)	*Bahu âyudha kê ghâta tê·*	*dusaha vajra kô pâta* ǀ
	Tâ kê pâta-hu tê· dusaha	*khala-mukha nikasî bâta* ǁ
(*c*)	*Kaṭhina kâṭha tê· ati kaṭhina*	*yâ jaga mê· pashâṇa* ǀ
	Pâshâṇa-hu tê· kaṭhina yê	*têrê uraja su jâna* ǁ

(*b*) 'More unbearable than the wounds of many weapons is the fall of the thunderbolt. More unbearable even than the fall of the thunderbolt, are the words which issue from the mouth of the wicked.'

(*c*) Much harder than hard wood, in this world, is stone. Know thy bosom to be harder (firmer) even than stone.]

Text.

Yathâsaṅkhyâlaṅkâra.[1]

Yathâsaṅkhya *varṇana bikhai*	*vastu anukrama saṅga* ǀ
*Kari ari mitta vipatti kau*ǀ	*gañjana rañjana bhaṅga* ǁ **142** ǁ

Translation.

Relative Order.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 732.]

Relative Order is when objects are referred to in the order in which they occur, as for example: —

'Cause thou of our enemies, our friends and our misfortunes, respectively the crushing, the rejoicing and the breaking.'

[Text.

Kramâlaṅkâra.

Krama tê· kâraja kîjiyê	**kramâ** *nâma tehi sajji* ǁ

Translation.

Relative Sequence.

Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* or this *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa*. The above definition is taken from the *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa* of 'Srî-dhara Ôjhâ.

It is **Relative Sequence** when acts (are described) as occurring in order, as for example:—

Bihârî-sat'saî, 107:—

Tôhî kau chhuṭa mâna gau	*dêkhata-hî Vraja-râja* ǀ
Rahî ghari 'ka lau· mâna sî	*mâna kiyê kî lâja* ǁ **142a** ǁ

'When thine eyes fell upon Kṛishṇa, thy wrath against him at once vanished; but for a while thou appearest like one full of wrath, through shame at having been wrathful.'

On this the *Lâla-chandrikâ* says, — '*Kramâlaṅkâra spashṭa hai* ǀ *Mâna kiyê kî lâja sê mâna rakkhâ* ǁ'

[1] Called *kramikâ* by Raghu-nâtha in *Rasika-môhana*, 151.

The *Hari-prakáśa* says that this is an instance of *chapalátiśayôkti* (v. 78).
The *An'war-chandriká* „ „ *utprêkshá* (v. 70).

Another example is (*ib.* 359) :—

Pati ṛitu avaguṇa guṇa baḍhatu *mána mâha kau śita* |
Játa kaṭhina hwai ati mṛida-u *ramaṇî mana navanîta* || 142b ||

'Through the faults of her beloved, and through the qualities of the season, increase respectively her indignation, and the cold of the month of Mâgha. Even though they both are (naturally) very soft, the heart of the Lady and butter become hard under their respective influences.' The *Lála-chandriká* says this is an example of *krama*, and explains as follows :—

Pati auguṇa ṛitu kê guṇani *baḍhata mána uhi· śita* |
Hôta mána tê· mana kaṭhina *hima tê· hai navanîta* || 142c ||

'From the faults of her beloved, and the qualities of the season, increase respectively her indignation and the cold. From her indignation becomes her heart hard, and from the frost becomes butter hard.']

Text.

Paryâyâlaṅkâra.

Dvai **paryâya** *anêka kau* *krama sô áśaya êka* |
Phiri krama tê· jaha· êka kau *áśraya dharai anêka* || 143 ||
Hutî taralatá charaṇa mê· *bhaî mandatá ái* |
Ambuja taji tiya-vadana duti *chandahi rahî banái* || 144 ||

Translation.

The Sequence.

[*Sáhitya-darpaṇa*, 733.]

(*a*) When many objects are described as being in the same place in succession, or (*b*) When the same object is described as being in several places in succession, it is termed **The Sequence.** Examples are : —

(*a*) 'There used to be light activity in this foot, now it is possessed by gentle slowness.'

(*b*) 'Glory has abandoned the lady's face, and has gone first to the lotus and then to the moon.'

Text.

Parivṛittyalaṅkâra.

Parivṛittî *lîjai adhika* *thôrô-î kachhu dêi* |
Ari indirá-kaṭáksha yaha *eka sara ḍárî lêi* || 145 ||

Translation.

The Return.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 734.]

The **Return** (*parivṛitti*) is the giving in exchange of something very small for what is greater, as for example : —

'This (hero) takes the favourable glances (which) Lakshmî (means) for his enemies, and gives in exchange, a single arrow.'

[Text.

Vinimaya.

Not in *Bháshá-bhûshaṇa* or *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*.

Thus defined in *An'war-chandriká*, 430 :—

Jaha· dê kai kachhu lîjiyai | *yaha* **vinimaya** *chita kîjiyai* || 145a ||

Translation.

The Barter.

It is the figure of **Barter** where something is given and taken.

In the figure of *Parivṛitti* (Return) (145), the essential element is that there is disparity between what is given (which is little) and what is taken (which is great). This is not an essential in this figure.

Example, *Bihârî-sat'sai*, 240 :—

Sahita sanêha sakôcha sukha *svêda kampa musikâni* |
Prâṇa pâṇi kari âpanê *pâna diyê mô pâṇi* || 145b ||

With love, with bashfulness, with thrilling sweats, with quivering, with a smile, my beloved put into my hand a betel roll, and took my soul into her hand instead.]

Text.

Parisaṅkhyâlaṅkâra.

Parisaṅkhyâ *eka thala baraji* *dûjê thala ṭhaharâi* |
Nêha-hâni hiya mê· nahi· *bhaî dîpa mê· jâi* || 146 ||

Translation.

Special Mention.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 735.]

It is the ornament of **Special Mention**, when it is denied (that an object) is in one place, and affirmed that it is in another, as for example : —

'The minishing of love (or oil) is not in my heart, but is in the lamp.'

[Here the figure, being founded on a *paranomasia* is particularly striking, the word *nêha* (*snêha*) meaning both love and oil. The definition of the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* is a more accurate one than that given above, and may be quoted. 'When, with or without a query, something is affirmed for the denial, expressed or understood, of something else similar to it, it is Special Mention.' All Hindî authorities, however, which I have seen, closely follow the *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa*.]

[Text and Translation.

Uttarâlaṅkâra.

The Reply.

Not in *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa*.

Sâhitya-darpaṇa, 736. The Reply occurs when a question is inferred from an answer; or, the question being given, there are a number of answers unlooked for.

Bihârî-sat'sai, 130, is an instance of the first kind.

Ajyau· na âyê sahaja ra·ga *viraha-dûbarê gâta* |
Aba-hî kâha chalâiyata, *lalana, chalana kî bâta* || 146a ||

(Here the Question is put by the Hero, who wishes to go to a far country. "May I go ?" It is surmised from the answer of the Heroine, *viz.*)

'The natural colour has not yet returned to thy form wasted by the woes of (our last) separation. Now, darling, why dost thou mention the subject of departure' ?

The second variety is thus defined in the *An'war-chandrikâ*, 164 :—

prati-uttara jaha· hôi | *uttara dûjô sôi* || 146b ||

When there is a question and an answer, it is the second (variety of the figure of the) Reply; as for example, *Bihârî-sat'sai*, 12:—

Bâla kahâ lâlî bhaî *lôyana kôyana mâ·ha* ।
Lâla tihârê drigani kî *parî drigani mê· chhâ·ha* ॥ 146c ॥

HE (*she is angry at his unfaithfulness*):—'My girl, what is this redness in the pupils of thine eyes'?

SHE (*his eyes are red after a night of unfaithfulness*):—'Darling, the red reflection of thy (weary) eyes has fallen into mine.'

As the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* requires, this is an unlooked for reply!]

Text.

Vikalpâlaṅkâra.

Hai **vikalpa** *yaha kai waha-i* *ihi vidhi kau biritanta* ।
Karihai dukha kau anta aba *yama kai pyarau kanta* ॥ 147 ॥

Translation.

The Alternative.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 738.]

It is the figure of **The Alternative** when a statement is made in the form of 'either this or that,' as for example:—

'Either death or (the arrival of) my dearly beloved will put an end to my woes.'

[The *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* makes the ingenuity of the opposition between the two terms an essential of the figure.]

Text.

Samuchchayâlaṅkâra.

Dôi **samuchchaya,** *bhâva bahu* *kahu eka upajai saṅga* ।
Êka kâja châhai karyau *hwai anêka eka aṅga* ॥ 148 ॥
Tua ari bhâjata girata hai *phiri bhâjata satarâi* ।
Yauvana vidyâ madana dhana *mada upajâwata âi* ॥ 149 ॥

Translation.

The Conjunction.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 739.]

The figure of **The Conjunction** is of two kinds:—(*a*) When several conditions are simultaneously produced. (*b*) When several (causes) desire (or are each sufficient) to produce an effect, and in each case the effect is of the same nature. Examples are:—

(*a*) 'Thine enemy flees, falls, again flees in blind terror.'

(*b*) 'Budding youth, Knowledge, the God of Love, Wealth, each comes and produces the intoxication of love in her.'

[Here each is sufficient to produce the effect.]

Text.

Kârakadîpakâlaṅkâra.

Kâraka-dîpaka *êka mê·* *krama tê· bhâva anêka* ।
Jâti chitai âwati ha·satî *pûchhata bâta vivêka* ॥ 150 ॥

Translation.

The Case-Illuminator.

[Cf. *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 696*b*. See above v. 83. The *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* defines one kind of Illuminator as occurring when the same case (*kâraka*) is connected with more than one verb. This corresponds to the present figure.]

The **Case-Illuminator** occurs when several conditions occur in order in the same (subject), as for example : —

'She glances and moves forward, she approaches, she smiles, she considers and asks questions.'

[The example in the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* is 'she rises up fitfully and lies down and comes to thy dwelling house, goes out and laughs and sighs,' on which the author remarks : 'Here the same heroine is connected with the many actions of rising up, etc.']

Text.

Samâdhyalaṅkâra.

Sô **samâdhi** *kâraja sugama*	*aura hêtu mili hôta* ।
Utkaṇṭhâ tiya kau· bhaî	*athayau dina-udyôta* ॥ 151 ॥

Translation.

The Convenience.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 740.]

The **Convenience** is when what is to be effected becomes easy owing to the actor having obtained the aid of some other additional agency, as for example : —

'The Lady had a longing (to meet her beloved), (and fortunately her aim was made easy of accomplishment, for) the sun set.'

[Text.

Pratyanîkâlaṅkâra.

Lakhi ajîta nija śatru kaha·	*tâ pakshî kaha· yatra* ।
Karai parâkrama satya nija	*pratyanîka hai tatra* ॥ 151a ॥

Yathâ : —

Hâri mâra Tripurâri sô·	*mahâ kôpa vistâri* ।
Tad-anuhâri muni-varana kô	*ura bêdhata śara mâri* ॥ 151b ॥

Translation.

The Rivalry.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 740-41.]

When some one sees that his enemy cannot be conquered, and, in despite, attacks successfully something which has connection with him, it is the figure of the **Rivalry**, as for example : —

'When Love could not conquer Śiva, full of mighty wrath he attacked the great saints who resembled him, and pierced their hearts with his arrows.'

(Not in *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa*. The above is taken from the *Bhâratî-bhûshaṇa*, 244-5.)]

Text.

Kâvyârthâpattyalaṅkâra.

Kâvyârthâpati *kau· saba-i*	*ihi vidhi varanata jâta* ।
Mukha jîtyau wâ chanda sau·	*kahâ kamala kî bâta* ॥ 152 ॥

Translation.

The Necessary Conclusion.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 737.]

The following is an example of the **Necessary Conclusion** (*kâvyârthâpatti*) [the essence of which is that, on the supposition of one fact, another can certainly follow, *jô wahî bhayau, tô yaha kauna âśchârya hai ki nahi· hôai*] : —

'If her face surpasses the moon in loveliness, what (use is there in) suggesting the lotus (as it necessarily follows that it also is surpassed)' ?

[So *Padmâbharaṇa*, 200 : — '*waha ju kiyau, tau yaha kahâ? yau kâvyârthâpatti.*'

'If he has done that, then what (difficulty) is there in this'? Such is the necessary conclusion.]

Text.

Kâvyaliṅgâlaṅkâra.

Kâvyaliṅga *jaba yukti sau·* *artha-samarthana hôi* |
Tô kô jîtyau, Madana, jô *mô hiya mê· Śiva sôi* || 153 ||

Translation.

Poetical Reason.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 710.]

When by implication (or by an apt use of words), a speaker corroborates (or gives a reaso ı or ground for) his meaning (or purpose) it is **Poetical Reason**, as for example: —

'I have taken that Śiva to my heart, who conquered thee, O God of Love.'

[Here the lady, who is tortured by the pangs of love, informs the God of Love that she has taken Śiva into her heart, and implies that she has done so in order to frighten the former therefrom, Śiva being the only deity who has ever conquered Love. She does not, however, state in so many words that this is the reason. She only implies that it is such.]

[The figure of Poetical Reason must be distinguished from the figures of **Transition (arthântaranyâsa)** (v. 154), and **Inference (anumâna)** (v. 153a). The last figure is not described in the *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa*, but is defined in the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* (711) as follows : —

The notion, expressed in a peculiarly striking manner, of a thing established by proof, is termed Inference, as for example : —

'Wherever falls the sight of women, there fall sharpened arrows; hence, I infer, Cupid runs before them with his bow furnished with shafts.'

Regarding these three figures the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* (710) points out that, in the province of poetry, reason is of three kinds:— Informative, Completive, and Confirmative. Of these three sorts, the Informative Reason is the subject of the figure of Inference, the Justicative· of the Transition, and the Completive of the Poetical Reason. In the example above given of Inference, the poet assumes that Cupid armed runs before fair women, a bold conceit, complete in itself, and then informs the reader of the grounds on which he makes this inference, that arrows fall wherever fall a woman's glances. In Transition, the reason is given as a justification for a statement which is otherwise quite complete in itself. Take the example given in v. 154. The speaker says that by Râma's help he has crossed mountains. This is an intelligible statement complete in itself. The circumstance added that Râma is Almighty, only justifies the statement without being needed to be mentioned to complete the sense.

On the other hand, in Poetical Reason, the Reason is Completive. That is, it must be implied in order to complete the sense of the passage.

Take the example given above: — The Lady states that she has taken Śiva into her heart. She adds that 'Siva has once before conquered love, and implies that the latter fact is the reason for her action, though she does not say so in so many words. The reason, too, for her having taken 'Siva into her heart is completive, for without that reason her action would be unintelligible. For no one would willingly under ordinary circumstances take so terrible a god to his heart.

Or, again, take an example given in the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*: — 'The blue lotus, which was like thine eyes in loveliness, is now sunk under the water: The Moon, my love, which imitated the fairness of thy face, is mantled over by clouds: — Alas, the gods would not suffer me to derive a consolation even from thy similitudes.' Here the first two sentences are indispensably wanted for the completion of the sense, inasmuch as, without them, the sentence constituting the last line of the verse, would be incomplete in its signification, and therefore absurd. Moreover, the reason is not stated as a reason, but is only implied, and the inference is left to be drawn by the reader.

Again, 'Śiva, afraid of the immense weight, bears not on his head the Ganges, muddy with the heaps of dust raised by the multitude of thy horses.' Here the extraordinary amount of mud in the Ganges is not stated to be the reason for its immense weight, but it is implied that it is the reason. Moreover it is a completive reason. Without it, the statement that 'Siva did not bear the Ganges on his head, being afraid of its immense weight, would be incomplete in its signification, and therefore absurd.

Or take another example, from the *Sat'saî* (117) of Bihârî Lâl. 'Mournfully she gazes, full, very full, of wrath and grief. The deer-eyed one seeth the mark of her co-wife's hair upon the pillow, and refuseth to approach the couch.' Here the reason for her refusing to approach the couch, is her seeing the mark of her co-wife's hair, is implied, — not stated directly. Moreover the reason is completive, for without the refusal would lose all its significance and be absurd.

Padmâkara Bhaṭṭa (*Padmâbharaṇa*, 200 and ff.) gives a two-fold definition of this figure. His first is: —

Artha samarthahi yôga jô *karai samarthana tâsu* ।
Kâvyaliṅga tâ sau' kahata *jinha kê sumati prakâsu* ॥ 153a ॥

This is the same in substance as that given in the *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa*. He further developes the explanation in his alternative definition: —

Hêtu padâratha lahi kahû' *kahu' vâkyâratha pâi* ।
Karai samarthana artha kô *kâvyaliṅga sô âi* ॥ 153b ॥

Padârtha-hêtu, yathâ: —

Vṛithâ virasa bâtai' karati *lêti na Hari kô nâma* ।
Yaha na âcharaja hai kachhû *rasanâ têrô nâma* ॥ 153c ॥

Vâkyârtha-hêtu, yathâ: —

Aba na môhi ḍara vighana kau *karata kauna-hû kâju* ।
Gaṇa-nâyaka Gaurî-tanaya *bhayau sahâyaka âju* ॥ 153d ॥

When by taking a reason implied in (1) a word or (2) a sentence, the meaning of a statement is corroborated (or affirmed), it is poetical reason, as for example: —

(1) 'O tongue, thou dost use vain and loveless (*vi-rasa*) words, and dost abstain from uttering Hari's name. This is not astonishing, (for) thy name is *rasa-nâ* (which also means "there is no love").' Here the fact that the tongue is called *rasanâ* implies a reason for the statement that it uses loveless (*vi-rasa*) words.

(2) 'Now I have no fear of any impediment, in whatever task I may engage. Gaṇêśa, the son of Gaurî, has become my helper.' Here the sentence forming the second line implies a reason for what is affirmed in the first line.

This second definition is that given in the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*.

The following is the definition of this figure, given by Raghunâtha (*Rasika-môhana*, 163):—

Jaha· samarthaniya artha kô — *hêtu varaṇiyê âni* ।
Kâvyaliṅga saba kavi·kahata — *alaṅkâra sukhadâni* ॥ **153e** ॥

Giridhara-dâsa (*Bhâratî-bhûshaṇa*, 218) in his definition lays stress on the completive character of the reason:—

Ukta artha jô pushṭa naki — *binâ samarthana hôi* ।
Tâki samarthiya yukti sô· — *kâvyaliṅga hai sôi* ॥ **153f** ॥.]

[Text.

Anumâna.

Not in *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa*.

Sâhitya-darpaṇa, 711. Cf. 153, *ante*, for the difference between this figure, and Poetical Reason. The figure is thus defined in the *An'war-chandrikâ*, 256:—

Hêtu pâi anumâna tê· — *samujhi lîjiyai bâta* ।
Alaṅkâra anumâna sô· — *bhâkhata mati-audâta* ॥ **153g** ॥

Translation.

Inference.

The clear-minded call that inference, in which, being given a cause, a thing is understood by inference, as for example:—

Bihârî-sat'saî, 141:—

Mṛiga-nainî ḍṛiga kî pharaka — *ura uchhâha tana phûla* ।
Bina-hî piya-âgama umagi — *palaṭana lagî dukûla* ॥ **153h** ॥

'When the fawn-eyed lady felt her (left) eye throb (*an omen of good fortune*), her heart rejoiced, her form blossomed forth, and full of rapture, even before the arrival of her beloved, she began to change her vesture.'

Here from the cause (her left eye throbbing), she inferred the approach of her beloved.]

[Text.

Amitâlaṅkâra.

Not in *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa*.

This figure is thus defined by Rasa-rûpa Kavi in the *Tulasî-bhûshaṇa*:—

Jahâ· sâdhakâ bhôgawai — *sâdhana kî sama siddhi* ।
Amita nâma tâ sau· kahai — *jâ kî amita prasiddhi* ॥ **153i** ॥

Yathâ Bihârî-sat'sai, 119:—

Gahyau abôlau bôla pyau — *âpai paṭhai basîṭha* ।
Dîṭhi churâî duhuna kî — *lakhi sakuchau·hî dîṭha* ॥ **153j** ॥

Translation.

The Intercepted Fruit.

When (a Principal) allows his Agent to enjoy the successful result of an object to be accomplished, it is, as is well known, the figure of the **Intercepted Fruit**, as for example:—

'She called for her beloved, and herself sent a message (by a confidante), and yet remained silent (when he came): for she marked the stolen glances of the two (*i. e.*, her lover and the messenger), and noted their shyness (which shewed that they had love passages on the way').

The *Lâla-chandrikâ* says this is *amitâlaṅkâra* : —

Amita sâdhanê bhôgawai	*sâdhaka siddha pravîṇa* |
Tiya-sâdhaka, piya surata sidhi	*sakhi sâdhana tiya lîna* || **153k** ||

When a skilled Principal causes his Agent to enjoy the successful result of an object to be accomplished, it is *amita*. Here the Agent of the Lady, *i. e.*, her *confidante*, took the result of the object which the lady desired to obtain, that is to say the caresses of her beloved.

The *Hari-prakâśa* says this is an instance of *anumâna* (153g).

The *An'war-chandrikâ* says, it is *vishama* (third kind) (122).]

Text.

Arthântaranyâsâlâṅkâra.

Viśêsha tê· sâmânya dṛiḍha	*taba arthântaranyâsu* |
Raghuvara kê vara giri tarê	*baḍê karai· na kahâ su* || **154** ||

Translation.

Transition.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 709] :—

When a general statement is confirmed by a particular, it is called the figure of **Transition**, as for example : —

'By Râma's favour I have crossed mountains. Mighty is he, what can he not do? [*I. e.* (by the figure of **kakûkti**, emphasis, or change of tone of voice), he can do everything.']

[Here the general statement that Râma can do everything, is confirmed by the particular example of his having aided the speaker to cross the mountain.]

[The *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* definition is much wider. It includes not only the confirmation of a general statement by a particular but also the confirmation of a particular by a general, or the justification of an effect by a cause, or *vice versâ* — either under a correspondence or a contrast.

Other Hindi writers include the confirmation of a particular by a general. Thus, Giridhara-dâsa in the *Bhâratî-bhûshaṇa* says : —

Jaha· viśêsha sâmânya tê·	*hôi samarthita khâsa* |
Kai sâmânya viśêsha tê·	*sô arthântaranyâsa* || **154a** ||

It is Transition when a particular is specially confirmed by a general, or a general by a particular.]

[*Kâku* or *kâkûkti* (in Hindî sometimes, incorrectly, *kâkôkti*), *i. e.*, emphasis or change of voice, is hardly a rhetorical figure, and is not defined as such in any treatise on *Alaṅkâra* which I have read. It is mentioned in the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, $\frac{\text{27 trans.}}{\text{28 text}}$, as one of the Causes of Suggestion, and not as an Ornament. The definition is, 'an emotional alteration of the sound in the throat is called Emphasis (*kâku*).']

Text.

Vikasvarâlaṅkâra.

Vikasvara hôta viśêsha jaba	*phiri sâmânya viśêsha* |
Hari giri dhâryau satpurusha	*bhâra sahai jyau· śêsha* || **155** ||

Translation.

Expansion.

[Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa.*]

When a particular is confirmed by a general and that again by a particular, it is **Expansion**, as for example: —

'Did Krishṇa lift up mount (Govardhana)? Yes, for he is a holy person (and a holy person) can bear all burdens, as, for instance, the serpent of eternity.'

[The particular statement that Krishṇa raised Govardhana is confirmed by the general statement that he is a holy person, and that a holy person can lift anything, and this general statement is in its turn confirmed by the particular instance of Śêsha who supports the Universe.]

According to Giridhara-dâsa (*Bhâratî-bhushaṇa,* 254) this figure is two-fold, according as the final particular is an object of simile (*upamâna*) or not. Thus in 'Thou, O saint, hast destroyed the darkness of my heart, for this is the custom of good men, (able) like the sun (to destroy darkness).' Here the final particular, the sun, is an object of a simile. On the other hand, 'Duryôdhana will not listen to remonstrances, for there is no medicine to heal the wicked, just as sprinkling a lemon with sugar will not make it sweet.' Here the final particular, a lemon, is not an object of a simile.]

[Text.

Ayuktâyuktâlaṅkâra.

Not in *Bhâsha-bhûshaṇa.*

I have only come across this figure in *Lâla-chandrikâ,* 54 6, where it is defined as follows:—

Sôraṭhâ | *Aśubha śubha hwai jâi* *sô wahai* **ayuktâyukta** || **155a** ||

Yathâ:—

Dôhâ | *Tanaka jhûṭha nisawâdalî* *kauna bâta pari jâi* |
Tiya-mukha rati-ârambha kî *"nahi" jhûṭhiyê miṭhâi* || **155b** ||

Translation.

The Exceptional Result.

When the inauspicious becomes inauspicious, it is the figure of the **Exceptional Result,** as for example:—

'A falsehood, even if it be a little one, is without flavour. Under what circumstances does this want of flavour disappear? The "no" from the lips of a girl at the first caress is sweet though false.']

Text.

Prauḍhôkti.[2]

Prauḍha-ukti varṇana bikhai *adhikâî adhikâra* |
Kêśa nîla ê raini ghana *saghana timira kê târa* || **156** ||

Translation.

Bold Assertion.

[Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa.*]

When in a description there is an excess of the peculiar quality of the object described (from some imaginary cause), it is **Bold Assertion,** as for instance: —

'Thy (dark) locks are (all the more) black from the clouds of night, and are all the more dense from the (dense) strings (*târa-ḍôrî*) of darkness (which surround thee).'

---

[2] 156, v. l. *Prauḍhôkti utkarsha binu* *hêtu varṇana kâma* |
Kêśa amâvasa raini ghana *saghana timira saba śâma* || **156** ||

[Padmâkara-bhaṭṭa (*Padmâbharaṇa*, 212) thus defines this figure :—

Jo na kâraṇa utkarsha kau *kiyo sô kalpita hêtu* ।
Padumâkara kavi kahata imi *prauḍhôkati hai chêtu* ॥ **156a** ॥

Yathâ : —

Îśa sîsa kê chanda sau· *amala âṭhau· yâma* ।
Surasari taṭa kê barapha tê· *dhavala suyaśa tua Râma* ॥ **156b** ॥

When a thing which is not the cause of excess is stated as an imaginary reason for it, it is the figure of **Bold Assertion**, as for example : —

'By the (light of) the moon on Śiva's head, is (thy glory) without spot for the whole eight watches of the day; from the (reflection of the snow) on the banks of the Ganges, is thy glory ever fair and white, O Râma.'

So also Raghunâtha (*Rasika-môhana*, 167) :—

Jaha· varṇata utkarsha kê *hêtu, hêtu kou âni* ।
Tahâ·, su-kavi, prauḍhôkti yaha *jaga mê· kahata bakhâni* ॥ **156c** ॥

And Giridhara-dâsa (*Bhâratî-bhûshaṇa*, 257) :—

Kâraja-gata utkarsha kau *jô na hêtu, tehi hêta* ।
Kara varaniya prauḍhôkti kavi *mâna tâsu kahi dêta* ॥ **156d** ॥]

Text.

Saṁbhâvanâlaṅkâra.

" *Jau· yô· hô, tau yô·,*" *kahai* *saṁbhâvanâ vichâra* ।
Vaktâ hôtau śêsha jau·, *tau lahatau guṇa pâra* ॥ **157** ॥

Translation.

The Supposition.

[Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*.]

When 'if' (introducing a protasis) is followed by 'then' (introducing an apodosis), it is to be considered an instance of the **Supposition**, as for example : —

'If the serpent of eternity had been able to speak, then he might have been able to describe fully thy virtues. [No one else could do so.']

Text.

Mithyâdhyavasityalaṅkâra.

Mithyâdhyavasiti kahata kachhu *mithyâ-kalpana rîti* ।
Kara mai· pârada jau· rahai *karai· navôḍha prîti* ॥ **158** ॥

Translation.

The False Supposition.

[Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*.]

It is **False Supposition** (when the impossibility of a thing is illustrated) by making it depend upon an impossible contingency, as for example : —

'When a man can retain quicksilver in his hand, he may expect a newly-wedded bride to shew him affection.'

Text.

Lalitâlaṅkâra.

Lalita kahyau kachhu châhiyai· *tâhî kau pratibimbu* ।
Sêtu bâ·dhi karihai kahâ *aba tô utarê ambu* ॥ **159** ॥

Translation.

The Graceful.

[Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa.*]

When it is necessary to make a statement, and it is not made directly, but is made by means of reflecting imagery, it is the ornament of the **Graceful.** [It differs from the Passing Allusion (*Prastulâṅkura*, v. 102), in that in the latter the reason for the statement is not also mentioned figuratively, while in the Graceful it is (*Kâvya-sudhâkara*).] As for example: —

'Why wilt thou build a causeway? Now the sea has become fordable?

[This is addressed to a heroine who is going out to see her beloved by night. Her confidante under the above imagery means to say 'Why are you putting on white clothes, so as to be invisible in the moon-light, for, lo, the moon has set.' It will be observed that the reason is also figuratively stated.]

This figure is thus defined by Padmâkara-bhaṭṭa (*Padmâbharaṇa*, 217):—

Kahahi-yôga prastuta-vishaya *jo kachhu kahai nahi jâi* |
Kahai tâsu pratibimba kachhu *lalita kahîjatu tâhi* || 159a ||

'When a thing in connexion with the matter in hand, which should be said, is not said, but instead something in the way of its reflective image is said, it is the Graceful.'

So Raghunâtha (*Rasika-môhana*, 170):—

Prastuta kê vâkyârtha kê *varṇana kau pratibimba* |
Jahâ varaṇiyê lalita tàha *lakhi lîjau binu limba* || 159b ||

'When a statement is made of the reflective image of a statement of the literal meaning of the matter in hand, it is to be recognized as the Graceful, without fault (*limba*=*dôsha*, comm.)'

So again Giridhara-dâsa (*Bhâratî-bhûshaṇa*, 263):—

Prastuta-gata-vṛittânta jô *varṇunîya taji tauna* |
Aprastuta-pratibimba-vata *kahiya lalita mati-bhauna* || 159c ||

Text.

Praharshaṇâlaṅkâra.

Tîni praharshaṇa yatna binu *vâñchhita phala jaba hôi* |
Vâñchhita-hû tê adhika phala *śrama binu lahiyai sôi* || 160 ||
Sâdhata jâ kê yatna kau *vastu chaḍhai kara têi* |
Jâ kau chita châhata hutau *âi dûtî wêi* || 161 ||
Dîpaka kau udyama kiyau *tau lô udayau bhânu* |
Nidhi-añjana kî aushadhî *sôdhata lahyau nidâna* || 162 ||

Translation.

The Successful.

[Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa.*]

The ornament of the **Successful** is of three kinds, *viz.*: —

(1) When a desired result is achieved without effort.

(2) When, without effort, something over and above a desired result is achieved.

(3) When a thing comes of itself into the hand of a man who is making preparations for making an effort for obtaining it.

Examples of these three in order are: —

(1) 'She, for whom your soul longeth, came herself to you as (her own) messenger.'

(2) 'He attempted to (light) the lamp, and just then the sun rose.'

(3) 'He was searching for the drug from which is made the ointment which when applied to the eyes shews all the riches of the world (literally the riches-ointment), and lo, he found (riches themselves), the first cause (of his search).'

Text.

Vishâdâlaṅkâra.

Sô vishâda chita-châha tê· *ulaṭau kachhu hvai jâi* ।
Nîvî parasata, śruti parî *charaṇâyudha-dhuni âi* ॥ 163 ॥

Translation.

The Disappointment.

[Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa.*]

It is the figure of **Disappointment**, when something the reverse of what is one's desired object occurs, as for example :—

'Just as I laid my hand upon her girdle, the sound of a cock's crow fell upon my ear.'[3]

Text.

Viparîtyalaṅkâra.

Not in *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa.* I have only met it in *Lâla-chandrikâ*, 409, where it is defined as follows :—

Sâdhana bâdhaka siddha kau *sô* **viparîti** *ganâi* ॥ 163a ॥

Yathâ : —

Sôwata sapanê śyâma-ghana *hili-mili harata viyôga* ।
Taba-hî ṭari kita-hû gaî *nî·da-u nî·dana yôga* ॥ 163b ॥

Translation.

The Perverse Agent.

When an Agent becomes a hindrance towards the accomplishment of his task it is the figure of the **Perverse Agent**, as for example : —

'Sleeping, in my dreams, Ghana-śyâma used to join me and take away my woe. Since then sleep also has departed and gone I know not where, — and it also must I blame.'

Text.

Ullâsâlaṅkârâ.

Guṇa avaguṇa jaba êka kau *aura chahai ullâsa* ।
Nhâi santa pâvana karai· *gaṅga dharai· ihi âśa* ॥ 164 ॥

Translation.

Sympathetic result.

[Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa.*]

When one person desires the good or bad qualities of another, it is the figure of **Sympathetic Result**, as for example : —

'The Ganges has but one hcpe, — that the pious may bathe in her and communicate to her their purity.'

[This figure is more usually explained, as occurring, when the good or bad qualities of one person, cause bad or good qualities to arise in another, as for instance the budding beauty of a new bride, causing her co-wives to become ugly, through despair — *Aura kê guṇa tê· dôsha.*

Compare *Lâla-chandrikâ*, 25 : —

ika kê guṇa tê· hôi jaha· *aurahi dôsha ulâsa* ।
dulahî kê guṇa tê· baḍhyau *sautina dôsha prakâśa* ॥ 164a ॥

[3] Dalliance after sunrise is prohibited.

Padmâkara-bhaṭṭa (*Padmâbharaṇa*, 224), says: —

Jo guṇa dôsha tê· aura kê	*thapai anata guṇa dôsha* |
Tâhi kahata ullâsa kavi	*pâi hiyê santôsha* ‖ **164b** ‖

'When one person gains a good quality or a bad quality from the good or bad quality of another, it is called by poets *ullâsa*.' He then gives examples of:—

(1) Good qualities begetting good qualities (*guṇa tê guṇa*). (Example — the beauty of Krishṇa enlarging the eyes of those who behold him, owing to their being unable to cease staring.)

(2) Bad qualities begetting bad qualities (*dosha tê· dôsha*). (Example — disfiguring marks of dalliance with another woman, on the hero, begetting anger in the heroine.)

(3) Good qualities from bad ones (*dôsha tê· guṇa*). (Example — a crowd thrusts aside a beggar into the dust, and thereby saves his life.)

(4) Bad qualities from good ones (*guṇa tê· dôsha*). (Example — a good man proving (by the fact of his goodness) the folly of those who do not reverence him.)

So also Giridhara-dâsa (*Bhâratî-bhûshaṇa*):—

Jaha· eka kê guṇa dôsha tê·	*hôî aura kau tauna* |
Ullâsâlaṅkâra tehi	*varaṇahi· kavi mati-bhauna* ‖ **164c** ‖
Kahu· guṇa tê· guṇa, dôsha tê·	*dôsha, guṇa-hu· tê· dôsha* |
Dôsha-hu· tê· guṇa hôta imi	*varaṇata kavi mati-kôsha* ‖ **164d** ‖

He then gives four similar examples.

So also Raghunâtha (*Rasika-môhana*, 175):—

Sô ulâsa guṇa sau· su-guṇa	*hôta, dôsha sau· dôsha* |
Guṇa sau· dûshaṇa, dôsha tê·	*guṇa, vidhi chârî, sa·tôsha* ‖ **164e** ‖]

Text.

Avajñâlaṅkâra.

Hôta avajñâ aura kau	*na lagai· guṇa aru dôsha* |
Parasi sudhâ-kara kiraṇa kau·	*phulai na paṅkaja-kôsha* ‖ **165** ‖

Translation.

Indifference.

[Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*.]

It is the ornament of **Indifference** when one is not affected by another's good or bad qualities (as might have been expected), as for example: —

'The lotus-flower does not expand, when it touches the rays of the moon.'

[Giridhara-dâsa (*Bhâratî-bhûshaṇa*, 279) makes this plainer: —

Guṇa tê· guṇa nahi hôi, aru	*nahî· dôsha tê· dôsha* |
Kahahi· avajñâ dôi vidhi	*imi kavi kavitâ-kôsha* ‖ **165a** ‖

'There are two kinds of Indifference, when good qualities do not beget good qualities in another, and when bad qualities do not beget bad qualities.' He then gives examples of each, *viz.*:—

(1) Rapture not being begot by beautiful poetry.

(2) The ashes on Śiva appearing to him as pleasant as sandal paste, and the *hâlâhala* poison like nectar.]

Text.

Anujñâlaṅkâra.

Hôta anujñâ dôsha kau·	*jô lijaî· guṇa mâni* |
Hôhi vipati yâ mê· sadâ	*hiyê chaḍhata Hari âni* ‖ **166** ‖

Translation.

Acceptance.

[Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa.*]

When any disadvantage is desired as an advantage, it is the ornament of **Acceptance,** as for example : —

'May misfortune come (to me), that the Lord ever may dwell in my heart.'

[Here misfortune is a disadvantage, but as it is considered to be a necessary concomitant of God dwelling in the heart, it is looked upon as a blessing.

So Giridhara-dâsa (*Bhârati-bhûshaṇa,* 282) :—

Jaha· abhilâshâ dôsha kî | *tâhî mê· guṇa pâi* |
Tahâ· anujñâ âbharaṇa | *kahahi· sakala kavi-râi* || 166a ||

So Padmâkara-bhaṭṭa (*Padmâbharaṇa,* 232) :—

Dôsha chahai mana mâni guṇa | *so anujñâ ṭhaharâi* | 166b

And Raghunâtha (*Rasika-môhana,* 176) :—

Ichchhâ kîjata dôsha kî | *jahâ baṛau guṇa pâi* | 166c |

It will be observed that all these authorities insist that the disadvantage must be desired.]

Text.

Lêsâlaṅkâra.

Guṇa mê· dôsha 'ru dôsha mê· | *guṇa-kalpana sô lêsa* |
Suka yaha madhurî vâṇî sau· | *bandhana lahyau visêsha* || 167 ||

Translation.

The Unexpected Result.

[Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa.*]

It is the figure of **Unexpected Result** when what is usually considered an advantage is represented as a disadvantage, and *vice versâ*; as for example : —

'This parrot owing to its sweet voice has specially been imprisoned (in a cage).'

[So all writers.]

Text.

Mudrâlaṅkâra.

Mudrâ prastuta pada bikhai· | *aurai· artha prakâśa* |
Alî jâi ki na pîwa tahâ | *jahâ· rasîlî vâsa* || 168 ||

Translation.

Indirect Designation.

[Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa.*]

It is the figure of **Indirect Designation,** when a second meaning is made apparent in a word in hand ; as for example : —

'O bee, why goest thou not to drink there where there is odour full of nectar' ?

[Here the second meaning is 'O Hero, why goest thou not to drink the odorous nectar of the heroine's lips'? The Hero is indirectly designated by the name "bee."

So Padmâkara-bhaṭṭa (*Padmâbharaṇa,* 235) :—

Prakṛita artha para pada jahâ· | *sûchya artha kê tâ·hi* |
Sûchana karai so hôta hai | *mudrâ-"bharaṇa tahâ·hi* || 168a ||

'The indication of a (metaphorical) meaning to be indicated by another word used in its literal sense is Indirect Designation.' So Raghunâtha (*Rasika-môhana*, 178): — "*Sûchyá 'rtha kau sûchibo.*"

Text.

Ratnâvalyalaṅkâra.

Ratnávali prastuta artha	*krama tê· aura-hu náma* ı
Rasika chatura-mukha lakshmi-pati	*sakala jñána kau dháma* ıı 169 ıı

Translation.

The String of Jewels.

[Not in *Sáhitya-darpaṇa.*]

When a series of names of other people or things all meaning the subject in hand is given in order, it is an instance of this figure; as for example: —

'O Devoted Gallant, Chief of the skilful (or Brahmâ), Lord of Wealth (or Vishṇu) Abode of all knowledge (or 'Siva).'

Here the Heroine addresses the Hero, and gives him these names in order.

So Padmâkara (*Padmábharaṇa*, 237):—

Ratnávali krama sau· kahaba	*prâkṛita padártha-vṛinda* ı
Ravi, śaśi, kuja, budha, guru guṇani	*lai Vidhi rachyau narinda* ıı 169a ıı

The String of Jewels is the mentioning in order a number of words in the meaning of the subject in hand (indicating a person mentioned, and not, as in the last figure, not mentioned but inferred); as for example: —

'God created this king after selecting the qualities of the Sun, the Moon, Mars, Mercury and Jupiter.'

Text.

Tadguṇâlaṅkâra.

Tadguṇa taji guṇa ápanau	*saṅgati kau guṇa lêi* ı
Bêsari môtî adhara mili	*padma-rága chhavi dêi* ıı 170 ıı

Translation.

The Borrower.

[*Sáhitya-darpaṇa*, 746.]

The **Borrower** is when an object is represented as quitting its own quality, and assuming that of another in proximity to it; as for example: —

'Her lower lip, when it touches the pearl of her nose ring, gives it the beauty of a ruby.'

Text.

Pûrvarûpâlaṅkâra.

Pûrva-rûpa hai saṅga guṇa	*taji phiri apanau lêtu* ı
Dûjai jaba guṇa ná miṭai	*kiyê miṭana kê hêtu* ıı 171 ıı
'Sêsha śyáma hai śiva galê	*yaśa tê· ujjvala hôta* ı
Dîpa miṭáyê-hú kiyau	*raśaná-maṇi uddyôta* ıı 172 ıı

Translation.

The Reversion.

[Not in *Sáhitya-darpaṇa.*]

It is the figure of **Reversion** (*a*) when an object abandons its adventitious qualities and reverts to its original form, and (*b*) when a thing does not abandon its own qualities, even though efforts be made to cause them to disappear. Examples are:—

'O Śêsha, by contact with Śiva's neck thou hadst become black, but now, by thy glory, thou art returned to thy original pure white colour.'

'Although she put out the light, still there was the gleam of her jewelled girdle.'

Text.

Atadguṇâlaṅkâra.

Sôi atadguṇa saṅga tê· *guṇa jaba lâgata nâhi·* ।
Piya anurâgî nâ· bhayau *vasi râgî mana mâhi·* ॥ 173 ॥

Translation.

The Non-borrower.

[*Sâhityâ-darpaṇa*, 747.]

It is the Non-borrower when a thing does not acquire the qualities of what it is connected with (although such a borrowing might be expected); as for example: —

'My beloved though dwelling in my heart which glows with ardent affection, doth not glow himself.'

Text.

Anuguṇâlaṅkâra.

Anuguṇa *saṅgati tê· jabai* *pûrva guṇana sarasâî* ।
Mukta-mâla hiya hâsya tê· *adhika śvêta hwai jâî* ॥ 174 ॥

Translation.

The Enhancer.

[Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa.*]

When a thing's original qualities are enhanced by connexion with another, it is the figure called the **Enhancer**; as for example :—

'The pearl necklace on her heart becomes still whiter when she smiles (from the reflection of her pearly teeth).'

Text.

Militâlaṅkâra.

Milita *sô sâdṛiśya tê·* *bhêda jabai na lakhâi* ।
Aruṇa-varṇa tiya-charaṇa mê· *yâvaka lakhyau na jâi* ॥ 175 ॥

Translation.

The Lost.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 744.]

The **Lost** is when the difference (between one thing and a similar thing) is not apparent, (and one is lost or merged in the other), through a likeness of properties; as for example: —

'The red dye is not visible on the rosy feet of the lady (being lost in their lustre).'

Text.

Sâmânyâlaṅkâra.

Sâmânya *jo sâdṛiśya tê·* *jâni parai na viśêsha* ।
Pharaka nahî śruti-kamala aru *tiya-lôchana animêsha* ॥ 176 ॥

Translation.

The Sameness.

[*Sáhitya-darpaṇa*, 745.]

The **Sameness** is when something in question (is spoken of as) having become indistinguishable from something else, through a likeness of properties; as for example : —

'The intent eye of the lady and the lotus behind her ear were indistinguishable (*farq nahi*).' [Here owing to the resemblance between the lotus and the eye of the lady intently gazing on her beloved, they could not be distinguished.]

Text.

Unmîlitâlaṅkâra.

Unmîlita *sâdṛiśya tê·* *bhêda phurai taba mâni* ।
Kîrati âgê· tuhina-giri *chhuai· parata pahichâni* ॥ 177 ॥

Translation.

The Discovered.

[Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*.]

When owing to a likeness of properties, the difference (between one thing and another similar thing, in which it is merged, is not noticed, as in the figure of the Lost, v. 175, but) is subsequently made plain, it is The **Discovered**; as for example : —

'In (the brightness of) thy fame the snowy Himâlaya (was not visible, and) its existence could not be known till it was actually touched (and its coldness felt).'

Text.

Viśêshakâlaṅkâra.

Yaha **viśêshaka** *viśêsha puni* *phurai jo samatâ mâ·jha* ।
Tiya-mukha aru paṅkaja lakhai *śaśi darśana tê sâ·jha* ॥ 178 ॥

Translation.

The Distinguisher.

[Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa.*]

It is The **Distinguisher** when, after noticing (an apparent) sameness, the distinguishing quality (of one) is subsequently made manifest; as for example : —

'(The difference between) the Lady's face and the lotus is made manifest at even when the moon shews herself (for then the lotus closes, and the lady's face expands at the approach of her beloved).'

Text.

Gûḍhôttarâlaṅkâra.

Gûḍhôttara *kachhu bhâva tê·* *uttara dînê hôta* ।
Una vêtasa-ntaru mê· pathika *utarana lâyaka sôta* ॥ 179 ॥

Translation.

The Hidden Answer.

[Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa.*]

It is the **Hidden Answer**, when an answer is given with some under-meaning; as for example : —

'Amidst that reed thicket there is a spring fit for the halting of a traveller.' [Here the heroine answers a traveller, and her inner meaning is that the place is suitable for a flirtation.]

Text.

Chitrâlankâra.

Chitra *praśna uttara duhû* *êka vachana mê· sôi* ।
Mugdhâ tiya kî kêli ruchi *gêha kôna mê· hôi* ॥ 180 ॥

Translation.

The Manifold.

[Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa.*]

When the same words express both a question and its answer, it is the ornament of the **Manifold**; as for example: —

Question: — 'In what room (*gêha kôna mê·*) doth the damsel enjoy amorous dalliance'?

[The same words, differently interpreted, give the answer, *viz.:* —]

Answer: — 'In the corner of the room (*gêha-kôna mê·*) the damsel doth enjoy amorous dalliance.'

[Padmâkara-bhaṭṭa in the *Padmâbharaṇa* (249), and Giridhara-dâsa in the *Bhâratî-bhûshaṇa* (311), mention another variety of this figure in which one answer is a reply to several questions; thus *Padmâbharaṇa* (249): —

Uttara ika bahu praśna kau *chitra kahau. Kô syâma?* ।
Kauna ju ripu kshatriyana kau? *môśala-dhara kô? Râma* ॥ 180a ॥

When one answer is a reply to many questions it is also an example of this figure; as for example: —

Question: — Who was the Dark One, who was the Enemy of the *Kshattriyas*, and who was the Club-bearer?

Answer: — Râma. *I. e., Râma-chandra,* Paraśu-râma, and Bala-râma respectively.]

Text.

Sûkshmâlankâra.

Sûchhama *para âśaya lakhai* *sainani mê· kachhu bhâi* ।
Mai· dêkhyau, uhi sîsa-maṇi *kêśani liyau chhapâi* ॥ 181 ॥

Translation.

The Subtle.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 748.]

When some meaning is conveyed to another by hints it is termed the **Subtle** (*sûkshma*); as for example: —

'I saw the Lady, and she concealed her jewel-face under her black hair [thereby intimating that at nightfall she would meet me.']

Text.

Pihitâlankâra.

Pihita *chhapî para-bâta kau* *jâni dikhâwai· bhâi* ।
Prâtahi âyê sêja piya *ha·si dâwati tiya pâi* ॥ 182 ॥

Translation.

The Concealed.

[Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa.*]

When by some (hidden) meaning a person shews a circumstance connected with another, which is concealed by him, it is the ornament of the **Concealed**; as for example: —

'Her beloved (did not) approach her couch (till) morning, and smiling the lady shampoos his feet.'

[Here the lady means to hint that he has been spending the night with some other charmer, and that he must be weary, and will be rested by the shampooing.]

Text.

Vyâjôktyalaṅkâra.

Vyâja-ukti *kachhu aura vidhi*	*kahai· durai· âkâra* ǀ
Sakhi, śuka kinhyau karma yaha	*dantani jâni anâra* ǁ 183 ǁ

Translation.

The Dissembler.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 749.]

When a person conceals (the true cause of) a fact which is apparent, by explaining it in some other way, it is the **Dissembler** (*vyâjôkti*); as for example : —

'My dear, it was a parrot which did this deed, mistaking my teeth for pomegranate seeds.'

[Here the Heroine dissembles and conceals the true reason of the wounds upon her lips,— caused by the amorous kisses of her beloved.]

Text.

Gûḍhôktyalaṅkâra.

Gûḍhâ ukti *misu aura kê*	*kîjai· para upadêśa* ǀ
Kâlhi, sakhi, hau· jâu·gî	*pûjanu dêva mahêśa* ǁ 184 ǁ

Translation.

The Hidden Speech.

[Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*.]

It is the ornament of **Hidden Speech** (*gûḍhôkti*), when under pretence of saying something else, a person suggests (to a third) a course of conduct ; as for example : —

'Tomorrow, my dear, I shall go to worship (at the temple of) Mahêśa.'

[Here the heroine indicates to her lover who is standing by and hears her talking to her friend, that the next place of assignation will be the temple of Mahêśa.]

[The *Lâla-chandrikâ* (317) contrasts the *gûḍhôkti*, with another figure which it calls **anyôkti**, or **Other Speech**, and defines them thus : —

Gûḍhôkti, aur kê mis aur kau· upadêś ǀ *anyôkti, aur kî bât aur par kahai* ǁ

Hidden speech is when under pretence of (addressing) one person, instruction is given to another. It is **Other Speech**, when a person attributes a characteristic of one thing or person to another. Bihârî-lâl in his *Sat'sai* (317) gives an example of both these figures : —

Rahyau môha milanau rahyau	*yau kahi gahai marôra* ǀ
Uta dai sakhihi urâhanau	*ita chitaî mô ôra* ǁ 184a ǁ

The speaker is the hero,— 'Wrathfully said she (as she spoke) in that direction and abused her friend, "you have been entangled in love, you have had a meeting with a lover," and then she looked towards me.'

Here it is Hidden Speech, for under pretence of abusing her friend she abused the hero, and it is also Other Speech, for the conduct alleged as that of the friend is really meant to be attributed to the hero.]

Text.

Vivṛitôktyalaṅkâra.

Ślêsha chhapyau kînhyau prakaṭa	**vivṛitôkti** *hai aina* |
Pûjana dêva mahêśa kau	*kahati dekhdê saina* || 185 ||

Translation.

The Open Statement.

[Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa.*]

It is an example of the **Open Statement** when a thing is intimated by a *paronomasia* in a statement made openly; as for example: —

'She made a gesture, as she said that she would go to worship Mahêśa.'

[Here the word (*saina=saṁjñâ*) translated 'gesture,' also means 'several' (*sainya*), and the lady by making a gesture intimated to her lover that 'several' companions would accompany her. Hence the intimation to the lover is made by a *paranomasia* on the word *saina*, which was said (or rather acted) openly. This figure differs from the Subtle (v. 181), in being founded on a *paronomasia.*]

Text.

Yuktyalaṅkâra.

Yahai **yukti** *kînhai kriyâ*	*karma chhapâyau jâi* |
Piya chalata a'suâ chalê	*pô'chhuta naina ja'bhâi* || 186 ||

Translation.

The Artifice.

[Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa.*]

It is the **Artifice** when one action is concealed by doing another, as for example: —

'Tears flowed from her eyes as her beloved departed, and she yawned as she wiped her eyes (to conceal the action).'

Text.

Lôkôktyalaṅkâra.

Lôka-ukti *kachhu vachana sau'*	*lînhê lôka-pravâda* |
Naina mû'di shaṭa mâsa lau'	*sahiyai' viraha vishâda* || 187 ||

Translation.

The Idiom.

[Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa.*]

It is the figure of the **Idiom** (*lôkôkti*), when words are employed which are used in common talk (in an idiomatic or proverbial sense); as for example: —

'She must close her eyes for six months (in the absence of her beloved), and suffer separation and sorrow.'

[Here the expression 'to close the eyes' is idiomatically used, in the sense it bears in common talk, to mean 'to suffer pain.']

Text.

Chhêkôktyalaṅkâra.

Lôka-ukti kachhu artha sau'	*sô* **chhêkôkti** *pramâni* |
Jô gâina kau' phêrihai	*tâhi Dhanaṁjaya jâni* || 188 ||

Translation.

Ambiguous Speech.

[Not in *Sáhitya-darpaṇa.*]

When an idiom is used, as in the last figure, and at the same time the words can also be taken more or less in their literal sense, it is an instance of **Ambiguous Speech**; as for example: —

'Know him to be Arjuna, who will bring back the cows.' [This is an idiomatic proverbial saying, and means that it requires a great man to do a great action.]

It also means literally that the hero has attacked the foe, and has released cattle, and is therefore a second Arjuna.

Text.

Vakrôktyalaṅkâra.

Vakra-ukti *kachhu ślêsha sau·* *artha phêri jo hôi* ׀
Rasika apûraba hau, piyâ, *burau kahata nahi· kôi* ॥ **189** ॥

Translation.

Crooked Speech.

[*Sáhitya-darpaṇa*, 641.]

When the meaning of (the speech of another) is changed to the hearer by a *paronomasia* it is called **Crooked Speech** (*vakrôkti*); as for example: —

'My dear, you are a wonderful lover [meaning a very base lover], and no one (I suppose) [that is to say every one] speaks badly of you.'

[The example does not fit the definition. That is, however, the fault of the latter, which is incomplete, and not of the former. According to the *Sáhitya-darpaṇa*, and all other authorities which I have consulted, the definition should run, 'When the meaning of (the speech of another) is changed (to the hearer) by a *paronomasia* (*ślêsha*), or by a change of voice (*kâku*), it is, etc.' The example is evidently an instance of Crooked Speech depending on a change of voice. The whole meaning of the sentence is reversed by the satyrical or reproachful tone in which it is uttered.

The *Sáhitya-darpaṇa* classes this figure as a Verbal Ornament (*śabdâlaṅkâra*), and not as an Ornament of Sense (*arthâlaṅkâra*) under which head it is classed in the *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa* and other modern works.]

[Giridhara-dâsa (*Bhârati-bhûshaṇa*, 332) thus defines this figure:—

Sunata vâkya rôshâdi vaśa *rachai artha jaha· aura* ׀
Kahu· ślêsha-hu kâku sau· *vakra-ukti tehi ṭhaura* ॥

When on hearing a sentence, a meaning different (from its natural one) is given to it under the influence of anger and the like, either by a *paronomasia* or by a change of voice, it is called *Vakrôkti*.

So *Padmâbharaṇa*, 259; *Rasika-môhana*, 195.]

Text.

Svabhâvôktyalaṅkâra.

Svabhâvôkti *yaha jâniyai·* *varnana jâti-subhâi* ׀
Ha·si ha·si dêkhati phiri jhukati *mukha môrati itarâi* ॥ **190** ॥

Translation.

The Description of Nature.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 750.]

The **Description of Nature** is the narration of actions natural to the actor [the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* says the object must be one that is not easily perceived] ; as for example : —

'She smiles as she looks, and again she bends her body away (in anger), and again she proudly turns aside her face.'

[This is an account of the characteristic actions of a heroine who is another's (*parakîyâ*). Giridhara-dâsa (*Bhâratî-bhûshaṇa*, 335, explains *jâti* by *śiśutva-âdi.*

'*Śiśutvâdi jo jâti hai* *tadgata jauna svabhâva.*']

[This figure is also called **jâti** or **jâti-varṇana** or **jâti-svabhâva-varṇana.** From what some authors say it might be gathered that *svabhâvôkti* and *jâti* are different figures, but they are everywhere defined in identical terms. Thus the *An'war-chandrikâ* (499) thus defines *svabhâvôkti* : —

Jâ kô jaisô rûpa guṇa *varaṇata wâhî rîti* ।
Tâ sô jâti svabhâva kavi *bhâshata hai kari prîti* ॥ **190a** ॥

The same work (579) defines *jâti* in exactly the same words.

Again the *Lâla-chandrikâ* (28) defines *svabhâvôkti* as follows :—

Jâ kau jaisau rûpa guṇa *kahiyê tâhî rîti* ।
Subhâvôkti tâ kau· su-kavi *bhâvata hai kari prîti* ॥ **190b** ॥

and (2), defines *jâti* thus, —

jâti su jaisau jâsu kau *rûpa kahai tihi jâsa* ॥ **190c** ॥

[Prêman.

True Love.

Not in *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa.*

Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa.* Thus defined in the *Lâla-chandrikâ* (146) :—

Jaha· nahi· kapaṭa pirîti, taha· *lakhi* **prêmâ***laṅkâra* ॥ **190d** ॥

A description of true love is called **Prêman.**

Example, *Bihârî-sat'saî*, 146 :—

Bhêṭata banata na bhâva, tau *chita tarasata ati pyâra* ।
Dharati, uṭhâi, lagâi ura *bhûshaṇa vasana hathyâra* ॥ **190e** ॥

(The hero has just arrived from a journey.) She cannot find an opportunity of meeting him (in private), and her soul is all atremble with her great love. So she takes up, presses to her bosom, and puts down the ornaments, the clothes, the weapons (which he has just discarded).]

Text.

Bhâvikâlaṅkâra.

Bhâvika *bhûta bhavishya jô* *paratichha hôi batâi* ।
Vṛindâvana mê· âju waha *lîlâ dêkhî jâi* ॥ **191** ॥

Translation.

Vivid description.

When something past or future is represented as if it were present (*pratyaksha*), it is termed the **Vision**; as for example : —

'Those sports (of Kṛishṇa) in *Vṛindâvana* are (as it were) seen (by me) to-day.'

[Here a heroine addresses her companion. The sport which she imagines she saw took place long before. She had been sporting with her beloved, and had imagined herself as sporting with Krishṇa in the olden time. According to some authorities the mention of Krishṇa is a reference to the future; she saw, in her mind's eye, the sport which Krishṇa would carry out at some future time.]

Text.

Udâttâlaṅkâra.

Upalakshaṇa kari sâdhiai· *adhikâî so* **udâtta** ।
Saba jâ kê vaśa hôta hai *sunai· tanaka-si bâta* ॥ **192** ॥

Translation.

The Exalted.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 752. The definition is, however, quite different.]

When, from a petty sample,[4] greater things are inferred (than would be expected from the words taken explicitly), it is the figure of the **Exalted**; as for example : —

'All go and become subject to him, on hearing but a few words.' [Here it is implied that the few words had very great power to produce such an effect and it is left to be inferred how wonderful would be the result of a long oration. *Ex pede Herculem* is an example of this figure.]

[The *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* definition is as follows: — 'The description of supermundane prosperity (*lôkâtiśaya-saṁpatti*), or an action of great persons (represented) collaterally to the subject in hand (*prastutasya-aṅga*), is termed the exalted. Other modern writers closely agree. Thus Giridhara-dâsa, *Bhâratî-bhûshaṇa*, 340 and ff. :—

Ślâghanîya jô charita sô *aṅga aura kô hôi* ।
Aru ati saṁpati varaṇibô *hai udâtta vidhi dôi* ॥ **192a** ॥

Yathâ :—

Muni-jana dhyâvahi· jâsu pada *darśana pâvahi· rañcha* ।
Tê kubjâ kê bhavana mê· *râjata baiṭhê mañcha* ॥ **192b** ॥
Tô ghara tai· ḍârahi· janî *dhâri maṇîna buhâri* ।
Tina tê bhê naga-naga ghanê *lakhahu mêru anuhâri* ॥ **192c** ॥

It is the Exalted (*a*) when a praiseworthy action takes place collaterally with something else, and (*b*) when excessive prosperity is described; as for example : —

(*a*) 'He, whose feet the saints meditate on and see but seldom, is in the hunchbacked girl's house, glorious, seated on her bed.'

(*b*) 'From thy house the maid-servants sweep out jewels, which have been laid aside. And so, they have become heaps of previous stones, resembling Mount Mêru.'

So also *Padmâbharaṇa*, 267.]

Text.

Atyuktyalaṅkâra.

Alaṅkara **atyukti** *yaha* *varanata atiśaya rûpa* ।
Yâchaka têrê dâna tê· *bhaê kalpa-taru, bhûpa* ॥ **193** ॥

Translation.

Exaggeration.

[Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*.]

Where a description is made in a manner which is excessive, it is **Exaggeration**; as for example : —

'O king, the very beggars (at thy door) through thy generosity have become trees of Plenty (granting every wish).'

[4] Comm. *upalakshaṇa kahai· kachhu aṁśa kari kai.*

[Other authors insist that the description must be surprising and literally untrue. Thus, Giridhara-dâsa (*Bhârati-bhûshaṇa*, 343) : —

Jaha· udâratâ śûratâ *virahâdika kî ukti* I
Adbhuta mithyâ hôi taha· *alaṅkâra atyukti* II **193a** II

It is Exaggeration, when a description of nobility, heroism, unhappy love or the like contains a statement which is at the same time surprising and untrue.

[**Vîpsâ — Repetition.**

Not in *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa*.

Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*. Defined in *Lâla-chandrikâ* (217), as follows : —

Sôraṭhâ I *Ikahi śabda bahu bâra* *adhikâî-hita vîpasâ* II **193b** II

The repetition of one word, for the sake of giving it a superlative force, is called **Repetition**, thus : —

Bihârî-sat'sai, 217 : —

Ha·si ha·si hêrati navala tiya· *mada kê mada umadâti* I
Balaki balaki bôlati vachana *lalaki lalaki lapaṭâti* II **193c** II

'The young bride exults in the drunkenness of joyful love, and laughing, laughing, looks around. Babbling,[5] babbling, does she utter words, and staggering, staggering, she falls upon her beloved's neck.'

Compare the 'Red, red rose' of English idiom.]

Text.

Niruktyalaṅkâra.

Sô **nirukti** *jaba yôga tê·* *artha kalpanâ âna* I
Uddhava kubjâ vaśa bhaê *nirguṇa wahai nidâna* II **194** II

Translation.

Derivative Meaning.

[Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*.]

It is the figure of **Derivation** when by reverting to the etymological meaning of a word, a secondary meaning can be arrived at ; as for example : —

'O Uddhava, if (Kṛishṇa) is indeed enamoured of Kubjâ, that is the end (to be expected) of one who is worthless.'

[Here if we take the word *nirguṇa* in its original meaning of 'devoid of quality,' hence 'the Supreme Deity,' we can translate the verse] : —

'O Uddhava, if (Kṛishṇa) is enamoured of Kubjâ, he is indeed The Supreme Deity.'

[The example of Padmâkara-bhaṭṭa (*Padmâbharaṇa*, 273) is better : —

Rakhata na hita kahu kâhu sô *vana vana karata vihâra* I
Yahai samujhi vidhi nai kiyô . *môhana nâma tumhâra* II **194a** II

'Thou art faithful to none, but wanderest sporting in the Forest. God knew this when he created thee, and gave thee thy name of Môhana (the bewilderer).']

[**Bhrânti — Error.**

Not in *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa*.

Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*. Bhûshaṇa-tripâṭhî (quoted in *An'war-chandrikâ*, 266) thus defines this figure :—

Bhrama chitta hôta âi I *Bhûshaṇa su bhrânti gâi* II **194b** II

[5] Lit., speaking indistinctly like one drunk. I am afraid that there is no doubt that the poet meant to represent the bride as not only figuratively but also literally drunk, and that he thought all the better of her for being so.

Bhûshaṇa sings that it is the figure of Error, when the intellect makes a mistake.

This figure is quite distinct from *bhrama* (62).

Example, *Bihârî-sat'saî*, 205 : —

Rahî pakari pâṭî su risa *bharê bhau'ha chita naina* ।
Lakhi sapanê piya âna-rati *jagata-hu lagati hiyai na* ॥ 194c ॥

'She grasped the side of the bedstead, her eyebrows, soul, and eyes all full of rage. For in a dream she saw her beloved in another's arms : — nay, even when she woke she would not nestle into his heart.']

Text.

Pratishêdhâlaṅkâra.

Sô **pratishêdha** *prasiddha jô* *artha nishêdhyau jâi* ।
Môhana kara muralî nahî' *hai kachhu baḍî balâi* ॥ 195 ॥

Translation.

Negation of Meaning.

[Not in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa.*]

It is the ornament of **Negation of Meaning,** when the ordinary meaning (of a word or sentence) is negatived ; as for example : —

'This is not a flute which is in Kṛishṇa's hand, it is some great calamity (which drives us frenzied with love).'

[Here the ordinary acceptation of the word *muralî, viz.*, 'flute,' is denied. Another example from the *Padmâbharaṇa*, 278, may be given : —

Rachî na madhu miśrî hutê' *so puni sudhâ tê' nâhi* ।
Lai adharana tê' madhuratâ *bharî su adharana mâhi* ॥ 195a ॥

'Honey was not made from candy, nor yet from nectar. Its sweetness was taken from thy lips, and then poured full into thy lips again.']

Text.

Vidhyalaṅkâra.

Alaṅkâra **vidhi** *s'iddha jô* *artha sâdhiyai' phêri* ।
Kôkila hai kôkila, jabai *ṛitu mê' karihai ṭêri* ॥ 196 ॥

Translation.

Corroboration of Meaning.

It is the **Corroboration of Meaning** when the ordinary meaning (of a word or sentence) is emphasized ; as for example : —

'The cuckoo will be indeed a cuckoo, when it utters its notes in (the spring) season.'

[Here the ordinary meaning of the word 'cuckoo' is emphasized.]

Text.

Hêtvalaṅkâra.

Hêtu-*alaṅkṛiti dôi, jaba* *kâraṇa kâraja saṅga* ।
Kâraṇa kâraja êka jaba *vastu êka-hî aṅga* ॥ 197 ॥
Udita bhayau śaśi mâninî *mâna miṭâwata mâni* ।
Mêri siddhi samṛiddhi yaha *têrî kṛipâ bakhâni* ॥ 198 ॥

Iti arthâlaṅkâra-nâma chaturthaḥ prakâśaḥ.

Translation.

The Cause.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 712. Where, however, only the second variety mentioned in the *Bhâshâbhûshaṇa* is found.]

The ornament of the Cause is of two kinds : —(*a*) In the first, the cause and its effect are represented as together. (*b*) In the second, when the cause of any thing is represented in identity with the effect ; as for example : —

(*a*) 'Proud Lady, hear my words. The moon is arisen and straightway dissipateth pride.'

[Here the cause of the disappearance of pride, the moon, and the effect, the disappearance, are represented as coincident. Or we may translate : —'Proud Lady, hear my words, thy pride (is arisen, and with it) the moon which dissipateth it.' Here the occurrence of pride is represented as causing the moon which dissipates it to arise. The pride is the cause, the rising of and the moon is the effect.]

(*b*) 'This, my success, my affluence, I declare to be thy favour.'

[Here the cause, the master's favor, is represented as in identity with its effect, — the success, etc., of the servant.]

End of the Fourth Lecture, entitled Ornaments of Sense ‖ 4 ‖

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY J. M. CAMPBELL, C.I.E., I.C.S.

PART I.

RELIGION.

CHAPTER I.

A.—SPIRIT-WORSHIP.

1. Ancestor-worship.

Ancestor-worship, says Mr. Herbert Spencer, is **the rudimentary form of religion. The first idea of a spirit was the soul of the dead,** and it seems to have been with the souls of the dead that the early man peopled the air, the earth, the water, the underground, and many plants and animals. **Among high class Hindus ancestor-worship is one of the most universal faiths.** Every orthodox Brâhman daily, after performing his *sandhyâ* (adoration) and *dêvapûjâ* (worship of household gods) and before taking his meals, offers *tarpan* (oblations of water) to his ancestors. Again, among the high and middle class Hindus, whenever any auspicious ceremony is performed, it is one of the essential parts of the ceremony that the ancestors should be invited and worshipped along with the gods, and generally a day or two before a wedding, or some other important ceremony, some Brâhmans and Brâhman women are fed in the name of the ancestors and *kuldêvatâs*, or family deities, in order that no evil may befall the family during the ceremony. Among the lower classes and ruder tribes of Hindus the family dead hold the place of the house, or village, god, if not of the chief god. The Dhôr Kâthkarîs of Thâna worship **the spirits of dead relations, which have become bhûts,** capable of entering the bodies of men.[1] The Vaitîs of Thâna worship a cocoanut in their houses as a representative of their ancestors,[2] and the Kônkanî Kunbîs of Kânara worship an unhusked cocoanut as their ancestor.[3] The Kânara Attê Kunbîs worship an unhusked cocoanut on a platform in the

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[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII. p. 165. [2] *Op. cit.* Vol. XIII. p. 182. [3] *Op. cit.* Vol. XV. p. 217.

cooking-room as an ancestor. Among them the spirit of the man who dies an accidental death is supposed to wander. The spirit is kept to the village boundary by the offering of a cock.[4] The Hâlvakkî Vâkkals, an early tribe of Kanarese husbandmen, worship *balindra*, their ancestral cocoanut, by bathing it with water, rubbing it with sandal paste, offering it flowers, and waving a lighted lamp before it.[5] The Bhîls of Khândêsh worship the spirits of their ancestors, and believe in sorcery, witchcraft, and omens. Most of them pay a special reverence to the female spirits called *mâtâs*, or the mothers.[6] Among the Bîjâpur Ambigs, or Kabligers, on the fifth, or other odd, month after a death, if the dead be a man, a mask, or, if the dead be a woman, a top-like vessel, is brought and laid among the house gods and worshipped.[7] The Sûryavaṁśî Lâds of Bîjâpur, on the eleventh day after a death, get a silver image of the dead made, and, with other ancestral images, carry it to a stream-bank and worship it.[8] The Belgaum Kunbîs worship copper pots filled with water as representatives of their ancestors.[9] The Râmôśîs of Belgaum worship their ancestors.[10] In the Gujarât Pànch Mahâls the household deity of the Bhôîs is Mêldî Mâtâ, a dead woman of the house, who helps them when they wish to avenge themselves on a rival [11] The Gujarât Chârans often wear round the neck a golden mask of one of their ancestors, and among the Gujarât Bhaṅgiâs the only household god is the image of a woman who has been possessed.[12] The Central Provinces Gonds people the forests, hills, valleys and trees with Gonds.[13] They worship Sânâlk, or the dead who comes into the office of ministrant, or *pujârî*.[14] The Naikada Gonds worship the family dead on the third day after a death and on every Saturday and feast day;[15] and the Halwâs, an early class of Gonds, also worship the ancestors,[16] and the *dôma*, a dead man, and the *sanî*, a dead woman.[17] The Sonthâls sacrifice fowls and sheep to ancestors.[18] In Eastern Bengal the important tribe of Bhûiyâs worship *vîras*, or dead ancestors;[19] and ancestor-worship also prevails among the Nâgêswârs and the Karens.[20] Further west the Kôchs, or Kôcchs, of Kûch Bihâr worship their ancestors and offer them fruit,[21] and the Kôls bring back the soul of the dead as a household spirit.[22] The Khonds of Ganjam in North Madras, think an ancestor is re-born in a child.[23] The Poliars, formerly a slave class in Malabâr, worship the good dead as Erikapeni, and the bad dead as Kuli, and make offerings to both.[24] The Panians, a wild tribe near the Wynaad, call good spirits *kulis* and bad spirits *pênês*. They lay out rice, cocoanut and liquor on the ground, and call on the spirits to receive the offerings.[25] The Arriyans, or Malai-arasar, of South Travankor worship ancestors and local spirits who live in peaks, trees and great rocks.[26] Sir W. Elliot mentions the case of a woman in Masulipatam, who was believed to have been murdered by her husband coming and entering into women and demanding her husband. The woman afterwards became a goddess, and was worshipped.[27] The Malabâr fishermen, known as Mukuas, worship the spirits called Paisâchîs, and respect a class of exorcists called Kunian.[28] The Kurubarus, properly shepherds and blanket-weavers, one of the leading Kanarese tribes, worship *vîrikâs*, the spirits of unmarried ancestors. Red cloth, molasses, and rice are offered every year to them. If the feast is omitted, the *vîrikâs* get angry, send sickness and horrid dreams, kill sheep, and strike people on the back when they walk at night. They are appeased by a feast.[29] The worship of unfriendly spirits, or demons, is most typical among the South Indian Shânârs. The spirit is called Pai, or Pê.[30] Sir W. Elliot says this demon-worship has infected all the religious systems of India. The Brâhmans abhor it, but in sickness conform

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[4] *Op. cit.* Vol. XV. p. 249.
[5] *Op. cit.* Vol. XV. p. 203.
[6] *Op. cit.* Vol. XII. p. 93.
[7] *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 117.
[8] *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 173.
[9] *Op. cit.* Vol. XXI. p. 124.
[10] *Op. cit.* Vol. XXI. p. 124.
[11] From MS. notes.
[12] From MS. notes.
[13] Hislop, *Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, p. 4.
[14] *Op. cit.* App. I.
[15] *Op. cit.* p. 25.
[16] *Op. cit.* p. 21.
[17] *Op. cit.* App. III.
[18] *Jour. Ethno. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 106.
[19] Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 139.
[20] *Op. cit.* pp. 117, 132.
[21] *Op. cit.* p. 91.
[22] Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 152.
[23] Macpherson's *Khonds*, p. 56.
[24] Buchanan's *Mysore*, Vol. II. p. 492.
[25] *Op. cit.* p. 496.
[26] *Jour. Ethno. Soc.* New Series, Vol. I. p. 109.
[27] *Op. cit.* p. 116.
[28] Buchanan's *Mysore*, Vol. II. p. 528.
[29] *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 397.
[30] *Jour. Ethno. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 115.

to it.[31] In Maisor the Idigas, a Telugu class of palm-tappers worship *vîrikâs*, or the spirits of unmarried men.[32] The Telugu Bêdarus of North-East Maisor believe that the spirits of the unmarried dead, or *vîrikâs*, come back, and threaten evil if they are not worshipped. Images are carved, or rather rude shapeless stones are set up, oiled and kept in a hollow cairn of stones, and offerings of rice and cloth are made to them.[33] The Lali-Gundârus, a class of Maisor husbandmen, pray to the spirits of the good dead who send dreams.[34] The Wakalgarus, another very large class, believe that the good dead warn in dreams.[35] In Maisor the Gollarus, a Telugu tribe, sacrifice to the spirits of the good dead.[36] The Kunsa Vakaligarus, a class of Karnâṭak husbandmen, think that the spirit of the good becomes a kind of god and warn men in dreams. Bad men become devils, but have no power over men.[37] The Koramas of Maisor worship a male deity named Muni, and make him presents of fowls, pigs, goats, and sheep.[38] In Maisor the *ammas*, or mothers, are very largely worshipped by the lower classes; and their priests, as a rule, belong to the impure tribes. Lingâyats, and even Brâhmans in danger, sometimes make (blood) offerings to the mothers.[39] The *ammas*, or mothers, are the great objects of worship among the lower class Hindus of South India.[40] Whenever a Brâhman meets with good fortune he must perform a memorial service to his ancestors.[41]

In Central Asia the Kafirs of the Hindu Kush believe that many of their idols were once men and women.[42] They leave an open space in their line of battle, that there may be room for the dead heroes to join the conflict and fight on their side.[43] The Burmans worship spirits named *nàts*, and make them offerings of water, fruit, oil, lamps, and morsels of food. The chief Burman spirit is called Tagaung. He was formerly a king.[44] Numerous early tribes in Burma scattered among the Buddhist Burmans, such as Karens, Kachins and others, have no worship but *nàt* or spirit-worship.[45] Ancestor and hero-worship is the basis of the Chinese religion.[46] The Chinese make such prayers to their ancestors as a Christian makes to God — grace to pass safely through life and to prepare for eternal glory. In times of trouble they go and consult their ancestors.[47] Filial piety, which, after the death of parents, assumes the form of ancestral worship, must be considered the central doctrine of the system of Confucius, and is regarded at present as the national religion of China.[48] The worship of ancestors is one of the chief branches of the religion of the Chinese.[49] The Japanese *kamis*, or gods in Shinto temples, were dead ancestors, chiefly emperors.[50] The *kamis*, or guardian spirits of Japan, are (dead) men.[51]

The Australians have no religion, except the ghosts of the dead and demons. Caves, thickets and pools of water are supposed to be haunted by the spirits of the dead.[52] The dead are worshipped in New Zealand.[53] The Negritos of the Philippine Islands hold the dead in great reverence. For years they offer tobacco at the tomb, and hang the bow and arrow of the dead over the grave, and think he goes a-shooting.[54] Among the people of the Hervey Islands, after a chief died, his head was cut off, and a cocoanut laid in his grave, and the head was set in the bow of a ship, and was prayed to in bad weather.[55] The Polynesians, Fijians, Malays and

31 *Op. cit., loc. cit.*
32 Buchanan's *Mysore* (1800 A. D.), Vol. I. p. 395.
33 *Op. cit.* p. 359.
34 *Op. cit.* p. 350.
35 *Op. cit.* p. 350.
36 *Op. cit.* p. 348.
37 *Op. cit.* p. 349.
38 *Op. cit.* p. 250.
39 *Op. cit.* pp. 242, 243.
40 Caldwell in Balfour's *Hindus*.

41 Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I. p. 204. It appears that, like the Hindu practice, the dread of the jealousy and ill-will of the dead is at the root of the Chinese practice of ennobling the father of a man, who deserves well of his country, instead of ennobling the man himself.

42 Elph. *Cabul*, Vol. II. p. 377.
43 *Op. cit., loc. cit.*

44 Shway Yoe's *The Burman*, Vol. I. pp. 279, 280. [Nearly all the *nàts* are historical personages, who have become spirits. — ED.]

45 *Op. cit.* p. 276.
46 *Jour. Ethno. Soc.* Vol. II. p. 21.
47 Gray's *China*, Vol. I. p. 322.
48 *Op. cit.* p. 79.
49 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 118.
50 Reed's *Japan*, Vol. II. p. 141.
51 *Manners and Customs of the Japanese*, p. 337.
52 Wallace's *Australasia*, p. 100.
53 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 174.
54 Earl's *Papuans*, p. 132.
55 Gill's *Polynesia*, p. 104.

New Caledonians worship dead and more remote ancestors as gods.[56] The people of the Marian Group, or Philippine Islands, have an extraordinary veneration for ancestors, not out of love, but out of fear. They keep their skulls in their houses and call on them in time of need.[57] The people of the Solomon Islands say all spirits were men.[58] In Melanesia one great class of spirits is the ghosts of men.[59]

Some tribes in Central South Africa pray to the departed chiefs and relations.[60] In Africa the spirits of men are the Zulus' deities.[61] In East Africa graves of chiefs strewn with broken earthenware, and also with huts built over them with a centre post of cactus tree, are common.[62] The Bongos of the White Nile make images in wood of their dead chiefs and of their wives and children, and adore them.[63] The only god of the Shillooks of the White Nile is an ancestor who brought them to their present settlement.[64] In Madagascar a divinity is ascribed to ancestors. They are said to have gone to be gods, and are invoked in prayers immediately after the Supreme Being.[65] The god of the Hottentots is their great chief,[66] and when they are in trouble they pray at their ancestors' graves.[67] The worship of ancestors is found both in North and in South America.[68] Some tribes eat the ashes of their fathers to whom they pay divine honours.[69] The Romans worshipped their house-fathers and their tribe-fathers as Lares and Manes, and in their honour held the Parentilia Festival.[70]

A main ground for the belief in the return of ancestors was the likeness of children to the dead. The Kônkan Kunbîs and even Brâhmans believe that the dead ancestors sometimes come into children, and so in many cases children are named after their grandfathers or grandmothers. Among Gujarât Musalmâns, if a child is naughty or peevish, its mother or nurse says: "Its kind has come on its head."[71] It is the belief of the Khonds that an ancestor comes back in a child.[72] Among the American Indians, when a man dies the medium puts his hands on the head of one of the mourners, and the spirit of the dead enters him, ready to appear in his next offspring.[73] Among the Laplanders of Europe, an ancestral spirit tells the mother that he has come into the child, and directs her to call the child by his name.[74]

2. Ancestors become Guardians.

1. *Spirits as Guardians.*

If the first feeling towards the ghostly dead was fear, the wars between rival families and rival tribes must have given rise to the idea that **the gallant dead were the guardians of the living.**[75] Visions of warriors, as in later times, would appear and turn the scale in a fight. **From faith in the family head, or in the chief of the clan, flowed the great body of guardian**

[56] Spencer's *Princ. of Sociology*, Vol. I. p. 308.

[57] *Careri in Churchill*, Vol. IV. p. 468.

[58] *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. X. p. 303.

[59] *Op. cit.* Vol. X. pp. 267, 300.

[60] Livingstone's *Travels in South Africa*, p. 605.

[61] Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. pp. 21, 113, 116.

[62] Cameron's *Across Africa*, Vol. I. p. 49.

[63] Schweinfurth's *Heart of Africa*, Vol. I. p. 285.

[64] *Op. cit.* p. 91.

[65] Sibree's *Madagascar*, p. 249.

[66] Hahn's *Tsuni Goam*, p. 39.

[67] *Op. cit.* p. 113.

[68] Bancroft, Vol. III. p. 517; Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. pp. 113, 114.

[69] Bancroft, Vol. III. p. 316.

[70] Pliny's *Natural History*.

[71] From MS. notes.

[72] Macpherson's *Khonds*, p. 56.

[73] Bancroft, Vol. III. p. 517.

[74] Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 4. [For the spread of belief and in ancestor and spirit worship among Indian Muhammadans see that admirable little book, Crooke's *Introd. to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, p. 118 ff. : and my *Legends of the Panjab, passim*, wherever a saint-legend occurs. — ED.]

[75] The idea of guardian spirits is perhaps due to the earliest belief that the dead fight with the living against their enemies. Compare the Portuguese, who, in their Indian fights, often saw crosses in the air, and at different times Moorish persons asked who the beautiful young women and the venerable old men were, who appeared in the front of the Portuguese squadrons. The Portuguese, who saw no such persons, were thus taught to believe themselves under the particular care of the Virgin and St. Joseph (Mickle's *Lusiad*, Vol. I. p. clxiii.). So the guardian God of the Jews, when they went into Canaan, went with them to fight for them against their enemies (*Deuter.* xx. 4).

spirits, — the Vaishnava or protecting element in many faiths, — the origin of family badges, the Hindu *dêvak*, the American *totem*, the Australian *dobong*.

One result of the guardian, or dual type, of religion — Zoroastrianism, Vaishnavism, Buddhism, and Christianity — was to increase the power and the fear of unfriendly spirits; the greater the evil to be warded, the higher the value of the guardian. None of the higher faiths seems so suited to foster magic as Buddhism. Its ascetic morality, its deification of dread, and its want of a controlling guardian, made practical Buddhism a fight between fiends and magic. The Jain *gôrjîs* are the only body of priests in Western India, whose chief function is exorcisim.[76] Among the Kirântîs, or Kirâtîs (calling themselves Khombos and Kirâwas) on the Bhutân and Nêpâl borders are exorcists, who wander dressed as Buddhist priests, dance and cast out devils.[77] The Lepchas of East Bengal, who are Buddhists, have priests who are medicine men, exorcists and directors of feasts in honour of evil spirits.[78] The Buddhist Bhutiâs of Bhutân believe in a countless host of spirits, and make them offerings of flowers and rags.[79] In North Bhutân the Buddhist priests are the doctors of the people. Exorcism is the only system of treatment.[80] Brâhmans have despised this power of exorcism, trusting to 'Siva, the ruler of spirits; and among Lingâyats the wearing of the *ling* frees from the fear of spirits.

The following examples support the view that the family dead were the first guardians. The Komârpâiks of Kânara believe that the spirits of their ancestors become guardians of their houses. They make offerings of fowls and sheep to these guardian spirits on the last day of Dasarâ.[81] The Havig Brâhmans of Kânara, on their marriage and other auspicious occasions, worship the eight *mâtrikâs*, or mothers, and the *pitris*, or ancestral spirits who are considered as guardians.[82] The Attê Vakkals offer a cock to the guardian spirits, or *nas*.[83] The guardians of the Shenvâ Tîrs, or Shindâs, of Gujarât is Bhildîmâtâ, a woman of the house.[84] The Central Provinces Kols bring back the souls of the dead to be worshipped as house spirits.[85] The guardian of the Kurs, or Muâsîs, of West Bengal is the spirit of a dead chief.[86] The Buniyâs of the Central Provinces leave a dish of flour on the tomb, and going back search for the print of a fowl's foot. The print shows that the dead is pleased, and has come as a guardian.[87] The Bhûiyâs, a Turanian or Drâvidian Bengal tribe, worship the sun as a guardian, calling it Vîrâ, or Mahâbîr, the heroic dead.[88] The Orissa Khonds had the country full of guardian spirits.[89] The guardian of the Central Provinces Gonds is a dead man.[90] The worship of a dead ancestor as a guardian is recorded from all parts of the world.[91] Among the Hindus the whole dinner has first to be offered to the guardian. They put morsels of food in five places.[92] The Veddas of Ceylon think the dead are guardians.[93] In Burma people are buried alive at the gates of cities, in order that they may become guardians and hover about the gates and bring harm on strangers.[94] In Burma certain *nâts* (spirits) are considered as the guardians of the empire.[95] The Bghai Karens of Burma have one or more stones as household gods, to which they offer a cock. They say: "If we do not give them blood, they will eat us."[96] The Chinese have a female guardian spirit called Kum Fa, a deified woman, who presides over child-birth and diseases.[97] In Japan, in front of Shinto temples, many fowls are offered to guardian gods.[98] The Melanesians of the Pacific have champion stones in the house associated with some dead person.[99] The ancestral guardian is worshipped in Tasmania, New Zealand and Madagascar. The

76 From MS. notes.
77 Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 104.
78 *Op. cit.* p. 101. [*Cf.* also "Demonolatry in Sikhim Lamaism," *ante*, p. 197 ff. — ED.]
79 *Op. cit.* p. 97.
80 *Op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*
81 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XV. pp. 288, 291.
82 *Op. cit.* Vol. XV. p. 125.
83 *Op. cit.* Vol. XV. p. 251.
84 From MS. notes.
85 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 152.
86 Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 232.
87 *Op. cit.* p. 148.
88 *Op. cit.* p. 147.
89 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 187.
90 Hislop's *Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, App. III.
91 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 113.
92 Ward's *View of the Hindus*, Vol. II. p. 34.
93 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 117.
94 Shway Yoe's *The Burman*, Vol. I. p. 286.
95 *Op. cit.* p. 197.
96 Fytche's *Burmah*, Vol. I. p. 355.
97 Gray's *China*, Vol. I. p. 164.
98 Reed's *Japan*, Vol. I. p. 62.
99 *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. X. p. 276.

belief is strong among the South African Zulus.[100] Among all the nations of the Zulu country it is a custom that on starting for a war, or a hunt, the chief sacrifices to the spirit of his immediate ancestor. It is to the humour of this capricious spirit that every degree of success or failure is due.[1] The Papuans of New Guinea have an idol called Kaiwai. This seems to be the guardian spirit of each person. When a man dies, the guardian is abused, and is set over the grave, and left there to rot.[2] In America the Hyperboreans hold that men who die a natural death become guardians.[3] The Dacota Indians take a round stone, paint it red, call it grandfather, and pray to it as a guardian.[4] The Roman Catholics believe in an angel guardian, who keeps off danger, and warns and stirs to good.[5]

One of the early phases of the guardian theory was that there were guardian animals. Guardian animals were of two kinds: animals whose habits suggested that they held the spirits of the dead — the cock, the crow, the snake, the monkey, the rat. Another class of animals seem to owe their position as guardians to the fact that they were man-eaters, whose spirits staying in their living tomb made the eaters kindly disposed to men, or at least spirit-scarers. Thus, in North Kânara the important cultivating class of Halvâkkî Vakkals, an early and wide-spread tribe, is divided into eight clans, each of which has a separate clan god, or guardian spirit, and a name-giving article which they do not eat. Thus the Kadanballîs do not eat the *sâmbar*, or stag, called *kadave* in Kanarese. The Bargalballîs do not eat the deer (*bârgâ*), and the Kuntiballis do not eat the woodcock.[6] The reason why they do not eat these animals is probably that they are considered as guardians. The Vâydâs of Kachch worship the monkey god, who is considered as their ancestor,[7] and to please him, in their marriage ceremony, the bridegroom goes to the bride's house dressed as a monkey, and there leaps about in monkey fashion.[8] The guardian spirit of the Kurs, or Muâsîs, of West Bengal is Gansâm, a Gond chief, who was eaten by a tiger.[9] Among the Central Province Gonds, Bâghdêv, the tiger-god, is a man, who has been eaten by a tiger.[10] The Malays hold that the spirits of dead men go into tigers.[11] In the Hervey Islands one clan held birds sacred, and another the land crab.[12] The Africans believed that men went into snakes and monkeys,[13] and the American Indians thought men went into the bear, wolf, tortoise and deer.[14]

Under the head of animal-worship it will be shewn that these animals were all held to be guardians and spirit-scarers. Similarly several of the spirit-scaring or guardian plants and trees, as the betel and cocoanut, are used to represent ancestors. Among the depressed Gujarât Shindâs, Bhildî Mâtâ, the family guardian, lives in a cocoanut.[15] Guardian spirits need not always be friendly or well-disposed, they may have been neglected, and so be angry, and have to be appeased by offerings. Again, guardians are not always, and they were not at first, satisfied with milk, flowers and fruits — lifeless offerings. They were accustomed to other food in their life: they were used to worry[16] enemies, and, therefore, their strength must be kept up. This seems the reason why Lakshmî was till lately in Bombay, and is still in outlying places, pleased with blood offerings — cocks, goats, and even buffaloes.

(To be continued.)

[100] Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. pp. 113-115.

[1] Gardiner's *Zulu Country*, p. 314.

[2] Earl's *Papuans*, p. 85.

[3] Bancroft, Vol. III. pp. 516, 576.

[4] Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 161.

[5] *Golden Manual*, p. 139.

[6] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XV. p. 203.

[7] *Op. cit.* Vol. V. p. 50.

[8] *Op. cit., loc. cit.*

[9] Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 232.

[10] Hislop's *Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, App. III.

[11] Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 233.

[12] Gill's *Polynesia*, p. 9.

[13] Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 233.

[14] *Op. cit., loc. cit.*

[15] From MS. notes.

[16] In Melanesia ancestral spirits are often asked to worry a rival (*Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. X. p. 286). Worrying spirits are of two kinds: a neglected guardian and a dead man come back to claim property (Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 130). The Khonds believe that sickness is caused by an angry guardian (Macpherson's *Khonds*, p. 75). So among the Romans when the *parentilia*, or dead festival, was not kept, Rome was heated with funeral fires, a ghastly crowd thronged the streets and howled (Ovid's *Fasti*, Vol. II. p. 566).

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT NATESA SASTRI, B. A., M. F. L. S.

No. 38. — *The Talisman of Chastity.*

In the land of **Akhaṇḍakâvêrî** there reigned a king, named **Vîradêva.** He had an **only daughter,** named **Ambikâ.** She was his only hope, and so he brought her up very tenderly. Nor was her education neglected on that account, as is usually the case with spoilt children. She was put to school at a very tender age, and was very carefully educated. Every day she rose up early from her bed and devoted her whole time to her studies. It was a very hard routine that she had to undergo, attending upon various teachers and receiving instruction from them, for they were numerous. Indeed there was a professor employed for each of the sixty-four departments of knowledge — *chatus shashṭhi kalâs.* So ardent was her desire to acquire knowledge, — so great was her thirst for it, that she drank deep at the fountain, and before she attained to mature age she became a great *paṇḍitâ.* Of all the sixty-four **teachers** presiding over her tuition, there was **one whom she specially venerated,** for he deserved it. To him she gave the best of her love. He had instructed her the most, and rightly deserved the extreme veneration in which he was held by his royal student.

When Ambikâ had almost completed her education, it was time for her to retire from the company of her much venerated masters, and shut herself up in the closely guarded rooms of her palace, as became a royal maiden. She therefore proceeded to the house of each of her teachers to take leave of them in person. Everywhere she found a ready welcome. The usual presents were exchanged; advice was freely given; and the parting was joyous and pleasant. Then, after taking leave of her minor teachers, she reached the house of the great master whom she held in such veneration. When the usual presents were placed before him, he said: —

"My dear Ambikâ, it was not for these presents and flimsy nothings that I took so much care of you. **My fee is an embrace from you,** not now, — but, on the first day of your nuptials with your lawful husband, whoever he may be. On that busy day, when the festivities are over, and when you are ready to enter your lord's rooms, you must take leave of him for a short time and visit me in this house with all your nuptial decorations and allow me to embrace you first. This is the fee I demand for all my trouble on account of your education, and no other fee will I accept."

Thus spoke the master, and **Ambikâ nodded assent** to his demand, for she was so mad in her veneration for his learning, that she overlooked his moral character. She perceived his meanness and depravity, as in reality she had strong ideas on morality and chastity; but her childish veneration for the man made her consent, and she promised to visit him on her wedding day as ordered. Without any ill-will towards him she returned home, and thence remained shut up according to the custom of the country, expecting her wedding.

A princess, so learned and so beautiful, could not have long to wait for marriage. **The prince of the Pâṇḍiyas soon sought her hand,** and, as usual, the marriage was celebrated in the capital of Akhaṇḍakâvêrî. Great were the preparations. Grand were the ceremonies. The busy day was drawing to a close. The night had set in. The preparations for ushering in the bride and bridegroom were gone through; but, as Ambikâ was just on the point of entering her lord's room, she made some signs to her mother, as if she wanted to retire for five or ten minutes for some urgent reason.

The princess thereupon disappeared in the twinkling of an eye, and vanished like lightning among the clouds. She had already planned a secret way for her escape, and for the faithful execution of her promise to her master. All this she had done for herself. No second soul knew anything about it. With the rapidity of lightning she flew to her master's house and knocked at his door, and he knowing well, that it was the day of the princess's marriage, was all agog to test Ambikâ's faithfulness. At the first knock he came out suddenly and opened the door,

and, in reality to his amazement, found the princess standing in all her wedding attire before him. Now, this man was the noblest of human beings and had all along perceived that **Ambikâ had the greatest regard for a promise. His indecent demand was merely a strong test** to examine her. He bowed himself at her feet, and, instead of meeting a tutor come to ravish her and make her life a burden to her, she heard a voice from the ground :—

"My noble Ambikâ, never hereafter take me for a vile brute. My demand was only made to test your power of keeping a promise. Return home at once, and repose happily by the side of your husband. Till now you were my daughter by the rules of tutorship. From this night you are my mother."

Thus said the master, and showering his blessings on her, requested her to return in haste to the palace. Ambikâ, overjoyed and extremely pleased at heart at her adventure and her unsullied reputation, returned as quickly as she had left. But for all that, the time had been longer than she had expected, and her beating heart and profuse perspiration roused the suspicions of **her husband.** And, as usual, with young princes, **he suspected her chastity at once.** At their very first meeting there was a quarrel.

"Where did you go for so long ?" asked he.

"Only to the back of the palace," said Ambikâ.

"So !" said the husband. "Till I have more confidence in your chastity, I shall not sleep by your side. Sleep in a distant cot. Never approach me," roared the enraged prince.

"My lord ! I am as chaste as pure milk. I have never known any one till now. If it is my fate that I should be thus suspected, I shall bear it without any murmur and wait for your lordship's pleasure to regain your confidence. I agree to your lordship's hard condition," replied Ambikâ, and calmly waited upon her husband.

The prince was unbendable. His suspicion was very strong, and it was not easily to be overcome. All Ambikâ's explanations were in vain. But she did not utter a syllable about her promise to her tutor, dwelling only upon her purity of conduct. There was no other place to go to ; so she had to sleep apart from her husband in the same room. Thus the first night passed away ; and so the second, and third — a week — a month. Every night the prince and princess retired to their bed-chamber, and slept on different beds. To the outer world they seemed very loving and affectionate to each other ; but in their hearts they knew their extreme misery.

When the first month was over the prince requested his father-in-law to permit him to return to Pâṇḍiyadêśa with his wife. The lord of Akhaṇḍakâvêrî readily gave his consent, and sent off his son-in-law and Ambikâ with suitable presents and other things becoming to the occasion, and himself accompanied the prince and his daughter for three days on their journey to Pâṇḍiyadêśa. Then the father-in-law took his leave, and bent his way back to his kingdom. The prince and Ambikâ, after a journey of a few more days, reached his home, and the old-king gave them a suitable welcome, and all the usual festivities were conducted **at Madura,** the capital of the Pâṇḍiyas. Here, too, no one knew of the difference that existed between the prince and his newly married wife. Every one took them to be the happiest of newly married pairs. They slept in the same room, though not on the same cot, regularly for two full months.

During this long interval of three months and more, the prince had been closely watching Ambikâ. The more he tested her, the more the force of his suspicions began to decline. Her patient conduct, her close application to her books, her profound learning and deep experience, her most correct behaviour towards himself, notwithstanding his unkindness towards her, the unabated affection she shewed him, and a thousand other little matters came before him to upbraid him for his brutal conduct towards her, till, one night, he spoke to her thus : —

"Ambikâ, will you, now at least, tell me the truth ? Tell me plainly that you are not unchaste. Whatever may have been your previous course of life, I shall gladly excuse you. Be true now, and utter no lie."

Replied Ambikâ:—"My most noble lord. I have not till now known any person. It is very unkind of you to harbour such suspicions of me. I am as chaste as chastity itself."

Said the prince:—"You are chaste because I watch you so carefully. Who knows what you may be if you are left to yourself?"

Said Ambikâ:—"If this idea had been lingering in your mind, why did you not, my lord, mention it long ago to me? You may leave me here and disappear for any period of time you like. I shall never think of any being in this world but yourself. I shall ever continue to be your loyal wife, however hardly you may behave to me."

Said the prince:—"What guarantee is there to me that you will always continue chaste? Give me some proof by which I may know, wherever I may be, that you are chaste."

"Agreed," said the wife, and took out from her box a garland of lotuses. "This is the test of my chastity. This was given to me by my mother as soon as I came to understand. The moment the flowers fade, you must know that my chastity is lost, and that as long as these flowers retain their freshness I am chaste. You can take it with you, and roam over the whole world with a calm mind, never harbouring any anxiety as to my conduct; for when you perceive the colour and freshness of these flowers to fade, you will know that I have lost my reputation."

The husband took the garland, for had his wife told him an untruth and said that she was impure, he would easily have forgiven her. But her denial increased his suspicions and he intended to try his best to test her: to regain her with increased love if she withstood the trial: to banish her for all her assumed goodness if she was really bad. With these thoughts in his mind the prince said to her:—

"You seem to be a more and more curious woman every time I examine you. Do you practise magic to deceive people? What! These are merely ordinary lotuses, and if they are fresh now, they will fade tomorrow."

"Keep them, my lord, for some days before you judge of them. As for your statement, I swear by every thing that I hold sacred that I know of no magic, except the magic of being chaste and obedient to my husband, and I have confidence that that magic will one day remove all your doubts and make you love me all the more for your doubts now," said Ambikâ.

The husband knew not what to say; so he took the garland and locked it up in his box. He kept it with him for some days in Madura, and every morning when he left his bed he examined it, and to his surprise, which daily increased, he found it unchanged in color and freshness. He now resolved upon a plan to put his wife under the severest of conditions for testing her fidelity; and thus spoke to her:—

"My Ambikâ! you must leave this roof to-morrow. I intend sending you to the east end of this town to a ruined choultry, with your maid-servants to take care of you. They will bring you every morning from the palace two measures of rice with other necessaries to live upon. You must live there, while I go on a pilgrimage to Bânâras to wash away my sins for having married an unchaste wife. With your own money — and I do not know how you will get it — you must build a 'Saiva temple opposite to the choultry, must become pregnant of a son, through me and unknown to myself, before my return to this city. I shall be absent for two years. Till you perform successfully all these conditions, I shall never call you my wife, nor imagine you to be chaste."

"Agreed," said Ambikâ. "I am sure that my chastity will successfully help me in all these undertakings.[1] With the talisman of my chastity in your hands you can go

[1] *Cf.* Milton's *Comus* (420-437):—

'Tis chastity, my brother, chastity;
She that has that is clad in complete steel.
* * * * *
No goblin or swart faery of the mine
Hath hurtful power o'er true virginity.

wherever you like. I shall contrive to live in the humble house selected for me by my lord as happily as in this palace. It is the mind that makes the house happy."

Thus said Ambikâ, without in the least fearing her change of dwelling. Her husband admired her perseverance, but firmly made up his mind to put her to this most severe test. With his mind thus made up, he approached his father the next morning, and disclosed to him the secret about his wife's conduct, which he had till then kept to himself. He never told the old man a word about the talisman, nor his conditions to his wife, but proposed a pilgrimage to Bânâras with the double object of forgetting his past miseries and of searching for a better wife. The father tried his best to dissuade the son from his project.

"Remain at home, and I shall find you a better wife," said he.

But the son was already resolved. He sent Ambikâ that very morning to the choultry with four maid-servants to attend upon her, and every morning one of them had to come to the palace to receive the dole of rice.

Ambikâ bravely faced her new life, hopeful of successfully performing all her husband's conditions; but for a time she was wholly at a loss as to how to do it. She was now very miserable, — an out-cast of womankind, a suspected woman, — living on the charity of the prince. So the outer world took her to be. She had neither money, nor friends, nor influence and she feared that she might be closely watched without in the least knowing it.

As for the prince, the greater the distance he travelled the more his heart turned back to his wife, for the talisman, which he daily examined, indicated his wife's chastity. Now and then a strong desire came over him to turn back and embrace his loyal and faithful wife; but at other times a headstrong stupidity to see how his wife would execute his hard conditions impelled him on his course. Thus he travelled for a month and reached Vijayânagara.

The king of Vijayânagara was a bad man. His pride was in having many wives, and his motto was that no woman in the world was chaste. The Pâṇḍiya prince reached the court, and, in a conversation about the chastity of the women of different parts of India, dwelt at length on the fidelity of his wife, and produced the talisman as a proof of it. The king of Vijayânagara called him a great fool for putting so much trust in womankind, and promised to send one of his ministers to Madura to ruin the woman he extolled so much, and whose talisman he possessed.

"Agreed," said the prince; and a minister was at once despatched to Madura.

Now he was one of the most depraved of human beings, whose sole object of life was to gain the favour of his master by doing his dirty work for him. He attired himself like a vendor of pearls and precious stones, and with a good quantity of these articles proceeded to Madura, which he reached soon. He took up his abode in tne eastern quarter, and in a small house he opened his shop for vending gems and pearls. Crowds began to collect, and these goods, which were very valuable, were purchased now and then by the few rich people in the place. The news spread throughout the town that a merchant with a fine stock had arrived from the north, and that he was exposing good stuff for sale. Few bought, for the articles were of high value, but the whole town congregated there to see the fine goods.

About a month after the arrival of the merchant, the people, ceased to pour into the shop to take a look at the goods, and only those who really wanted to purchase went there. So on a certain day, when there was no one there except Dêvî, a maid-servant of Ambikâ, who had come out of curiosity, the pretended merchant thus spoke to her:—

"Good woman, may I know who you are?"

She replied:—"I am a poor woman. Servant to the princess of Akhaṇḍakâvêrî, who is undergoing punishment."

"Who is this princess? What is her story? Why is she undergoing punishment?" the merchant asked, as if he knew nothing about her.

The maid-servant related what little she knew, but all she knew was that Ambikâ was suspected, and that her husband, the prince, was punishing her for unfaithfulness. When he had heard all she had to say the merchant, as if a new thought had dawned upon his mind, thus replied:—

"Then it is already established that her character is bad. If you but aid me in seeing her for a night, I shall in return make over to you, or to her, my whole property. That may also relieve you from your present miseries. Nothing will be lost thereby. The reputation of the princess is already tainted."

The maid-servant did not know what reply to make. But the merchant, by his winning conversation, soon made her agree to talk upon the subject to the princess; and with this mission she went away. At first she did not know what to do. How to open the subject was the great difficulty she felt, but she was somewhat emboldened by the thought that Ambikâ was already a suspected character. At last she told her everything.

Ambikâ listened to what the maid-servant had to say very attentively, and, taking her into her confidence, related to her in detail every part of her miserable life — her pure unsullied character, the cruelty of her husband, the vow, and so on.

Ambikâ then continued: — "My kind Dêvî, from to-day you must lend me all your help to enable me to fulfil my vows, for to-day I make you the chief of my maid-servants. To secure us funds for the raising of the Śaiva temple, the suggestion of the pearl-merchant has provided us with means. He wants to sleep with a princess. Let him have his wish, and let my character still remain unimpaired. **What if we decorate one of the maid-servants in all my ornaments and pass her off for me for a night?** I can easily wear her clothes for the night. By doing thus, the pearl-merchant will be duped, the funds required will be secured, and my character will remain unsullied. So run you to the merchant and tell him that he shall have his desire fulfilled this very night."

Dêvî pitied Ambikâ for all that she had related to her, and, resolving within herself to do her best to assist the poor princess, at once arranged everything with one of her co-servants, and ran to the pearl-merchant. He was delighted to hear that matters were settled so easily, and was full of hope that he would the next day carry the news to Vijayânagara as to how pure a princess Ambikâ was; so he hastened that very night to Ambikâ's quarters. He spent the night with a maid-servant in the belief that the woman he slept with was the princess, and the next morning, quite in keeping with his promise, he made over to Dêvî all the wealth he had with him, in return for her assistance, and left Madura. He journeyed for a fortnight, and reaching Vijayânagara, informed his monarch that his mission was successfully accomplished, and that the princess was no better than other women. In proof he shewed one or two ornaments of the princess, which he had carefully brought with him. They were, no doubt, the ornaments of the princess, which the maid-servant had worn on the night on which she slept with the emissary. **These proofs were quite enough to convince the Pâṇḍiyan prince that his wife was of a bad character.** He had all along entertained that kind of doubt about her, though now and then there were circumstances, which made him waver in his opinion. The minister's mission and the supposed successful execution of it, made the husband think that he was all along wrong in having now and then entertained a better and higher idea of the Akhaṇḍakâvêrî princess. He looked at his talisman, and not a petal had faded. **The king of Vijayânagara called it magic,** and the trophy, which the minister had brought with him, in the shape of the ornaments of the princess, in token of his having spent a night with her, made the enraged husband think that the talisman was magical, that his wife was a bad woman, and that there was no use in testing her conduct any longer.

"Shall I go back and have her killed for her crime?" thought he within himself. But he did not like to be so very hasty, and as the princess was his wife only in name, he did not much care what life she led.

"She is already proclaimed by me to be a bad woman, and deservingly has been placed in a disgraceful corner of the town. If she had established her conduct to be above suspicion, I would have taken her back to myself; but now she has forfeited all chance of ever returning to me as my wife. Why should I, therefore, care any more for her? Why should I curtail my pleasures in travelling over several countries to visit Bânâras?"

Thus thought he within himself, and though the insinuating taunts of the Vijayânagara monarch and his minister pierced him to his heart, he heard them calmly and started towards the north. The talisman he still kept with him, though he no more cared to look at it and examine it every day. Thus was the husband of the most chaste Ambikâ poisoned in his judgment, and, after leaving Vijayânagara, he banished from his mind all thoughts of her. The various countries he passed through, and their scenery, peoples, manners and customs engaged his attention. After a seven months' journey, he reached Bânâras, and took up his abode in a fashionable quarter, generally occupied by well-to-do people.

He was still new to the place, and was spending his first month in making the acquaintance of several princes and noblemen's sons, who were staying in that sacred city, like himself. Almost opposite to his lodging there was sojourning the prince of Siṁhaladvîpa, keeping a large establishment of servants and courtezans. The Pâṇḍiyan prince contrasted himself with the Siṁhala prince and thought he to himself:—

"How happy this prince of Siṁhala spends his stay here! What a large establishment he keeps! What a pity it is that I did not make as pleasant arrangements for myself!"

Thus thought he and wished to cultivate his acquaintance, but the Siṁhala prince seemed to care for nothing in the world except his own enjoyments. There was feasting, dancing and music in his house every day almost, but he kept it all to himself, and invited none to it.

Now the Pâṇḍiyan prince was always unhappy. His wife's conduct since he had married her, the curious talisman which still preserved its colour notwithstanding the months that had, passed since he first received it from her hands, her goodness, sound learning, and then that she should so easily have received the Vijayânagara minister to her embrace, would come into his mind in his loneliness and make him extremely sad. At other times, he would entirely forget her, and even if he thought of her, would never bestow any thought upon her conduct. or how his reputation would be affected by it, as long as he did not regard her as his wife But little by little he entirely gave up all his ideas about his wife, and his great object was to cultivate the friendship of the prince of the Siṁhaladvîpa, and enjoy, in his company, all the festivities to which that prince was so addicted.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

A TELUGU SUPERSTITION.

The Telugus, as a rule, wear constantly a thread round the waist which they call *molatada.* It is renewed from time to time. If, however, a Telugu happens to lose his wife he ceases to wear it for a period, and it is thrown away; and if during this period, he happens to receive a blow on the top of the head with the palm of the hand he is supposed to be afflicted with hydrocele. Repeated instances to the contrary have not yet succeeded in convincing the people of the groundlessness of this time-honored superstition.

M. N. VENKETSWAMY.

THE BHASHA-BHUSHANA OF JAS'WANT SINGH.

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY G. A. GRIERSON, PH.D., C.I.E.

(*Concluded from p.* 333.)

ATHA SABDÂLAṄKÂRA-NÂMA PAÑCHAMAḤ PRAKÂSAḤ ||

LECTURE V.

Verbal Ornaments.

[On the distinction between Ornaments of Sense and Verbal Ornaments, see introductory note to Lecture IV.]

[The only verbal ornaments dealt with in the *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa* are those depending on *anuprâsa* or **Alliteration.**]

Text.

Chhêkânuprâsâlaṅkâra.

Âvṛiti varṇa anêka kî *dôi dôi jaba hôi* |
Hai **chhêkânuprâsa** *svara* *samatâ bina-hû sôi* || 199 ||
Añjana lâgyau hai adhara *pyârê nainani pîka* |
Mukuta-mâla upaṭî pragaṭa *kaṭhina hiê para ṭhîka* || 200 ||

Translation.

Single Alliteration.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 634. The name means literally 'Alliteration of the skilful.']

The repetition (*âvṛitti*) of several consonants, two of each, even when the vowels are not the same, is called **Single Alliteration**; as for example: —

'Beloved, (what do I see?). Your lower lip is smeared with collyrium. Red marks of betel juice are on your eyes, and your pearl necklace appears fitly in disarray over your hard heart.'

[Here the heroine reproaches the hero, who has been dallying with some other flame. There are several consonants repeated in pairs. For instance, two *m* in *mukuta-mâla*, two *ṭ* in *upaṭî pragaṭa*, two *ṭh* in *kaṭhina hiê para ṭhîka*.]

Text.

Lâṭânuprâsâlaṅkâra.

Sô **lâṭânuprâsa** *jaba* *pada kî âvṛiti hôi* |
Sabda artha kê bhêda sau' *bhêda binâ-hû sôi* || 201 ||
Pîya nikaṭa jâ kê, nahî' *ghâma, chhâ'danî âhi* |
Pîya nikaṭa jâ kê nahî', *ghâma chhâ'danî âhi* || 202 ||

Translation.

Laṭânuprâsa.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 638. The definition differs slightly. 'A repetition of sound and sense, when there is a difference in the mere purport is *Lâṭânuprâsa*.' The figure is so named from its being liked by the people of the country of Lâṭa.]

A repetition of a phrase, when there is a difference in the purport of the (sum of the) words (in each case), or even when there is no difference, is called **Lâṭânuprâsa**; as for example: —

'She who has her beloved near her, (to her) heat does not exist (*ghâma nahî'*), (nay, fiery heat itself) is (cool as) moonbeams. But she who hath not her beloved near her, to her the very moonbeams are (fiery) heat.'

[Here the difference in meaning is indicated in the text by commas. The above translation makes the example of a repetition of the phrase with the purport of the words different in each case. The same verse, with the punctuation made the same in each ease, is an example of *Lâṭânuprâsa* when there is no difference in the purport of each phrase. Judging from the definition given in the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, this ornament is distinguished from the *Yamaka* (v. 203), by the fact that in the *Lâṭânuprâsa*, the meaning of the separate words in each repetition is the same, though the purport is different. In the *Yamaka*, the repeated groups of consonants have altogether different meanings.]

Text.

Yamakânuprâsâlaṅkâra.

Yamaka *śabda kau phiri śravaṇa*	*artha judai sô jâni* ǀ
Śîtala [chandana] [chanda na]hî	*adhika agni tê- mâni* ǁ 203 ǁ

Translation.

The Pun.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 640. That work, however, does not class the **Yamaka** as an instance of *anuprâsa*. The translation gives 'rhyme' as its English equivalent.]

When one hears the same word (or more accurately, the same collection of vowels and consonants) repeated, with a different meaning in each case, it is called a **Pun**; as for example: —

'Neither (refreshing) sandal ointment nor the moon is cool to me. Each appears to me hotter than fire.'

[The complaint of a disconsolate heroine separated from her beloved; the group of letters repeated is marked in the text with square brackets.]

Text.

Vṛittyanuprâsâlaṅkâra.

Prati akshara âvṛitti bahu	**vṛitti** *tîni vidhi mâni* ǀ
Madhura varṇa jâ mê sabai	**upanâgarikâ** *jâni* ǁ 204 ǁ
Dûjai **parushâ** *kahata saba*	*jâ mê bahuta samâsa* ǀ
Binu samâsa binu madhuratâ	*kahai* **kômalâ** *tâsa* ǁ 205 ǁ
Ati kârî bhârî ghaṭâ	*pyârî vârî vêsa* ǀ
Piya paradêśa a·dêśa yaha	*âwata nâhi sa·dêśa* ǁ 206 ǁ
Kôkila-châtaka-bhṛiṅga-kula-	*-kêki-kaṭhina-chakôra* ǀ
Sôra sunai dharakyau hiyau	*kâma-kaṭaka ati jôra* ǁ 207 ǁ
Ghana barasai dâmini lasai	*dasa disi nîra taraṅga* ǀ
Dampati hiya hulâsa tê	*ati sarasâta anaṅga* ǁ 208 ǁ

Translation.

Multiple Alliteration.

[*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, 635. The *Bibl. Ind.* translation renders the name of this ornament by the words 'Harmonious Alliteration.' It will appear, however, that such a title is not suited for the ornament as described, at much greater length, in the *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa*. I have adopted the term Multiple Alliteration, because the fact that the same letter is repeated more than once distinguishes it from *Chhêkânuprâsa*, or Single Alliteration (v. 199).]

The multiple repetition (*âvṛitti*) of (a letter or letters), in several syllables, is called **Multiple Alliteration**, and is of three kinds, *viz.*: —

(*a*) That in which all the repeated letters are melodious. In this case it is called **Upanâgarikâ vṛitti**. [The origin of this name is obscure.]

(*b*) The second kind is that in which there are lengthy compound words, and is called **parushâ vṛitti, or Harsh repetition.**

(*c*) The third is that in which there are no compound words, and no repetition of melodious letters. This is called **Kômalâ vṛitti, or Delicate repetition.**

Examples are : —

(*a*) 'Very dark and heavy are the clouds, and the dear lady is of tender age. Her beloved is in a far country, and anxious is she, for no news of him cometh.'

[Here the vowel *á* is repeated melodiously several times in the syllables *ká(rí)*, *bhá(rî)*, *pyá(rî)* and *vá(rí)*, and also the letters *dêśa* are melodiously repeated in the words *paradêśa*, *a'dêśa*, and *sa'dêśa*. Hence the couplet is an instance of *upanâgarikâ vṛitti.*]

(*b*) 'The many cuckoos, *châtakas*, shrikes, harsh peacocks, and partridges, — when I hear the voices of all these, my heart is filled with agitation, and the army of the God of love violently (assails me.')

[Here there is a repetition of the letter *k* in several syllables, and the whole of the first line is one long *dvandva* compound. It is therefore an example of *parusha vṛitti.*]

(*c*) 'The clouds pour forth rain, and amid them flickers the summer lightning. In all directions are wavelets of water (on the swollen rivers). High surges up love, full of joy, in the hearts of the happy pair.'

[Here the letters *s* and *t* are repeated each in several syllables. There is no repetition of melodious letters, nor is there any long compound. Hence it is an instance of *kômalâ vṛitti.*]

Text.

Grantha-prayôjana.

Alaṅkâra śabdârtha kê *kahê êka sai-âṭha* |
Karê prakaṭa bhâshâ bikhai *dêkhi saṁskṛita pâṭha* || 209 ||
Śabdâlaṅkṛiti bahuta hai *akshara kê saṁyôga* |
Anuprâsa shaṭa vidhi kahê *jô hai bhâshâ yôga* || 210 ||
Tâhi nara kê hêtu yaha *kînhyau grantha navîna* |
Jô paṇḍita bhâshâ nipuna *kavitâ bikhai pravîṇa* || 211 ||
Lakshaṇa tiya aru purusha kê *hâva bhâva rasa dhâma* |
Alaṅkâra saṁyôga tê *bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa nâma* || 212 ||
Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa grantha kau *jô dêkhai mana lâi* |
Vividha artha sâhitya rasa *tâhi sakala darasâi* || 213 ||

Iti Śabdâlaṅkâra-nâma pañchamaḥ prakâśaḥ || 5 ||

Iti Śrîmanmahârâja-Jasavatasiṁha[1]-kṛitaṁ Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇaṁ sâṁpûrṇam.

Translation.

Epilogue.

I have described one hundred and eight ornaments, both verbal and of sense, and have explained them in the vernacular, after consulting various Sanskṛit works.

There are many verbal ornaments, arising from the conjunction of letters, but I have only described the six kinds of alliteration, which are those suited to (composition in) the vernacular.

I have composed this new work for the man who is a *paṇḍit*, expert in the vernacular, and skilled in writing poetry.

I have described the distinguishing characteristics of Heroines and of Heroes, the Indications of Emotion, the States or Conditions, the Sentiments, and the [Permanent Conditions (*sthâyî*

[1] So in all copies.

bhâva) which form the] abode (of the sentiments). To these I have added (an account of) the Ornaments, and have named my work the *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa.*

He who carefully peruses this work, the *Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa,* will find explained to him in all its various meanings the essence of rhetoric.

End of the fifth lecture of the Bhâshâ-bhûshaṇa, entitled Verbal Ornaments.

FINIS.

INDEX.

(The numbers refer to verses.)

BULLETIN OF THE RELIGIONS[1] OF INDIA.

BY M. A. BARTH OF THE INSTITUT DE FRANCE.

(Translated from the French by Dr. James Morison.)

I shall follow in this *bulletin* the same order as in the preceding ones : — I shall examine, in succession, the works relating to the **Veda and Brahmanism**, which forms, in a manner, the continuation of the Veda; in the next place those which bear on **Buddhism**; and its twin, **Jainism**; and finally those which treat of that conglomeration of sects, observances and creeds which modern India continues to present to us, a conglomeration which has not yet been, and, in fact, cannot be, defined, and for which I reserve the name of **Hinduism**. This arrangement cannot be considered organic or chronological, except to a certain extent. The second of these divisions, Buddhism and Jainism may, it is true, be easily detached form the rest,— provided, however, that we replace them in our thoughts in the surroundings from which they arose, and which continued, side by side with them, to develop. This is not the case with the other two. Ancient Brahmanism cannot be separated from the Veda on one side, and from modern Brâhmanism on the other, and the latter, again, is so intimately connected with all the branches of Hinduism that too sharp a division runs the risk of breaking vital connections. The discrepancies, no doubt, are numerous and sometimes of such importance as to appear, at the first sight, decisive ; nevertheless, it is equally difficult to make a sharp division either from a logical point of view, or according to chronology. The latter, in fact, for the ancient periods is often little more than fanciful, and represents the reflection of our own way of looking at the logic of facts.

This is a difficulty which we meet, in fact, almost everywhere, but perhaps nowhere in such a high degree as in India. Here, as far as we go back, we find several traditions, equally rich, full in details, and systematic, but dates of absolute certainty occur only very late, when the periods of genuine growth have been over for a long time. No nation has ever been of so systematic a turn of mind and no nation has shewn more indifference to contradictions. Nothing ever incorporated in their traditions has completely vanished, and even what has the most modern appearance we may look to find again some day or other in their most ancient monuments. In very few cases only are we likewise able to ascertain which of their ideas are ancient or modern, and every attempt at an accurate division in some way lays itself open to objections. This is the reason, why we place, at the end of our first section, the ancient Epic poem and the different *śâstras*, which are connected, or make pretensions to be connected, more or less legitimately, with the Veda. It is clear, however, from several important points of view, for instance from that of the theology of these works and frequently even from that of simple chronological order that these texts cannot be quite separated from, *e. g.*, the *Purâṇas*,

[1] From the *Revue de l'histoire des Religions*, publieé sous la direction de M. Jean Réville [Annales du Musée Guimet].

which we place in the third or last section. In this case our excuse must be the English saying, "the line must be drawn somewhere," and also the fact, that this order, with the restrictions just made, remains still the best and, in any case, the most convenient that can be imagined.

I do not pretend to be any more complete in this *Report* than I was in the preceding ones. Indian studies extend now over so vast a dominion, India itself has for some years taken so active a part in them, that it is impossible to procure, still less to take notice of, everything that is of any importance. With a few exceptions, where I merely mention the books, I shall only speak of such works as I have been able to personally examine. Even for these I shall try to be brief, whenever I am obliged to recur to matters already treated in this *Review*, to avoid making too many repetitions.

I. Veda and Brahmanism. Professor Max Müller has quickly carried to a successful completion the 2nd Edition of the text of the **Hymns of the Ṛig Veda** with the commentary of Sâyaṇa,[2] for which he found in India not only a generous Maecenas, the Mahârâja of Vijanagram, but also additional manuscript materials.

After this renewed inquiry and revision, both carried on, as before, with admirable fullness and care, the traditional text of the hymns may be considered as established definitively, and the restoration of the text of the commentary of Sâyaṇa has not much to expect from future discoveries. This edition, however, does not yet render it unnecessary to recur to the old one. The Indices are not included. But this is an omission of secondary importance, which, no doubt, will soon be supplied, and we may now consider as completed this great and noble work, with which the name of Prof. Max Müller will remain connected as long as Oriental studies are held in esteem, and when certain unpleasant differences, to which it has given rise, will long be forgotten. Not many scholars will be found in a single century who have been so lucky.

Almost at the same time **a native edition of the Ṛig Veda** and its commentary was published at Bombay.[3] This edition is not, like other publications of the same kind recently made in India, a mere reprint. It is founded on an independent collation of excellent MSS. It has thus a value of its own, which Prof. Max Müller has readily acknowledged, and it does the greatest honour to the Theosophical Society of Bombay, which has borne the expense and which, in this instance, has been working to better account than its sisters of Madras and Calcutta. **Dr. P. Peterson,** in editing parts of the text and commentary of the Ṛigveda, had particularly in view educational wants.[4] Nevertheless, he has not considered himself relieved of the responsibility of a serious editor. His texts are his own, as he has taken the trouble to establish them anew on the foundation of MSS. Their contents are as follows: — (1) a selection of hymns accompanied by the commentary of Sâyaṇa and critical notes; (2) the preface of Sâyaṇa and critical notes; (3) Hymns from the *Seventh Maṇḍala* with extracts from the Pada text with the commentary of Sâyaṇa and critical notes. The latest of these different parts is the translation of the Preface of Sâyaṇa. It is an excellent introduction to the study of the style of the commentators, by means of an elaborate and extensive specimen. The translation itself is a mixture of literal version and more free paraphrase; it makes us catch the progress of the living thought and the manner of composition peculiar to this sort of writings. Considering the aim of the book, I only regret that Dr. Peterson has not added the exact references to the quotations of Sâyaṇa, and that he has refrained from all comparison with parallel passages from the Preface to the com-

² Four vols., quarto, 1890-92.

³ *Ṛigveda Saṁhita*, with a Commentary by Sâyaṇâchârya, edited by Râjârâm Shâstri Bodas and Shivarâm Shâstri Gore, 8 vols. octavo, Bombay: 1889-90.

⁴ P. Peterson, *Hymns from the Ṛigveda*, edited with Sâyaṇa's Commentary, Notes and a Translation, Bombay: 1888. — *Handbook to the study of the Ṛig Veda*, Part I. Introductory, Bombay: 1890—Part II. *The Seventh Maṇḍala* with the Commentary of Sâyaṇa, Bombay: 1892. Those three volumns form Nos. XXXVI., XLI. and XLIII. of the Bombay Sanskrit Series.

mentary of the *Taittirîya Saṁhitâ.* Likewise, the notes, which bear only on the criticism of the text, would have been far more useful if they also included historical explanations.

The traditional text of these ancient documents being once established, there still remains the more arduous task of interpreting them. We have to mention in this respect a longer series of efforts of different tendency and value, the best of which, we must confess, leave us still far from our goal. I have already explained myself in one of the preceding numbers of this *Review* on the translation of the hymns by Prof. Max Müller resumed in the *Sacred Books of the East*, and I have done so fully enough to think myself disponsed from recurring to it here. The translation published at Benares, by **Mr. Griffith**[5] comprehends like that of Prof. Max Müller the whole of the work. With this exception it has a quite different character. The object of the latter is to give the English and Anglo-Indian public a true representation of this ancient poetry, interpreted according to the method and general results of European criticism. It presents itself without any scientific apparatus, which, however, does not imply that it is not scientific. The author, who was the Principal of the Benares College for a long time, has a profound knowledge of the Indian languages and customs, and of the Indian mind, and for many passages one would be wrong not to reckon with the translation, though it lays claim to so little outward pretension. But it is written in verse, sometimes in very fine verse. Whatever may be the capability of Mr. Griffith to render the Hindu metres into English, a capability which is no less splendid here than in his translations of the *Râmâyaṇa* and *Kumârasambhava,* it is evident that the literal exactness, often the only one that can be attained, had to be sacrificed more than once.

After these versions, more or less complete or intended to be so one day, and before passing to the works which belong to general interpretation, there remains for me only to mention some partial translations.

M. V. Henry[6] has begun to publish the commented translation of forty hymns of the Ṛig Veda, which the late **M. Bergaigne** had prepared for his "*Chrestomathie vêdique*" completed and edited, but after his death, through the pious care of his pupil and friend. One finds therein Bergaigne himself with his incomparable masterly knowledge of the Ṛig Veda, his most scholarly conscience always on guard to control and correct himself, and it appears more than ever regrettable that this keen intellect, at once so audacious and so cautious, has been taken away from us so prematurely in his full strength, before he could give us his last results. Professor Bollensen[7] has given a translation of, and full commentary on, one hymn, I. 88, or rather a new text of this hymn, based upon conjectures. Professor Bartholomae[8] and Professor Aufrecht have discussed single passages. Professer von Bradke[9] has declared himself opposed to an attempt (little justified) of introducing into the vocabulary of the Ṛig Veda a set of new significations. He did not succeed so well, I think, when taking up again after Prof. Geldner the hymn X. 102. He exaggerates the comic element and makes a simple parody of it.[10] Why should it have been impossible to worship Indra seriously in a legend full of improper expressions and containing certain details, which we may be sure excited hearty laughter in the audience? **Professor von Roth has tried to reconstruct the araṇî,** an apparatus used in the ritual for the production of fire,[11] and to shew what difference there is between the modern instrument and the more simple often mentioned in the hymns He has also applied himself to solve with that lucid

[5] Ralph T. H. Griffith, *The Hymns of the Ṛigveda*, translated with popular Commentary, 4 vols. in 8vo. Benares: 1889-92.

[6] In the *Mémoires de la Sociéte de linguistique de Paris*, Vol. VIII. p. 1, etc., 1892. The published portion comprises the fourteen first hymns of the *Chrestomathie*:

[7] Fr. Bollensen, *Beiträge zur Kritik des Veda*, *Zeitschr. der Deutsh. Morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, XLV. (1891), p. 204.

[8] Chr. Bartholomae, *Arisches, ibidem,* XLIII. (1889) p. 664, and XLVI. (1891) p. 291.—Th. Aufrecht, *Zur Erklärung des Ṛig Veda, ibidem*, XLV. (1891) p. 305.

[9] P. von Bradke, *Ueber Vorvedisches im Veda, ibidem*, XLV. (1891) p. 684.

[10] *Ein lustiges Wagenrennen in Altindien, ibidem*, XLIII. (1889) p. 445.

[11] R. Roth, *Indische's Feuerzeug, ibidem*, XLIII. (1889) p. 590.

simplicity which is the mark of every thing he writes two of the riddles of the hymn I. 164, which consists of nothing but riddles.[12] But I fear he has stopped half-way. In both of these verses one body and one soul is spoken of, *i. e.*, objects between which the same relation exists as between body and soul, and which came to be designated metaphorically as such.[13] When taken literally of the soul and the body, the solution would in fact be very easy.

In India, the interpretation of the Veda goes back to Vedic times; the *Brâhmaṇas* are in great part explanatory of it, and the separation of the words of the sacred text in the *padapâṭha* is a first attempt at grammatical analysis, incorporated directly into the *Saṁhitâs.* The other branches of exegesis, pronunciation, prosody, grammar, metre, lexicography, the calendar, the assignment of the hymns to their authors and different divinities, are treated in a special series of works, of uncertain and various dates, frequently of very doubtful authenticity, the majority of which are called **Vedângas**, "treatises auxiliary to the study of the Veda." Among them, a collection of the treatises known under the name of *śikshâ*, is being published in the Benares Sanskrit Series.[13] In the same collection the same editor has published a new edition of the *Prâtiśâkhya* of the White Yajur with the commentary of Uvata and various appendices, among others the *Pratijñâsutra* with the commentary of Anantadeva, the *Charaṇavyûha* of Śaunaka, with the commentary of Mahidâsa, a *Jatâpaṭala* with the commentary of the editor.[14] This last work, which deals with the eight different ways of reciting the Veda by repeating and inverting the words, and which, under its different forms, is said to be a part of the *Vikritivallî* of the old grammarian Vyâḍi, differs here from the two texts formerly published by Dr. Thibaut,[15] and still more from another text published more recently by Satyavrata Sâmaśramin, in the *Ushâ.*[16]

Less dry than these fragments of the work of Vyâḍi, which refer to the strongest complications of the tradition of the Vedic texts, is the **Brihaddevatâ of Śaunaka**, published in the *Bibliotheca Indica.*[17] It is a kind of *Anukramaṇî*, or index, which gives for every hymn or portion of a hymn of the Ṛig Veda, the divinity to whom they are addressed, the whole interspersed with short legendary stories in a remarkably unpolished and concise style, which make this collection less monotonous than those which have come down to us under the name of the same author. These latter, those at least which have been recovered up to date,[18] appear to be intended to be included in this edition, for the third part (the fourth has appeared, but I have not yet seen it) contains at the end of the *Brihaddevatâ* the *Ârshânukramaṇî*, or index of authors, and the beginning of the *Chandonukramaṇî*, or index of metres. At an early date the *Sarvânukramaṇî* of Kâtyâyana seems to have taken the place of the greater number of these treatises, and to sum them up. They are very rare; one of them seems to have been lost

[12] *Zwei Sprüche über Leib-und Seele, Zeitschrift der D. Morg. Ges.* XLVI. 1892, p. 759. Compare a similar riddle drawn from a Jaina *niryukti*, *ibidem*, p. 612.

[13] Another short notice of Prof. Roth in reply to certain remarks of Böthlingk (*ibidem*, XLIII. p. 604) caused by a comparison made by Prof. Pischel, also, though indirectly, refers to the Ṛig Veda. *Der Bock und das Messer, ibidem*, XLIV. p. 371, Böhtlingk's answer is found, *ibidem*, XLV. p. 493, and Prof. Pischel's, *ibidem*, p. 497.

[13] *Śikshâsaṁgraha*, a collection of *Śikshâs* by Yâjñavalkya and others, edited and annotated by Paṇḍit Yugalaśikhara Vyâsa. Benares, fasc. I.-III. 1889-91. The *Nâradîyaśikshâ* has been published in the *Ushâ*, I. fasc. IV. Calcutta, 1890. Mr. Em. Sieg has edited the *Bhâradvajaśikshâ, cum versione latinâ excerptis ex commentario adnotationibus criticis et exegeticis. Berolini*, 1892.

[14] *Kâtyâyana's Prâtiśâkhya of the White Yajur Veda, with the commentary of Uvaṭa*, Benares, 1888. The *Prâtiśâkhya* and the *Charaṇavyûha* had already been published by Prof. Weber in Vols. IV. and III. of the *Indische Studien.*

[15] *Das Jatâpatala*, etc., Leipzig, 1870.

[16] *Ushâ*, 1. No. 2, Calcutta, 1890. The text is accompanied by the commentary of Gaṅgâdhara. Compare in the same periodical, No. 1, a text on the same subject by a certain Madhusûdana (a modern author, who gives himself out as a disciple and son of Kṛishṇa Dvaipâyana), the *Ashṭavikṛtivivṛiti* where the six last verses correspond to the end of the second text published by Dr. Thibaut.

[17] *Brihaddevatâ;* an index to the gods of the Ṛig Veda, by Śaunaka Âchârya. Edited by Râjendrâla Mitra, fasc. I.-IV. Calcutta, 1889-92.

[18] One of them, the *Anuvâkânukramaṇî*, has been published by Prof. A. A. Macdonell at the end of the *Sarvânukramaṇî* of Kâtyâyana, Oxford, 1886.

entirely. The edition of **Rajendrâla Mitra** will be welcomed as the last, but not the least, of the many services which the illustrious Hindu has rendered to the study of the antiquities of his native land.

The treatises, which we have hitherto been speaking of, are properly manuals. Their aim is, not to explain the texts, but to catalogue and fix certain facts presented by the texts. Further, this aim is still more specialized. Each treats of a single Veda, more strictly of a single *śâkhâ* or recension of a single Veda, and they deal with them from the point of view of a single order of facts, of one discipline. Quite different is the **Nirukta of Yâska.** Under the guise of a simple commentary on an elementary dictionary, and though its immediate object is the etymological explanation of the words, it is really a treatise on general exegesis, where all the resources of interpretation are employed, and these explanations, though the Ṛigveda occupies the chief place, cover the whole of the Veda. Of all the works of this kind which India has left us, it is the oldest and, at the same time, the most comprehensive. The admirable edition, too, which Prof. von Roth gave us nearly half a century ago, marks one of the great epochs in the history of Vedic studies. The new edition, enriched with the commentaries and all sorts of matter derived from native tradition, which, **Paṇḍit Satyavrata Sâmaśramin** undertook in 1881 in the *Bibliotheca Indica* is now, I suppose, completed.[19] The fifth and sixth parts of the last volume contain the index and further a longer piece, *Niruktâlochana* or "reflexions on the *Nirukta*," which is continued in the seventh, and is completed, I suppose, in the eighth, and in which the editor examines in detail all the questions which are connected more or less closely with the *Nirukta*. Satyavrata Sâmaśramin is a *bhaṭṭâchârya* or doctor, and a *sâmavedin* or follower of the Sâmaveda by descent and profession. His training is founded, at least in the first instance, on the native tradition, and among living scholars, he is certainly one of the best specimens that the native system of education has produced. But at the same time he has a very open mind, in no way inaccessible to influences from without. It is hard to say how far he has a direct knowledge of the works of European scholars. He mentions only Wilford, Wilson, Goldstücker, and Böhtlingk; for the edition of the *Nirukta* he has used that of Roth. But we easily see that, directly or indirectly, he has made himself quite familiar with the chief results of their works. His position with regard to them is remarkably free and untrammelled. He criticizes them, adopts their opinions, or more frequently rejects them with complete independence. There is in him no trace of blind hostility, or of a gloomy and stern orthodoxy, even in face of those solutions which shock his most cherished convictions. He has gained a sufficiently clear notion of history and its requirements, and his evident intention is to use a strictly historical method and in this succeeds, but in his own way, though not without some misunderstandings (such as might happen even to European scholars), but with singular skill. His manner of explanation, moreover, though it is native, and on occasion uses the peculiar forms of Hindu logic, comes very near our own methods. These "Considerations" if translated into some generally understood European language would make a very respectable appearance, and were very likely written in part at least for Western readers. It would be a great pity if they were to remain unread here. They contain, in fact, a complete view of all the sacred literature of India, in broad outlines (though abounding in details) from the point of view of Hindu, or rather Vedic, orthodoxy, by a native scholar, who is at once conservative and daring; and this summary, however strange its conclusions may sometimes appear, is so noteworthy, both for what it gives up and what it retains, that at the risk of wandering far from the Ṛigveda, and returning to it only after a long digression, I think it my duty to give at least a short summary of it here. To save time, I shall confine myself to stating the views of the author without attempting to discuss them. I shall pass quickly over theories, which when stripped of their details are of importance only to Hindus; and even then the digression will be long enough.

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[19] The *Nirukta* with Commentaries, Vol. IV. fasc. I.—VIII., Calcutta, 1883-1890. The eighth part, the last I suppose of the work, has been published, but has not reached me.

The author has divided his essay into twelve questions, which taken together with their answers make as many chapters. 1. What is the *Nirukta?* — By *Nirukta*, properly "explanation of the meaning of words," we must understand here the second part of a book, whose first part is a dictionary, called *Nighaṇṭu*. The *Nirukta* is the commentary to the *Nighaṇṭu*. 2. To which of these two parts does the appellation *Vedâṅga* belong? — To the *Nirukta* and to the *Nirukta* alone. The *Nighaṇṭu* is of a still higher authority, and is inferior only to the *Mantras* and equal to the *Brâhmaṇas*, from which it differs only in the way it has been handed down to us. 3. Who is the author of the book? — The *Nighaṇṭu* is contained in its entirety in the *Brâhmaṇas*, so to say in a state of diffusion. Like them, it cannot be assigned to a definite author, and if we must name some author, we must go up as far as the *prajâpati* Kaśyapa. As to the *Nirukta*, is it the work of Yâska? 4. Who was this Yâska? — We have no direct evidence as to his personality; he tells us nothing of his name or family. Tradition alone informs us that he was of the *gotra* of Yâska, a Pâraskara, that is to say, a native of Pâraskara or a descendant of a Pâraskara, probably also a descendant of another Yâska named in the *Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa* and a follower of the Yajurveda. 5. Was Yâska a *ṛishi*, or inspired author? — He was not a *ṛishi* in the first degree, like those who "saw" (revealed) the *Mantras*. Further he was not a *ṛishi* in the second degree, like those who published the *Brâhmaṇas*. He was not even a *ṛishi* in the third degree, like the authors of the *Vedâṅgas*, to whom that title is also given; because his book, though rightly regarded as a *Vedâṅga*, is not one of the primitive *Vedâṅgas*, such as the Grammar of Pâṇini;[20] for they are enumerated in it as being six in all, the *Nirukta* itself included. It is therefore only by an extension of the term that we can give to Yâska the title *ṛishi;* properly speaking he was a *muni*, and *âchârya*, a sage or teacher. 6. What portion of the *Nirukta* goes back to Yâska? — The first twelve books; the two last books are *Pariśishṭas*, or later additions. At the time of Sâyaṇa the fourteenth book had not been finally incorporated with the work; at the time of Devarâja, the oldest commentator known, the uncertainty extended to the thirteenth book; at Patañjali's time these two books were not yet in existence. 7. What is the date of Yâska? — Unfortunately there are no historical works in India, and it is hardly likely that there ever were any. There are many stories in the Veda, but they are only allusions, examples, comparisons brought in without any connexion, sometimes simply allegories. No intelligent man will look on the *Mahâbhârata* as historical, still less the *Purâṇas* and *Upapurâṇas*. It will not do to use, for the ancient period, the commentators, like Shaḍguruśishya, for example, who has no notion of the gross historical anachronism he commits by confounding the *ṛishi* Śaunaka of the Ṛigveda with the Śaunaka, who had to do with the transmission of the *Mahâbhârata* and the *Harivaṁśa*.

One work, and one only, the *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, can afford any satisfaction to those who are desirous of learning the truth about ancient India, but unfortunately it deals only with the kings of Kaśmîr. As to the other works whose supposed authority has been appealed to so rashly, such as the *Kathâsaritsâgara*, and its prototype, the *Bṛihatkathâ* of Guṇâḍhya, in which Kâtyâyana, though later than Pâṇini by a thousand years, is yet reckoned as his contemporary, they are a mere tissue of imposture. Books like these deserve no better fate than to be thrown into the fire, now that they have unfortunately escaped the destiny that was properly theirs, — suppression at the moment of their origin. Under these conditions, all researches of this kind must be very difficult and uncertain. We must take indirect and unconnected pieces of evidence, bring them face to face with one another, join them together, and proceed, as it were, by feeling our way, at the risk of stumbling at every step. With this method, and with all these reserves before our mind, the following account seems most

[20] *The Grammar of Pâṇini*, newly edited and translated by Geheimrath von Böhtlingk, Leipzig, 1886-7, is at present being translated in India: The *Ashṭâdhyâyî* of Pâṇini, translated into English by Śrîśa Chandra Vasu (Book I.), Allahabad, Indian Press, 1891. The translator gives most of the *vârttikas* and adds the *Kâśikâ vṛitti*. Another English translation by Mr. Goonetilleke (I have only seen the first part) does not seem to have been continued. On Pâṇini and his system, see Bruno Liebich, *Pâṇini Ein Beitrag Zur Kenntniss der indischen Literatur und Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1891.

likely. Yâska is clearly anterior to the *Mahâbhârata*, where he is mentioned. He is also anterior to Patañjali, the author of the *Mahâbhâshya*, who used his *Nirukta*, and who is himself older than the *Mahâbhârata*. This Patañjali, the author of the *Mahâbhâshya*, quite distinct from his namesake, the very much older author of the *Yogasûtras*, must be placed between the invasion of Alexander and the foundation of Pâṭaliputra, and as, according to him, this city was still in his time situated on the Soṇa, while in the time of Chandragupta, according to contemporary evidence,[21] the Ganges alone flowed past it, his probable date is about 450 B. C. All the arguments for a later date (and the author discusses nearly every one of them) are to be rejected. Before Patañjali there comes our present Code of Manu, which he quotes without naming it. This *Manusaṁhitâ* is a recast of much older *sûtras*, such as those of the *Mânavas*, and would more correctly be called the *Bhṛigusaṁhitâ*, from the name of its real author, a Bhṛigu, who must not be confounded with the *ṛishis* who bear the same name. It is anterior to the preaching of Buddhism and the rise of the doctrine of *ahiṁsâ* (respect for everything endowed with life) by not less than two centuries, since it comes before the *Râmâyaṇa*, which is itself pre-Buddhistic and quotes Manu. Since, further, it ignores the 'Saiva worship, which we know by the positive testimony of the *Râjataraṅgiṇî* (!) to have flourished from the eighth century B. C., we cannot go far wrong in putting it in the ninth or tenth century. Now Yâska is older than this *Manusaṁhitâ*, for he agrees with it, without mentioning or quoting it; the Manu, the author of a *smṛiti*, whom he does know, is quite different and much older. Yâska is older also than Kâtyâyana, the author of *vârttikas*, who may be the same as the author of the *Prâtiśâkhya* of the White Yajurveda, but who must at all events be kept separate from the more ancient author of the *'Srautasûtra* of the same Veda, and whom we may admit to have lived about 1300 B. C. But Yâska is later than Pâṇini, the author of the famous grammar and father of all grammar (before him there was no *vyâkaraṇa*), who must be placed about a thousand years earlier, about 2300 B. C.[22] Between Yâska and Pâṇini there comes again Vyâḍi, the author of the *Saṁgraha* and the *Vikṛitavalli*, and his teacher 'Saunaka, the author of the *Ṛikprâtiśâkhya*, quite distinct from the other 'Saunakas, who are *ṛishis*: (all the *Prâtiśâkhyas* are later than Pâṇini). Yâska himself must have been preceded by Pâṇini by three or four centuries, and perhaps may be placed approximatively about 1900 B. C. Before Pâṇini there lived the heroes celebrated in the *Mahâbhârata*, and the authors of the original *sûtras* of the six schools of philosophy and of the ritual *sûtras*. Beyond these, there are only the inspired prophets of the Veda. 8. What is the *Nirukta?* — The interpretation of the Veda. 9. What is the Veda? — The Veda is the revealed "science"; it is composed of two parts: *mantra* and *brâhmaṇa*. As the word *veda* is met with in all the collections of *Mantras*, and as these are anterior to the *Brâhmaṇas*, it is clear that this word, like most of its synonyms, originally meant only the *Mantras*, and that it was only at a later time extended to the explanatory portions. The author then discusses the synonyms of the word *veda*: *śruti*, *âmnâya*, *trayî*, names which are later, and the second of which, *âmnâya*, has been extended by usage to books, which, strictly speaking, do not form part of the Veda. The third *trayî*, properly *trayî vidyâ*, "the triple science," is applied to the three kinds of *Mantras*, which are either *ṛich* "verse," or *yajus* "prose," or *sâman* "melody," and it is a mistake to see in this expression the proof that for ages there were only three Vedas, to which was added, in much later times, a fourth, the *Atharvaveda*. The two phrases "the four Vedas" and *trayî vidyâ* denote absolutely the same thing — the Vedas in their entirety; the one phrase referring to the arrangement, the other to the form. For the Veda is in reality one, whether in the form of *ṛich*, *yajus* or *sâman*, and originally formed one whole. It was the *ṛishi* Atharvan, the first originator of the

[21] Among these our author seems to reckon the *Mudrârâkshasa!* It is well known that Megasthenes places the city at the meeting of the two rivers.

[22] To justify this thousand years between Pâṇini and Kâtyâyana, the author appeals, among other arguments, to the differences between the language of the two, and discusses in this connexion the phrase *devânâṁpriya*, as M. Sylvain Levi has done more recently (*Jour. Asiat. Nov.-Dec.* 1891, p. 549), but who arrives, as we see, at quite different results.

sacrifice, who divided this whole according to the requirements of the sacrifice. He made in this way a first collection for the use of the *hotṛi* priest, the *Ṛiksaṁhitâ;* a second for the use of the *adhvaryu* priest, the *Yajussaṁhtitâ*; a third for the *udgâtṛi*, the *Sâmasaṁhita*, and a fourth collection containing what the superintending priest the *brâhman*, had to know in addition to the three first, the *Atharvaṇasaṁhitâ*, correctly so called by the name of the originator himself. To each of these collections there corresponds a collection of injunctions and explanations, which is its Brâhmaṇa, Saṁhitâ and Brâhmaṇa together forming the Ṛigveda, the Yajurveda, the Sâmaveda, and the Atharvaṇaveda. Then comes a discussion of the other synonyms of the *veda: chhandas, svâdhyâya* (properly that portion of the scriptures, varying with each individual, which every orthodox believer must repeat and study), *âgama* and *nigama*. The last term denotes, strictly speaking, a passage quoted for explanation, or as an authority. The *Brâhmaṇas* are therefore really commentaries on passages taken from the *Mantras*, which are their *nigamas;* later on they, in turn, served as *nigamas* to still more recent explanations. From the Veda considered as a whole the essayist goes on to treat of its two parts, *mantra* and *brâhmaṇa*. He discusses the word *mantra* and mentions the different kinds of *mantras:* invocation, prayer, praise, wish, etc. The collection of the *mantras* of each Veda is its *Saṁhitâ*. It admits three chief modes of recitation (*pâṭha*): in a continuous text, *saṁhitâpâṭha;* with division of the words *padapâṭha;* with repetition and interlacing of the words, *kramapâṭha;* this last mode is in turn sub-divided into eight *vikṛitis*, or varieties, as the repetition and interlacing are more or less complicated. In the progress of time and as a result of the accidents inseparable from tradition, there have crept into these *saṁhitâs* certain minute variations, which form the different *śâkhâs*, or "branches." One *śâkhâ* of a Veda is not merely a portion of that Veda or a chapter of it; it is the whole of that Veda, and whoever has studied one *śâkhâ* of the Ṛigveda, for example, can be at rest in his mind; he has studied the whole Ṛigveda. A dog whose tail has been cut off is not the less the same dog. A more deeply reaching distinction exists only in the case of the Yajurveda, where several *śâkhâs* make up the White Yajurveda, and the others the Black Yajurveda. In this way the number of *Saṁhitâs* is in reality five, not four.[23] Among these *Saṁhitâs* an attempt has been made to establish a certain succession in time; that of the Ṛigveda would be the oldest; those of the Sâman and Yajus would seem to have been extracted later on, either in whole or in part; that of the Atharvan would be a *pariśishṭa*, or supplement to the rest; in the *Ṛiksaṁhitâ* itself, the second *maṇḍala* would appear to be a secondary addition; the tenth a still later addition. If a merchant brings to market various kinds of fruits, to sell them more readily, he will divide them into as many heaps as there are kinds of fruit. Must we say that this or that heap has been made earlier or later than any other? No doubt the fruits themselves were not grown all at once, but the division took place at one time. In the same way we may grant that such and such a *mantra* was "seen" after such and such another; but their distribution between the various *saṁhitâs* was the work of one and the same arranger. From the first part of the Veda, the *mantras*, our author passes to the second the *brâhmaṇa*. This is either a command and declaration (*vidhi*) or an explanation and development (*arthavâda*), terms which he examines at great length, both with regard to their use and the subdivisions which they include. The *brâhmaṇas* must not be confused with the *anubrâhmaṇas*, which are simply imitations of the *brâhmaṇas*, and have only a certain likeness to them (*brâhmaṇasadṛiśa*).

The *anubrâhmaṇas* are nearly all lost; the substance of them has passed in the *Vedângas*, the *Mîmâṁsâ*, the *Itihâsas*, and the *Purâṇas*. But parts of the *anubrâhmaṇas* of the *Sâmaveda* have been preserved (not to speak of what has been collected from this source in the *Nidânasûtra*): they are the minor *Brâhmaṇas* of this Veda. Sâyaṇa, it is true, took them for real

[23] The author does not say anything more on this head; notably he does not explain the mixture of *mantra* and *brâhmana*, which marks the *śâkhâs* of the Black Yajurveda. The state of matters is not absolutely incompatible with his views, but would have interfered with the apparent cogency of his demonstration. This and another which we shall note further on, is the only point of importance, which he may be said to have passed over intentionally.

brâhmaṇas. This is because Sâyaṇa was not professionally a *sâmavedin*. He did not receive his knowledge of this Veda from the mouth of a *gurû*. The commentary then, which he compiled, as best he could, is not a real *sâmavedabhâshya* in the eyes of the *sâmavedins*, but a mere piece of of schoolboys' work. The *brâhmaṇa* portion of the Veda has given rise, no less than the *mantra* portion, to erroneous speculations. Thus, with regard to the *âraṇyakas* it has been maintained that they cannot have more than a single book (*adhyâya*), that they are nothing but *pariśishṭas* of the *brâhmaṇas*, that they are later than Pâṇini, that they do not form a part of the Veda. All this, unfortunately, shews that the knowledge of the Veda is dying out. If the precepts which enjoin the study of the whole text were still held in reverence, and not in words only, it would be recognised that there is not a single *âraṇyaka* which does not possess more than one book, that they are not found solely in the *brâhmaṇas*, and that one of them is a part of the *Sâmasaṁhitâ*. Pâṇini, it is true, teaches that the derivative *âraṇyaka* is said of a man, to designate him as an inhabitant of the forest, which has called forth the remark of Kâtyâyana that the same derivative may be used also of a road, an elephant, and of certain chapters (of the Veda). All that we may fairly draw from this is, that, at the time of Pâṇini, the word was not yet used to designate writings of this kind. To infer that these works were not yet in existence, would be the same as to say that in his time there were neither forest-roads, nor wild elephants. And it is just as hasty to exclude the *âraṇyakas* from the Veda by means of a false interpretation of a passage of Manu.[24] There are, no doubt, *âraṇyakas* which are questionable or notoriously spurious, like those of the fifth book of the *Aitareya Âraṇyaka*. That only proves that the *brâhmaṇas*, as well as the *mantras*, have their *khilas*, unauthentic supplements, about which in other respects, however, tradition has never been entirely mistaken. No less daring opinions have been expressed with regard to the *upanishads*, which commonly form part of the *âraṇyakas*, but several of which are to be found in the *brâhmaṇas* and even in the *saṁhitâs*. The *Upanishads* would thus be later than Pâṇini, because he does not teach that this word is used to denote certain parts of the Veda. But Kâtyâyana and Patañjali have not taught this either, nor have many other grammarians, some of whom are quite modern. Shall we be compelled to say that for this reason the *Upanishads* are very recent works? Doubtless, there are unauthentic *Upanishads*, composed in imitation of the ancient, to give more credit to certain doctrines, as for example, the *Râmatâpanî*. There are also some palpable forgeries like the *Alla Upanishad*, which cannot deceive any one. But those which form an integral part of the Vedic books are quite as authentic as those books themselves. Those Pâṇini not only knew, but he knew the imitations of them, since he teaches the formation of a special and compound *upanishatkṛitya*, to denote these imitations. Besides this, Pâṇini mentions the *Bhikshusûtras*, which, if they are not our present *Vedântasûtras* are at any rate their source, and must like the *Vedântasûtras* have been based on the *Upanishads*. Lastly, Yâska knew and used the name *upanishad*, and Yâska is older than Pâṇini, according to these same critics. How do they get out of this?

10. What is the age of the Veda? — All tradition teaches that the Veda is *apaurusheya*, that it is not the work of man. It exists from all eternity in the mind of the divinity: the wise men, who have revealed it to us have seen it, — did not make it. That being the case, it is useless to look for its origin. But even if we admit, as the most ancient texts lead us to suppose, that these sages, who must be thought of as living in time, were themselves the real authors of it, its origin would not be more easily determined on that account. We have seen above that Pâṇini must have lived about 2300 B. C., or in the first thousand years of the current *yuga*. Before him there lived the authors of the *Kramapâṭha*, such as Bâbhravya; before them, the authors of the *Padapâṭha*, such as Śâkalya; before them again the authors of treatises like the *Ṛiktantra*, Śâkaṭâyana and others, and still further removed at the beginning of the *yuga* (3102 B. C.) the editors of the *Kalpasûtras*. Then come, always

[24] The passage in question is Manu, IV. 123, where we read the well-known prohibition to reciting the *ṛich* and *yajus* verses where the *sâman* verses are being sung. Our author sees in this a prohibition to recite the one immediately after the recitation of the others, and explains it by the desire of Manu to spare the priest the painful effort of altering his voice from the seven accents of the *sâmans*, to the three accents of the other texts.

going back, the *ṛishis*, the authors of the *anubrâhmaṇas*, such as Kusuruvinda, and, before them, those who composed our actual *brâhmaṇas*, such as Mahîdâsa and many others. With these, we are fully into another *yuga*, perhaps even in another *kalpa* (at least 4,300,000 B. C.) But before them appeared the authors of the *ślokas*, *anuślokas* and *gâthâs*, which have been worked up in the *brâhmaṇas*. Before these latter again, there was a period in which all that doctrine was in a state of scattered tradition, of simple sayings (*pravâda*, whence the corresponding designation of *śruti*, which has remained). And that age itself was preceded by another, in which the sacrifice was instituted, and in which Atharvan, once for all, constituted the *saṁhitâs*. But these, again, were preceded by smaller collections, the *maṇḍalas*, *sûktas*, etc., which in turn presupposed the composition of *mantras* by a long series of *ṛishis*. Who would venture, at such remote periods, to dream of a chronology? All chronological research sets out from certain precise data, and here we have none. The very names of the *ṛishis*, which have been handed down, are often fictitious, as for example the names of divinities; others, that have the look of being real names, such as Vasishṭha and Bhṛigu, are, for us, outside of all time; others, again, like Vâsishṭha and Kâśyapa, are family names, which tells us absolutely nothing. In this connexion, the essayist says, I, too, am a Kâśyapa, my father was a Kâśyapa, and my son and grandson will also be Kâśyapas. And what is true of the *mantras* is true also of the *brâhmaṇas*. All we can say is that they are later than the *mantras*, and that some of their parts are earlier, or later, than some other of their parts. But to wish to assign to a single one of these parts a definite epoch, is to be misled by a will of the wish. In the *Aitareya Brâhmaṇa*, for instance, mention is made of a Janamejaya, son of Parikshit. Some have wished to identify him with the king of the *Mahâbhârata*, the great-grandson of Arjuna, and have made the deduction that the *brâhmaṇa* is several centuries later than the great war. But, in that case, it would be nearly of the same age as Pâṇini, which is impossible after what has been said. Similarity of name does not imply identity of person, or we would need to admit that the *mantras* of the *Ṛigveda* which mention a Bhoja, are later than Uvaṭṭa, who wrote a commentary on the Vedas under King Bhoja. You cannot roast a fowl and make it lay eggs at the same time. In the same way a false conclusion has been drawn from a *sûtra* of Pâṇini,[25] and a corresponding *vârttika* of Kâtyâyana, that the *Śatapathabrâhmaṇa* was then quite new, while these texts shew that, in reality, then, as now, certain *brâhmaṇas* were recognized, not as absolutely recent, but as more recent than other *brâhmaṇas*.

11. What are the subjects treated in the *Nirukta?* — Here the seventh part comes to an end. This question, as well as the twelfth and last, to the commentators on the *Nirukta* and their date will fill the eighth part, which is published, but has not reached me. In the course of this analysis I have refrained from pointing out the many cases in which the arguments of the worthy *âchârya* seem unsound; it is equally useless to insist upon the extreme demand made on our powers of belief, which he makes on us with respect to a past, which, by his own confession, has no history. I shall only add a single remark here. The author does not say a word as to the part that writing must have played in all this; and this is the other noteworthy, if intentional, omission I have found. All that we find on this point is a passing remark that in the "time of the *ṛishis*" writing was not used. According to him we are therefore compelled to believe, on the one hand, in the purely oral origin and transmission of this long series of Vedic works without any overlapping, each of them fixed in all its parts, before the composition of the following one, and on the other hand, in the employment of writing in India, some two or three thousand years before our era. Some words of explanation would have been necessary on both heads. To give some idea of the abundance of details presented by the essay which have had to be sacrificed here, I must add that the portion analysed numbers 176 pages and that the *âchârya* writes tersely.

Returning after this long digression to the exegesis of the Veda, I must notice in the

[25] The often discussed rule IV. 3, 105; the author always writes *yâjnavalkyâni brâhmaṇâni* in place of the more correct reading *yâjnavalkâni*.

first place, the continuation of the Vedic Studies of Messrs. **Pischel and Geldner.**[26] In a very careful introduction the authors give a *resumé* of the history of the interpretation of the Veda, and, while attempting to do justice to everybody, have done their best to define exactly the points in which they disagree with their predecessors. The general spirit of their attempt has been criticized by me on the appearance of the first series of studies.[27] We recognize here, too, the same knowledge of the texts, the same philological attempt to go deeply into things and give back to India, a book which, after all, belongs to India; we recognize also the same daring. As in the first part, each will find something to take and something to leave, among all those fragments which defy analysis by their very richness and variety. I shall take objection to two points only, where the authors seem to me to go astray on topics which they dwell on at length; sport and *hetaerae* in the Veda. The reader is compelled to cherish doubts as to the constant devotion to equine amusements attributed to the Vedic poets, and still more the ease with which Dr. Geldner detects and explains the language of the turf of those distant times, when we have difficulty enough to understand that of to-day. As to courtesans, it is certain that neither the Dawn nor the *Apsaras* are represented as chaste wives, but to assume from them the existence of a widely developed system of *hetaerae* is to judge of a society too much by its nymphs and goddesses.

General and detailed criticisms on these Studies have been written by Profs. Oldenberg[28] and Colinet,[29] and Prof. Ludwig has devoted to them a long essay, very learned but very muddled and confused.[30] With Messrs. Pischel and Geldner we always know at least what they mean and where they wish to lead us. Another essay of the same author directed chiefly against the *Prolegomena* of Prof. Oldenberg deals chiefly with the reconstruction of the text of the Ṛigveda.[31] Here again the inherent difficulties of the subject do not seem to satisfy Prof. Ludwig, who writes as if with a determination to make his readers do penance.

Want of clearness is not the shortcoming of the work in which **M. Hirzel** has fallen on the remarkable idea of counting and classifying the comparisons and metaphors of the *Ṛigveda*, in order to establish thereby statistics of the occupations and favourite pursuits of the Vedic peoples. To lend greater probability to the investigation he has compared the corresponding results furnished by the Greek poets. Those who know what sort of progress has been made in the interpretation of the Veda, — how questions like that of the knowledge of the sea by the Hindus of that period are still under discussion, — can only look on this laborious attempt as nothing but the whim of a man who has time to lose. We are also in the domain of fancy, but another kind of fancy, with **M. Brunnhofer.**[32] M. Brunnhofer, who combines wide knowledge with a great deal of imagination, starts with a very true conception, namely that differences of race and language have never been, either in the past or now, an unsuperable barrier between nations. But he has let himself be led astray by it, and after several stages, is completely in a dream-world. In his eyes, the Veda was composed by people who came from Afghanistan, Persia, Media, Parthia, the shores of the Caspian, from Ararat, the Caucasus, the Black Sea, from everywhere, perhaps even from India. He discovers in the Veda stanzas in the Zend

26 Richard Pischel and Karl F. Geldner, *Vedische Studien. Erster Band. Stuttgart*, 1889, *Zweiter Band 1 Heft*, *ibid*. 1892.

27 Tome XIX. p. 128.

28 In the *Götling Gel. Anz.* 1890, No. 10.

29 *Les principes de l'exegèse vedique d'après MM. Pischel et K. Geldner.* In the *Muséon*, Vol. IX. (1890) pp. 250 and 372.

30 Alfred Ludwig, *Ueber Methode bei Interpretation des Ṛigveda* in the *Abhandlungen* of the Academy of Prague, 1890.

31 *Ueber die Kritik des Ṛigvedatextes, ibid.* 1889.

32 Hermann Brunnhofer, *Iran und Turan., Historische, geographische und ethnologische Untersuchungen über den ältesten Schauplatz der Indischen Geschichte*, Leipzig, 1889. — *Vom Pontus bis zum Indus, Historisch-geographische und ethnologische Skizzen*, Leipzig, 1890. — *Culturwandel und Välkerverkehr*, Leipzig, 1890. This last book, a collection of various essays, is of a less special character. The following I do not know at first hand, but doubt if it is much more valuable : *Vom Aral bis zur Gangâ. Historisch-geographische und ethnologische Skizzen zur Urgeschichte der Menschheit*, Leipzig, 1892.

language, the key of the legend of Cyrus and Queen Tomyris, and quite recent recollections of the invasion of Semiramis. An Âtreya has even preserved for us a tradition of the taking of Babylon by Zoroaster in the year 2458 B. C., at which this Âtreya was present, and which is known only through him. We sometimes ask ourselves if the author is talking seriously, as when he asks the Russian Government to send a scientific expedition to the steppes of Turkestan, in order to study the phenomena of the mirage, and confirm his view that the Hindus have hence derived their ideas of the Pitṛis, and of Mitra and Varuṇa. In spite of the absolute want of sound general views M. Brunnhofer has a remarkable sagacity in dealing with points of detail, some of which are valuable.

The question of the connexion of the Vedic Hindus with the Iranian peoples has always attracted the attention of **Prof. Weber,** but without leading him into extravagances like those just mentioned. He has taken up the subject again in an essay.[33] The essay is not confined to this question nor to the Ṛig-Veda, as he endeavours to follow up the traces of the epic legend in the ritual literature (another series of questions which Prof. Weber was the first to put), but the problem of the north-west is always present in some form or other. The whole essay is a model of erudition, and is full, thorough and exact, with several daring digressions, which open up long vistas into the past, but in which the use of hypothesis is never pushed beyond its proper limits. As regards the epic legends, the more they agree with what the Veda has preserved or depart from it, the more we must, it seems, accustom ourselves to regard them, not as mere copies of these more ancient traditions but, with all the later systematisation, as a branch of parallel tradition, having in many cases a value of its own. As to these countries on the north-west frontier they seem to have been in the earliest times very much the same as we find them at various historical periods, in the middle ages for example, when the table-land of Iran was *India Minor*, and to a certain degree down to our own days. In every age the Paṭhâns have made inroads on India, either as invaders or by a process of slow and more or less peaceful infiltration, and in the early periods the Paṭhâns were not Musalmâns.

Other works deal with conceptions peculiar to the Ṛig-Veda. **M. Koulikovski** has, in this *Review*,[34] made a study of a certain number of epithets of Agni, and has built up, on a very slender basis, a whole pile of very hazardous conclusions as to the social and political organization of the Vedic tribes. **M. Colinet** has very carefully gathered together all the ideas bearing on the upper world.[35] The almost unavoidable defect of an essay like this, is that, after reading it, we are hardly any further on than before. It was known that this upper world was the abode of the *devas* and the light, and it is easy to understand that it was also the abode of the *pitṛis* and of Yama. But it is also the world of Soma, of the Âpaṣ, of Aditi, of the *ṛita*, of the *asu*, and of other beings, which should first of all be carefully determined, and M. Colinet doubtless does not flatter himself that he has always completely succeeded in this task. This would be to make clear the most obscure portion of the Veda. **M. Ehni** has made a study of Yama, and has endeavoured by comparison with corresponding figures in other mythologies to

[33] Alb. Weber, *Episches im Vedischen Ritual* in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Academy of Berlin, 23rd July 1891. In a later essay, *Ueber Bâhlî Bâhlîka, ib.* 17th November 1892, Prof. Weber has examined afresh a special case of these points of contact between India and Persia. We know that Bâhlî and Bâhlîka are in classical Sanskrit names of Bactria and the Bactrians, and it is generally admitted that in this form these names cannot go back further than the first centuries of our era. Professor Weber enumerates the works which are reckoned old, in which these forms are found, among others the *Vârttikas* of Kâtyâyana, and the *Mahâbhâshya*, which would thus be subsequent to the Christian era. But he agrees that Valhika, which is found in the *Atharvasaṁhita* and in the *Śatapathabrâhmana* is a name of Hindu origin, and has nothing to do with Bactria, and he cites cases where the two orthographies have been confused. For another special case, that of the Yavanas, the Greeks, see Sylvain Levy, *Quid de Graecis veterum Indorum monumenta tradiderint*, Paris, 1890, and a third essay of Prof. Weber, *Die Griechen in Indien* in the same *Sitzungsberichte*, 17 July 1890.

[34] Tome XX. p. 151, *Les trois feux sacrés de Ṛig-Veda.*

[35] Ph. Colinet, *La nature du monde supérieur dans le Rig-Veda* in the *Muséon*, 1890. I have not yet seen another essay of M. Colinet on *Aditi*, which was presented to the Oriental Congress in London, 1892, *Transactions*, Vol. I. pp. 396-410. A first sketch appeared in the *Muséon*, 1893: *Étude sur le mot Aditi*. M. Colinet holds that in the *Ṛig-Veda*, the word *Aditi* is always the proper name of a goddess.

reduce this conception to its origin in nature.[36] Like many others he sees in Yama a solar hero, and we may accept this view, but I doubt if we can equally accept the further ideas which he adds of his own, of the rising sun, the sun in spring-time, the setting sun, the sun at night, etc. In a word, the book hardly marks any real advance.

In this respect the work of Prof. Hillebrandt on the Soma is very different.[37] If there ever was a book to give hope to those who desire to see deeply into the Veda, it is this. The position which the author defends is a new one; it is of the very highest importance, since there is scarcely a hymn which it does not touch on more or less, and from which it does not remove some troublesome problem; to put it shortly, the correctness of the position is, in my opinion at least, proved. In the whole Veda, Soma, not only, as was formerly believed, in a few late[38] passages but in numberless places, designates the moon, conceived of as the recipient of the celestial *soma*, the food of the gods, of which the terrestrial *soma*, offered in the sacrifice, is the symbol here on earth. These three meanings are nearly always present at one and the same time; in certain cases it is difficult to say that the text passes from one to the other, so closely are they interwoven, whether intentionally or simply in consequence of the long employment of the same formulæ. This fundamental proposition of Prof. Hillebrandt's book is laid before the reader with such a wealth of proof, is followed up so patiently in all its consequences and in its smallest details, that it must be received, in our opinion, as one of the most enduring conquests of Vedic philology. Henceforth, whenever the celestial *soma* and its peculiar attributes are discussed, we shall know where to look for it. The terrestrial *soma* is treated as carefully as its celestial homonym. The description of the plant, the preparation of the sacred liquor, the utensils employed, the use made of it in the sacrifice (no doubt in daily life too), are examined in detail, and determined as accurately as the texts will permit, which refrain intentionally from definite expressions. If I had any doubts to give utterance to, it would be in regard to the secondary positions taken up in the book, where a whole series of other divine figures are more or less identified with the moon. In the case of Viśvarûpa, the son of Tvashṭṛi, the sun, who is the moon conceived of as a demon, I think that Prof. Hillebrandt is successful; I am doubtful as to Bṛishaspati and Apâm napât, who are rather other forms of Agni, though both names do occasionally mean Soma. To shew too ready an acceptation of syncretism in the Veda, is to bring everything into confusion. Much less still am I persuaded that Yama, who is also an offspring of the sun, was ever the moon. But it is difficult to make a discovery and not overstep its limits a little. Among the points where Prof. Hillebrandt goes too far, there is one, however, which I cannot pass over in silence, recurring as it does over and over again. In his view the Vedic religion, from being solar, became a lunar religion. This, I think, is far from the case, and it became the one, just as little, as it ever was the other. If the *ṛishis* of the Veda had been worshippers of the Sun, the Moon, the Fire, they would have told us so in clearer terms, and Prof. Hillebrandt's discovery would have been made long ago. This discovery throws a new light, not so much on the religious ideas of the *ṛishis*, as on the origins, or some of the origins, of these ideas, as well as the origins of the practical part of their worship, and of the forms in which they clad their thoughts. The service which he has done is too great for us to spoil it by pushing it too far,

[36] I. Ehni, *Der vedische Mythus des Yama, verglichen mit den analogen Typen der persischen, griechischen, un germanischen Mythologie*, Strassburg, 1890.

[37] Alfred Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*. Erster Band. Soma und verwandte Götter. Breslau, 1891.

[38] Professor Hillebrandt ranks me along with those who defend this view, and I cannot blame him for doing so, since it is expressed in my *Religions of India*, and, up to the present I have nowhere formally withdrawn it. But, in fact, I have long ceased to hold it, and have arrived at opinions which are fundamentally the same as those of Prof. Hillebrandt, and that partly for the same reasons — the identity of the *amṛita* and of the *soma*, and the constant belief of the Hindus which places the food of the gods within the moon. If, as I suppose, the second English edition of my book simply repeats on this point the first edition: this second edition is quite unknown to me; up to this moment I have not even seen a copy of it. Such a thing could not have happened in the life of the late Mr. Nicholas Trübner, who had both learning and delicate taste. If the present managers of the firm think that a book on India can be reprinted after six years without additions or alterations, the next French edition will undeceive them.

and trying to find out, for example, in the midst of Vedic surroundings, fully developed moon festivals. For those who composed these songs, Soma and Agni had long ceased to be the moon or the fire and had become universal principles of life, just as Indra and Varuṇa had ceased to be the sky, and had become celestial kings, to be in turn drawn into and lost in the eddies of mystical speculation. The incoherences of the language of the hymns would have no meaning, if not this.

Here I could close the list of works on the Ṛigveda, the least pretentious of which serve some purpose. But, however, unwillingly I find myself compelled to return to the works of **M. Regnaud** and speak of them at some length. M. Regnaud, like many others, feels very keenly the imperfection of the state of Vedic studies, and cherishes the very praiseworthy desire of finding a remedy. But I must confess that he seems to me to be on a completely wrong track. In the previous *Report* (T. XIX. p. 127) I mentioned two of these essays, which have appeared in this *Review*, and tried to say in a few words all the good I could say of them, perhaps a little too much. I also took exception to some things, to which M. Regnaud replied on p. 348. In these criticisms of mine he imagined he saw the effect of advancing age, and from a motive of kindliness, for which I tender him my thanks, he expresses his regret that I have passed the age of fifty. This I regret I feel as keenly, perhaps more even than he, but I do not think that my years have at all affected my criticism of his work. But if I had any doubt on this point, M. Regnaud himself would have removed it. On this same page 348 he has given us again a specimen of his method. He asks how the epithet *hotṛi*, the name of a class of priests, could have been given to Agni. The best means of learning this would surely be to investigate the functions of the *hotṛi*, to examine, with this end in view, the innumerable passages in which the word is found, to find out also if Agni has not other similar epithets, such as *neshṭri*, *potṛi*, *adhvaryu*, etc. M. Regnaud's method is more expeditious; he is content with knowing that the word "rests on two roots originally identical both in sense and form, meaning — (burn, shine, manifest) make to understand,[39] pour out, scatter, etc.," and the thing is done. Frankly, I do think that even at twenty I should have been too old for a method like this. I am not able to review in detail, in this place, these Vedic studies, which are besides already quite familiar to the readers of this *Review*.[40] They consist uniformly of a "preface on method," (as if there were a peculiar method for the Ṛigveda) followed by translations of whole hymns or isolated passages. What this method precisely is would be difficult to say at a first view in a few words. We see chiefly that M. Regnaud claims to continue the work of Bergaigne; that the Ṛigveda has been little understood because various bad systems have been applied to its interpretation; that this would be altered with a good system; that the Ṛigveda is a primitive book, the most primitive we can imagine, one in which nothing is fixed, but in which everything, both ideas and language is in process of formation; that it also may not be primitive in its entirety, (we must always take care to be in the vanguard, and be on the outlook against what perhaps will be the opinion current to-morrow), but that it is absolutely primitive in its materials, (but where we are to draw these materials from is not said). All this is, at first sight, a little confused;[41] evidently the correct method is as yet only in its beginnings. As to translation, we see that on the other hand this is very simple: we have only to depart as much as may be from our predecessors, to frame our etymologies according to linguistic theories which are not approved of, as far as I can see, by the students of language, and without any great care for the rudimentary principles of philology. It is not sound philology, for instance, to translate *dakshiṇá*, by offering, which is not a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, because it is "certainly allied with the root *dâś-daś* to give, make an offering,[42] or in verse 7,[43] to make *parikshitos* a simple adjective, with the meaning, "containing, enclosing," and further in the locative case from the mere desire of change, and contrary to all feeling for the usages of

[39] Rather "call"; the meanings which I have put within brackets do not exist either in classical Sanskrit nor in the Vedic language.

[40] T. XXI. pp. 63, 301; XXII. p. 302; XXIII. p. 308; XXV. p 65; XXVI. p. 48.

[41] Though very well put, M. Regnaud's powers as a dialectician are not in question here.

[42] Rv. I. 123, 1. T. XXI. p. 70, *daś* does not exist.

[43] Rv. I 123, 7, *ibid.* p. 81.

the language. But this mode of procedure is comparatively harmless when M. Regnaud has to deal with a fully commented text as here, though even then it sometimes plays him a bad trick. Further on, for instance,[44] he takes Hymn III. 1, which has been translated and annotated in the Vedic Studies by Prof. Geldner, to whom, we may mention, he deigns to give a certificate for proficiency in grammar, such as he has given to Bergaigne. Prof. Geldner thinks he sees in this hymn a very clear distinction between the celestial and the terrestrial Agni, and has naturally drawn a little on his imagination, for things like that are never clear in the Veda. M. Regnaud, who, from the first, holds fast by his "system," and will not hear of a celestial Agni at any price, thinks he sees in it only the terrestrial Agni, the fire on the altar, and, as a matter of course, composes another romance. Let us admit that his notion is the better of the two; all that I wish to do is to shew, by an example, at what price he has gained it, and what confidence we can have in its author. In the second verse[45] *gîḥ* becomes a masculine, which it certainly is not here, because of the formula in which it occurs; *vardhatâṁ*, a middle form, is translated like a causative; the division of the *pâdas* is neglected in the most awkward way;[46] at the same time the question whether the priest who recited the hymn also fed the fire is got over very summarily;[47] lastly *duvasyan*, which is a third person plural (it has no accent), is taken as a participle, and, I am very much afraid, a future participle, which would be one barbarism more. All this in nine words, because M. Regnaud has understood Prof. Geldner's German quite as little as the Sanskṛit original. As methods go this is one, but not a good one. I shall only mention the strange interpretation of VIII., 102 (91), 4,[48] where Aurva becomes the outpoured butter, metaphorically personified. Bhṛigu, the flame also personified, and Apnavâna, another metaphorical synonym of fire which M. Regnaud refrains for the moment from explaining, but for which he will certainly have an explanation ready when wanted. And they were not only such in their origin, to be re-discovered now by the clear eyes of M. Regnaud; they were so for the *ṛishi* too, who could recite without a laugh; "I invoke the fire, as Butter poured forth, as Flame, as Fire (invoke it)."[49] Daring as this may seem, M. Regnaud affords us plenty more examples; for, in the meantime, the "system" has been brought to perfection and reduced to a formula; the key of the Veda has been detected and M. Regnaud does not need to take any further precautions. This key is, that there are no deities in the Ṛigveda, there are only two igneous elements, fire and an inflammable liquid, *agni* and *soma*, whose constant union is the sole theme of the *ṛishis;* all the rest is delusion and rhetoric. Like most wrong-headed ideas, it has not sprung up of itself, but has its origin in a grain of truth. It has long been noticed that divine personages are not always taken seriously as such in the Veda, and that the sacrifice is at least as much an *opus operans* as an *opus operatum*, and that not in the sense in which every act of witchcraft is, but as a primitive rite, anterior to every thing, and rendering the gods, in a way, superfluous. A whole school of the Mîmâṁsâ went, in this respect, quite as far as M. Regnaud: for them the gods existed only in the *śabda* (we would say in the letter) of the Veda. And so in spite of their scrupulous piety in the ritual, they were looked on as atheists. This, in the *ṛishis*, has been called syncretism, and has been regarded as the result of advanced speculation, acting on a religion, which was in process of dissolution, not of formation. In M. Regnaud's view, it is quite the other way; it is neither syncretism, nor mysticism, nor speculation of any sort, the simple union of the fire and the liquid butter is the primitive germ, the key of the Veda, and of all Indo-European mythology. To attain this result, we must first clear the ground a little. If there are no gods, it is clear we cannot speak of believ-

[44] T. XXII. p. 302. [45] T. XXII. p. 311.

[46] Still more so in the second half verse, where nearly every word is taken wrongly, *vidatha*, among the rest, whose etymology M. Regnaud fancies he has proved, without having been able to convince any one else of its truth.

[47] To M. Regnaud this presents no difficulty, but with the standpoint which he occupies, is there anything that presents a difficulty?

[48] T. XXXIII. p. 313.

[49] This tasteful interpretation is only a part of a long proof of how the myth of Aurva took its rise in the misunderstanding of this verse, where the appearance of such-like misapprehensions is exhibited as a discovery. Does M. Regnaud not know this is as old as the beginning of Vedic studies? Can he have forgotten the god *Ka*?

ing and having confidence in them. We are next told that the word *śraddhâ*,[50] by which this sentiment is expressed in the Veda, has not this meaning, that theological[51] faith is too abstract a notion, and savours too much of reflection for so early a book, where everything is simple, material, and tangible; that *śraddhâ* here means what it has never meant since the existence of language in India, "gift, offering." This M. Regnaud tries to prove by the Latin *credere*, "whose primitive meaning is, without doubt, to give, restore, trust;"[52] by means of the signification "of the roots *ślath*, *śrath* and *śraṇ*, variants of *śrad* . . . . . which mean to send, restore, detach, etc.,[53] by "the constant use of the derivative (or the variant)[54] *śrâddha* in the ritual and technical sense of a libation made to the manes:"[55] in a word, by a succession of translations, which M. Regnaud looks on as "perfectly convincing," but which will be accepted by no Vedic scholar. If there are no gods, there must consequently be no prayers. And, in reality there are none: as he shews us further on,[56] not by a "detailed proof," which would be too long, but by a method of procedure which "very happily" leads to the "same result at much less cost." Ninety-nine per cent. of the Veda has, it is true, very much the look of being prayers; there is nothing, it would seem, that the gods are not asked to grant or to avert. These are all merely phrases, or passages which have been wrongly understood. The texts are as clear as day, we must only torture them to understand them. The whole of this article is simply topsy-turvy. How can I prove to M. Regnaud, if he will not see it, that *tam ma saṁ sṛija varchasâ* means "(Agni) grant me splendour," and not "(Agni) make me flow on with thee," that is to say, "cause that which I am making flow, to flow," ? that *saṁ mâ agne varchasâ sṛija sam prajayâ sam âyushâ*, means "Agni, grant me splendour, offspring, a long life" and not "Agni, make me flow on by thy splendour, by thy production, by thy warmth" ? that I. 23, 22, means "O Waters, carry off whatever evil has been done by me whatever violence I have committed, or what I have sworn falsely" and not "O Waters (which I make flow on), carry off all what in me is difficult of approach (let not that flow on which I do not cause to flow) or what I have hemmed in (prevented from flowing on) or what I have closed in, inasmuch as I have not caused it to flow on.[57] "The root *śap*," says M. Regnaud, on this, "is generally taken to mean 'swear, curse.' It has this meaning, it is true, in the classical literature, but from a wrong interpretation of its Vedic meaning. *Śap*, for *śchap*, seems to be a doublet of *kshap*, which means 'that which covers, envelops,' or 'darkness, night;' compare the Greek σκέπας, σκέπω, σκιπάζω etc." M. Regnaud often appeals to Bergaigne. Now, if he can shew me, in all Bergaigne's works, a single specimen of sleight of hand like this, I shall consent, from henceforward, to admit that he is right in the whole question.

At this point we have come, for this time at least at the end of this long and doleful journey in the realm of absurdity, and are now in a position to read with advantage the volume in which M. Regnaud has embodied his most recent researches.[58]

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[50] T. XXV. p. 61.

[51] A great deal can be done with words in *ical*. No body ever took *śraddhâ* in the Veda for faith in the sense of St. Paul or St. Augustine. But I cannot see that there is anything so subtle in it when reduced to the simple act of belief or non-belief in the power or the existence simply of such and such a god. The most primitive tribe we may imagine had neighbours who did not believe in their gods (of course if they had some) and the Vedic *ṛishis* were in this position, they knew peoples who were *anindrâh* "who did not honour Indra."

[52] "To give," of course, but to give of trust; *debitum* is always the correlative of *creditum*.

[53] Which assumes for *śraddhâ* something like the meaning of "the deposition of the gift," or something similar.

[54] Again an inaccuracy. *Śrâddha* is surely a derivative and nothing but a derivative. But then it is clear that the original and the derivative cannot both mean "gift."

[55] Here, as always, an inaccuracy. *Śrâddha* means the whole ceremony, which is very complicated, never a libation, a single offering. M. Regnaud would have made a point by paying attention to this, for this would have let him explain *śrâddha* by "the ceremony which has to do with the offerings." But habit is a second nature.

[56] T. XXVI. p. 48.

[57] The bracketted words are added by me, and are taken from the annotations of M. Regnaud.

[58] *Le Rig-Veda et les origines de la mythologie indo-européenne.* Première partie (forming the first volume of the *Bibliothèque d'études in the Annales du Musée Guimet*), Paris, 1892.

Shall I give an analysis of this work, the result of hasty studies, carried on from hand to mouth, but with a great air of confidence, which we are, nevertheless, tempted sometimes to look on as a prolonged mystification? As to matter or method, we do not learn anything which we did not know before; the fire and a liquid, their union or, rather, mutual transformation, in the flame of the altar, the liquid becoming fire and the fire becoming liquid: the whole horizon of the authors of the Veda is bounded by this; they see and seek for nothing beyond. They sit bent before the fire like alchymists, intent on their *magnum opus*, but a *magnum opus* which seems to have no purpose. At least M. Regnaud himself does not appear to have rightly grasped this purpose, since, here again, he does not tell us what it is, and the explanation of this curious state of mind is put off till later, when no doubt he will have pulverized the gods of Greece, as thoroughly as those of India. For the time being, he is content with establishing the fact, that the foundation, the only real foundation of the Veda, is the act of pouring into the fire, to feed it, an inflammable liquid, oil, or spirituous liquor:— facts which are proved by him "according to the meaning of the texts and common sense." Putting aside for a moment the texts, let us look at this common sense. What it tells us is, that if the *soma* helped to feed the fire, it must have been inflanmable, and must have been an oil or alcohol. But sound sense makes us also see clearly the unlikeness of this conclusion. The plant which yielded the *soma* (and provisionally, till we are enlightened by a revelation from above, we must believe that it came from a plant) was probably ground up in water, and the liquid so obtained was itself mingled, not only with milk and other substances, but also with water, all of which scarcely harmonizes with the notion of an inflammable oil. It was drunk and produced excitement and intoxication, which agrees with this notion still less. On the other hand, can we, without further consideration, attribute to the Hindus of that time the knowledge of distillation? For every other spirituous liquor obtained by fermentation, wine included, even though very strong and in a perfectly pure state, even without any addition of water, would have extinguished the fire rather than have quickened it. Even the fermentation must have been feeble, for the *soma* is not described as a liquid which could be kept; it seems that it was prepared when wanted. The texts tell, or seem to tell, us all this, and we have no right to throw their testimony overboard, like M. Regnaud. Further, we cannot call to mind, in other later texts, a *soma* more or less different from that which, being certainly mixed with water and not fermented (it had not to be more than one night old), did not put the fire out; a fire, that, it must be remembered, consisted of a few small faggots. We may imagine that the Hindus had in time substituted other plants in place of their *soma;* but how could they have lost the art of distillation, if they ever had it? How could they have given up the use of an oil to feed their fire? Things and ideas may change, but usage is commonly permanent. This conclusion, then, lands us in serious difficulties, and common sense bids us, in such a case, re-examine the premises with care; is the *soma* really the food of Agni? If, indubitably, the texts answer in the affirmative, then and then only, we must admit it to be true. On this point, there is on the first page of the book, a note which we cannot read without regret, where M. Regnaud asserts that Prof. Hillebrandt in his work on "the god Soma" has only seen one thing, namely, that the *soma* was also poured on the fire. Can he have read Prof. Hillebrandt's book, and not destroyed his own! The truth is that, if Prof. Hillebrandt has seen only this, it is because this is the only thing to see. Nowhere, in no text, are we told clearly that *soma* is the food of Agni, that the *soma* is poured into the fire to nourish it, and make it blaze up. Agni is fed on butter and fat, he devours the wood and the raw flesh, if he drinks the *soma,* it is as a god and companion of other gods. The *somapâs* are the *devas*, chiefly Indra, who drink it and have drunk it from the first in heaven, and in the solemn sacrifices, who get their share of it here on earth, part of which was cast into the fire to make them approach, we know not how or in what quantity. But we must think to what these symbolical acts are commonly reduced. The officiating priests drank the remainder. It is true that in M. Regnaud's eyes these *devas* are the flames, that Indra is another name for Agni, that the officiants are probably also the flames, that the heaven has no

existence, and that consequently no one could drink there the *soma*. But this is the Veda of M. Regnaud, and we must not begin by believing in it if we are to criticize it. There remain then for us only the texts, the unfortunate texts, to which we must at last return. Sad to say they exist only to be the victims of the theory. All this is purely *à priori* construction, though M. Regnaud were to assert the contrary a hundred times. It is not from the texts that he has learned that *pṛithivi . . . yachhá naḥ śarma saprathaḥ* means, "libation, make flow on our libation which extends itself," that *Indrâvaruṇa . . asmabhyam śarma yachhatam* means "fire alight and fire enveloping, make the libation flow on for us." No, once in possession of his "key," he applies it to every "lock" to see if it will fit. And it fits, but at what a price! This fourth chapter, not to speak of others, is so marvellous that we ask if it is not meant as a refutation of the whole system by a *reductio ad absurdum*. That the Vedic dictionary is far from perfect, no one will deny. The later literature, from the *brâhmaṇas* onwards, the next oldest monuments, is an uncertain guide, partly because certain words have gone out of use, or because their meanings have undergone an essential change of meaning; still more, because the writers indulge in trifling speculations with some of them,[59] and this again is a point in which every one is agreed. Our task is not to create a system that questions everything, by starting with what is obscure, but to go on continuously from the known to the unknown, from what is certain to what is doubtful, and above all to be content with moderate gains. Has M. Regnaud taken this course? I can only compare his procedure to that of a woodman in a forest which must be cleared. Everything falls before him, not only technical words, terms which are uncommon, or which have early gone out of use, but the best authenticated, the commonest words, which have always remained in the language, and have given rise to derivatives, and passed into the dialects. How can we take seriously oracles like the following, in which *pṛishṭha*, which is identified at a stroke of the pen with *pṛishṭa*, means no longer "back," but "that which is turned;" in which *parvan* does not mean "joint," but "that which flows;" in which *parvata, adri, giri, sânu* do not mean "the rock, the mountain," but "the libation;" in which *grâvan* is not "the stone," but the libation, inasmuch as it is "rapid;" in which *barhis* is no longer "the grass," but the libation, inasmuch as it is "strengthening;" in which *dyaus* is no longer "the heaven," *pṛithivî* is no longer "the earth," but the libation, inasmuch as it is "set on fire or not set on fire;" in which *antariksha* "the atmosphere," becomes the libation "enveloped," that is to say, "not lit;" *vyoman* "space" becomes the libation "which nourishes;" in which *manushvant*, an adjective which does not exist and for good grammatical reasons, but which is said to mean "provided with *soma*," is made in the neuter into *manushvat* which is a synonym of another adjective *manurhita*, and means like this, "so far as provided with *soma*;" in which *pavitra* is what serves not to "purify," but to "light;" in which *pur* does not mean "town," but the libation as "nourishment;" in which *araṇi* is not a piece of wood, but the libation as "moving," and in the dual "the libation which moves, and which does not move;" in which *saṁvatsara* is not the year, but the libation, as "having its calf with it?" All these little etymological jokes are brought about by means of Sanskṛit of all periods, and one-half of the dictionary is used to destroy the other. We may imagine after this what will become of phrases, combinations of words and whole hymns when reconstructed with the same skill and philological care.

We have an example of this in chapters six and seven, where M. Regnaud examines in order, at the expense of several hymns, "the metaphorical origin of the myth of the Dawn," which is also, to him, merely a form of the ever-recurring libation, and "the alleged myth of the descent of Soma," *i. e.*, its descent from heaven, one of the best ascertained beliefs in the whole Veda. We find other examples in the last part of the book (which is not so much a book as a collection of articles printed together) — an appendix which gives an explanatory translation of the thirteenth book of the Atharvaveda, undertaken as a reply to that of M. Henry, and intended to shew M. Henry how it should have been done. It is an occasional essay, only included in

[59] Exactly as M. Regnaud does in all seriousness.

this volume because written in the same spirit and with the same method, and which the author would have made more telling against M. Henry, if he had not added a translation of his own to his criticisms. I shall have to speak further on of the work of M. Henry. Meanwhile I shall only say for the benefit of those readers who are not specialists, that they need not take alarm at all the accusations of "wrong meaning" and "opposite meaning" which are brought against this translation of M. Henry; this only means that M. Henry translates differently from M. Regnaud, on which we must congratulate M. Henry. No one knows better than he that his translation is and could be a simply tentative one, and that it is laid before us only as such in a spirit of genuine modesty.

But we do not mean to say that M. Regnaud's work contains nothing of value. Far from it. M. Regnaud is a worker and investigator. If as a student of language he is combated by the students of language, if as a philologist by the philologists, no one will deny him an active and original mind, a vigorous style of argument, and great keenness of observation. A fixed idea is quite compatible with the latter gift, and often sharpens it. In the negative part of his book, where he detects the weak places in his opponents' armour, the want of strength in such and such an argument, the uncertainty of some meaning which has been provisionally accepted in default of a better, and still more, in the few parts of his book which are not directly concerned with his main thesis, we find a good number of just and useful observations. But I was called on to speak of this thesis, or rather system in this place, and I am compelled to pronounce completely against it. Under its spell, he has rid himself gradually of some useful checks possessed by Vedic philology, and in the end has thrown overboard all philological principles whatever. He has thus given himself free elbow room. But such a method avenges itself, it has led him into a perfect cloud-land, and I fear he will remain there. For if I have spent such time over his works, I scarcely dare hope to convince him. It was because a protest was needful, since there may be some simple-minded people on whom these essays will have an influence, and because, in the second place, it was needful, by shewing what the method of M. Regnaud is, to put an end to the belief that he carries on the tradition of Bergaigne, with whom for years he has had nothing in common, and lastly because it seemed necessary, against all hope, to make a final attempt to deal with his speculations. I do not think that, in the future, I shall have the same patience. M. Regnaud imagines that, since Indianists do not discuss his works, this is for the purpose of suppressing them by a conspiracy of silence. By no means. It is simply because there are certain topics which, like the squaring of the circle, do not admit of discussion. How is discussion possible, when there is no kind of agreement? M. Regnaud then must acquiesce; his writings are now addressed only to a circle of kindred spirits. He tells us of a school which is being formed about him. Frankly speaking, I wish it may be very small; otherwise we might expect to see some strange things.

Prof. Hillebrandt has finished, in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, his edition of the text of the ritual and liturgical hand-book of the Kaushîtakins, one of the *śâkhâs* or branches of the Ṛigveda, the *Śrauta sûtra* of *Śânkhâyana*, and has begun the commentary of Ânartîya.[60] M. Sabbathier has given us a good study on the *Agnishṭoma*, the simplest form of the *soma* sacrifices in the form of a translation with explanations of the fifth chapter of the *śrauta sûtra* of *Âśvalâyana*.[61]

On the Yajurveda I have few works to mention. The edition of the **Taittirîya Saṁhitâ** continued in the *Bibliotheca Indica* by **Maheśachandra Nyâyaratna**, has advanced since my last report by two parts only.[62] After nine years the fifth book is finished, and there are seven books.

[60] Alfred Hillebrandt, *The Sânkhâyana Srauta Sûtra, together with the Commentary of Varadattasuta Anartîya.* Vol. I. *Text of the Sûtra, Critical Notes, Indices*, Calcutta, 1888, seven parts. Vol. II. *The Commentary of Varadattasuta Anartîya*, Parts i.-iv. Calcutta, 1889-1892.

[61] P. Sabbathier, *Études de liturgie vedique. L' Agnishṭoma d' après le Srauta-sûtra d' Âśvalâyana* (*Journal Asiatique*, Jan.-Feb.-Mar. 1890).

[62] The *Saṁhitâ* of the Black Yajurveda, with the Commentary of Mâdhava Âchârya, Parts xxxv., xxxvi Calcutta, 1890-1892.

From want of sufficient manuscripts **Prof. Garbe** has not been able to take up again in the same collection, his edition with commentary of the *Śrautasûtra* of that school, that of Âpastamba. But one portion of that immense collection of *sûtras*, the twenty-fifth book, the **Yajñaparibhâshâsûtra**, or general rules on the sacrifice, has been published in the *Ushâ* by **Satyavrata Sâmaśramin**,[63] and has been translated into English by **Prof. M. Müller** in the *Sacred Books of the East*.[64] Lastly the *Upanishad* which forms a part of the *brâhmaṇa* of the White Yajurveda, the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka-upanishad*, has been edited according to the text of the school of the Mâdhyaṁdinas by **Geheimrath v. Böhtlingk**.[65] It is both a critical recension of the text, and an attempt, frequently happy, to translate it, untrammelled by the interpretation of the commentators. In both respects **Prof. Whitney** shews still more independence in the learned articles which he has devoted to the publication of Geh. v. Böhtlingk and which are an indispensable supplement to them.[66] I have noticed above the edition of the *Prâtiśâkhya* of the White Yajurveda published in the Benares Sanskrit Series.[67]

For the **Sâmaveda** the material is a little more abundant, thanks to the activity of one man, the *âchârya* **Satyavrata Sâmaśramin**, the author of the work I have analyzed above the *Niruktâlochana*. In the *Ushâ* (Dawn) founded by him in 1889 and conducted by him alone, he discusses doctrinal questions relative to the Veda, and edits texts and rare Vedic treatises, among which those of the Sâmaveda have taken till now the chief place.[68] Several of these treatises have been mentioned above; the *Nâradîyaśikshâ*, the *Ashṭavikṛitivivṛiti* of Madhusûdana, what remains of the *Vikṛitivallî* attributed to Vyâḍi, the *Yajñaparibhâshâsûtra* of Âpastamba. The others are, the *Aksharatantra*,[69] a treatise on the *stobhas* (the syllables inserted between the words, or even in the words themselves, when the *ṛichas* are chanted as *sâmans*) attributed to Âpiśali, a predecessor of Pâṇini, the *Sâmapratiśâkhya*,[70] which also deals with the change of *ṛichas* into *sâmans*. This treatise, better known under the title of *Phulla-* or *Pushpasûtra*, is here in twelve chapters and, according to a tradition, is attributed to a *ṛishi* Pushpa. The editor does not give his opinion on these attributions, in general he seems to admit them; a *Sâmapadasaṁhitâ*,[71] (*i. e.*, the *padapâṭha* of the *ṛichas* of the Sâmaveda, the text of these *ṛichas* with the words separated and the phonetic rules in abeyance), made by the editor to replace the *pâdapâṭha* attributed to Gârgya, which is now lost; three of the short *brâhmaṇas* of the Sâmaveda.

1°. The *Mantrabrâhmaṇa*,[72] a collection of *mantras* prescribed for the domestic ritual of the Sâmaveda, with a commentary by the editor and a preface in which he sets forth the genuine tradition of the Sâmavedins, at least those of the school of the Kauthumas, with respect to their *brâhmaṇa*. Like the other *śâkhâs* of the other Vedas, they reckon in fact, one *brâhmaṇa*, comprising the *Tâṇḍya* or *Pañchaviṁśabrâhmaṇa*, the *Shaḍviṁśabrâhmaṇa*, the *Mantrabrâhmaṇa*, and the *Chândogya-upanishad*. The other five short *brâhmaṇas* are supplements, *anubrâhmaṇas*.[73] This tradition is not incompatible with the relatively recent date of the *Mantrabrâhmaṇa*, which has itself very much the appearance of being a

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63 *Ushâ*, I. Part viii. Calcutta, 1891.

64 Vol. XXX. following the second part of the *Gṛihyasûtras* of Prof. Oldenberg. Professor M. Müller had before published a German translation of this part of the *Âpastambasûtras* in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. IX. 1855. — On the *Dharmasûtra* and *Gṛihyasûtra* of this school see further on.

65 *Brihadâranyakopanishad in der Mâdhyaṁdina Recension*. St.-Petersberg, 1889.

66 W. D. Whitney, *On Bohtlingk's Upanishads* in the *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, October 1890. It is a summing up of the following article: — *Böhtlingk's Upanishads* in the *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. XI. No. 4. These articles embrace also the *Chândogya-upanishad* of Geh. v. Böhtlingk, which will be spoken of further on.

67 According to a report which has reached me from India, but which, I trust, will not prove true, the excellent series will be stopped.

68 *Ushâ*, *Vaidikapatrikâ*, Vol. I. Parts i.-xii. Calcutta, 1889-91; Vol. II. Parts i.-iii. 1892.

69 *Ushâ*, I. 2, 1889. 70 *Ushâ*, I. 3, 1890. 71 *Ushâ*, I. 5, 1890.

72 *Ushâ*, I. 3, 1890. Published before for the first time in the *Hindu Commentator*, 1872.

73 This question has been treated by the editor in his *Niruktâlochana*.

supplement, and which in its present state, is perhaps not much older than the *gṛihyasûtra* of the Sâmaveda, that of Gobhila.[74] For even if, generally speaking, a *brâhmaṇa* is anterior to its corresponding *sûtra*, it does not follow that the compilation of the one should have been finished and entirely fixed before the first redaction of the other. But this is not the point of view of the editor; for him, from the moment when his text becomes a *brâhmaṇa*, it changes its character and its antiquity becomes indisputable. Critical as he may be, or at least open to doubt as to other works, when he has to do with the tradition of recognized *gurûs*, he raises no discussions, especially on what touches his own Veda.

2°. The *Ârsheyabrâhmaṇa*,[75] one of these *anubrâhmaṇas*, with the commentary of Sâyaṇa. It is a kind of *anukramaṇî*, or index of the *ṛishis*, who are authors of the *sâmans*, published before with extracts from the same commentary by Burnell, in 1876, and, again, according to the text of the Jaiminîyas, in 1878.

3°. The *Vaṁśabrâhmaṇa*,[76] another *anubrâhmaṇa*, which gives the succession of the ancient teachers of the Sâmaveda, with the commentary of Sâyaṇa, and notes by the editor. This treatise had also been published by Burnell with the same commentary in 1873; the *Gṛihyasaṁgraha*,[77] a *pariśishṭa*, or supplement of the domestic rites of the Sâmaveda, the *Gṛihyasûtra* of Gobhila; the *Upagranthasûtra*,[78] another *pariśishṭa* of the *Srautasûtra* of the Sâmaveda; the *Seventeen Mahâsâmans*,[79] the *Seven Saṁhitâs*,[80] the *Recitation of the Brahmayajña*,[81] and the *Arishṭavarga*,[82] are also short liturgical collections, lessons which the student of the Sâmaveda must repeat, either every day or on certain occasions, prayers which are only shortly prescribed in the ritual works, *brâhmaṇa* and *sûtra*, which the editor prints in full, with the traditional mode of reciting them. Besides the part devoted to editions of texts, there is another part of the *Ushâ*, in which the editor investigates, either in Sanskṛit or Baṅgâlî, various points of Vedic doctrine, questions of ritual, custom, morals, or health; some of which are highly interesting, as burning questions and bearing on the interests of the day, such as the prohibition of travelling beyond the seas, or working in the fields, infant marriages, the marriageable age of girls, etc. They are in fact really *fatwâs*, in which, without breaking at all with the orthodox method of settling everything by an appeal to the texts, the *âchârya* shews great liberality of mind, and gives his vote as much as may be for the most enlightened and most just decision.

Geh. v. Böhtlingk has edited and translated the *Chândogya-Upanishad*,[83] on the same lines as in his previous issue of the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka-Upanishad*. The critical restoration of the text had to play a greater part here, since this *Upanishad* is not so well preserved as the other. As in the previous publication of Geh. v. Böhtlingk we must refer to the remarks of Prof. Whitney, mentioned before. Lastly, Mr. Oertel has made some additions to our knowledge of the *brâhmaṇa* of the Sâmavedins of the school of the Jaiminîyas, by publishing afresh, from more abundant manuscript sources, the fragment of the *brâhmaṇa* which Burnell printed in a few copies in 1878, and which Prof. Whitney has also worked at, and by adding to this fragment eight other pieces taken from another section of the *brâhmaṇa* of which only the *Kena-Upanishad* was previously known.[84]

For the **Atharvaveda**, on the other hand, the harvest has been very rich, not so much from the number of publications, as by the exceptional importance of one of them. **M. Henry** has

74 *Cf.* on this the remarks of Prof. Oldenberg in the *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXX., p. 4, etc.

75 *Ushâ*, I. 11-12, 1891.

76 *Ushâ*, II. 2, 1892.

77 *Ushâ*, I. 10, 1891. Published before at the end of the *Gṛihyasûtra* of *Gobhila*, in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, and by Prof. Bloomfield in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XXXV. 1881, with a German translation.

78 *Ushâ*, II. 1, 1892.

79 *Ushâ*, II. 2, 1892.

80 *Ibid.*

81 *Ushâ*, II. 3.

82 *Ibid.*

83 Otto Böhtlingk, *Chândogyopanishad. Kritisch herausgegeben und übersetzt.* Leipzig, 1889.

84 Hanns Oertel, *Extracts from the Jaiminîya-Brâhmaṇa* and *Upanishad-Brâhmana, parallel to passages of the Śatapatha-Brâhmaṇa and Chândogya Upanishad.* In the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XV. 1892.

given us a translation of two books of the *Saṁhitâ*, the thirteenth and seventh books.[85] I shall speak of it quite as freely, as if one of the papers were not dedicated to me, just the one of the two that pleases me least, the translation of the thirteenth book. The choice was, I think, an unfortunate one. Such hymns do not lend themselves to translation, except for one's own use, when we are compelled to it; we do not voluntarily choose them. For it must be confessed that this whole version is hardly intelligible; and yet M. Henry has done everything in his power, he has struggled boldly with the text before him and no one could have performed such a task better. He has seen of course that the apparent unity of the book is open to doubt, but has let himself be led away by it. He sees in it the glorification of a body of myths under an uncommon and peculiar form. Here, however, I think, we have less to do with myths than usages, and these unhappily are not within our knowledge. Just on this book the ritual treatises of the *Atharvaveda*, which are very capricious, do not give us much information. I had been struck with the general likeness of the commencement and the *mantras* and practices of the "royal rite," the *râjasûya*, as it is described in the *Yajurveda*, and had begged M. Henry to investigate this point. If he had followed this track he would perhaps have found himself on firm ground for the beginning at least, as Prof. Bloomfield has afterwards shewn in the excellent remarks which he has made on this translation.[86] As a translation to be read from beginning to end, it is not successful. But as a commentary, as an honest and painstaking exposition of the difficulties of the text, as a starting point for other attempts, it is, in my opinion, of great value. And this is how M. Henry seems to have looked on it: it is eminently a work of scientific devotion. In the seventh book, he is on more favourable ground. Here we are in the midst of the usages of exorcism, sorcery, incantation on which this Veda is founded; information about features of the ritual is abundant, though often concise and obscure, and we know something at least as to what it is all about. M. Henry's labours, which are carried out with care, are therefore welcome; he has added as it were another link to the chain of translations which now includes the first seven books of the *Atharvaveda*.

Mr. Magoun has edited, with translation and commentary, the *Âsurîkalpa*,[87] one of these short treatises subjoined in no regular order to the *Atharvaveda* under the general heading of *pariśishṭas* or appendices. In this, the practices of witchcraft, which are carried out by means of a plant called *âsurî*, and which Mr. Magoun has studied carefully, are described. The text, which is very corrupt, required many emendations, to which we must add those proposed afterwards by Geh. v. Böhtlingk.[88] **Professor Bloomfield** has published in a completer form one of those detached studies, which I was able to refer to in the last *Report*[89] from the summary report in the *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, and he has followed it up by several others of the same kind,[90] in which he shews, with his complete mastery of the subject, the importance of the ritual for the interpretation of the Veda, how many problems as to the arrangement and primitive meaning of the *mantras* are thereby solved, problems whose very existence would otherwise not even be guessed at. In several of these studies, which are usually confined by him to the *Atharva-Veda*, he has enlarged his scope and examined

85 Victor Henry, *Les Hymnes Rohitas. Livre XIII. de l'Atharva-Veda, traduit et commenté*, Paris, 1891. *Atharva-Veda, traduction et commentaire. Le livre VII. de l' Atharva-Veda traduit et commenté*, Paris, 1892.

86 In the fourth series of his *Contributions to the interpretation of the Veda.* I do not require to return here to the translation of the thirteenth book which M. Regnaud has given; he has perceived that what is described must go on partly at least on this earth, but he has a knowledge of the usages which we have not, it is his eternal union of the fire and the liquid. To gain anything from his version we would need to adopt his system and use the same language as he does. I do not yet know his most recent publication in which he criticizes the views of Prof. Bloomfield.

87 H. W. Magoun, The *Âsurîkalpa: a Witchcraft Practice of the Atharva-Veda, with an Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*, Baltimore, 1889.

88 In the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XLIV. (1890), p. 489.

89 Tome XIX. p. 14.

90 Maurice Bloomfield, *Contributions to the Interpretation of the Veda*, in the *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. XI. 1890. Third Series in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XV. 1891. Fourth Series in the *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. XII. 1892.

certain myths in their totality, such as those of Namuchi and Indra, of Yama and his two dogs, of Manu, and of Saraṇyu. I think that for each one of these he has been successful in making the story more definite, in telling it to us better, notably in the case of Namuchi[91] and Saraṇyu; where he attempts to guess at their origin, he seems less fortunate. But, as a whole, these studies are written with such care and with such a perfect knowledge of the data, that with regard to this alone any future student of these myths will have always to pay attention to them.[92] Professor Bloomfield is indefatigable. At the head of a company of pupils and colleagues he gives us hopes of a complete **Vedic Concordance** which will contain all the formulæ of the older literature. If this work be carried out thoroughly on the orderly and comprehensive plan sketched out by Prof. Bloomfield, it will be an invaluable help in future researches.[93] Another announcement which we welcome with pleasure is that of the speedy appearance of the translation of the *Atharvaveda* by Prof. Whitney, with commentary, notes and references.[94] It is, further, a proof that the health of Prof. Whitney, which has long been far from good, is at last re-established, and that is a second reason for hailing this announcement with joy.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY J. M. CAMPBELL, C.I.E., I.C.S.

(*Continued from p.* 338.)

2. *Badges or Dêvaks.*

A great step towards guardian gods took place when the spirits of the family dead were considered friendly, not hostile. These friendly dead had, as noticed above, taken their abode either in the living tombs of man-eating animals, or in fruit or other food-yielding trees. **The choosing a badge was not the cause of tree, or animal, worship; it was the result of the belief that the spirits of ancestors lived in plants or in animals.**[1] Mr. McLennan explains the ten incarnations of Vishnu as the adoption into the national religion of ten clan gods.[2] It seems simpler to suppose that these were all worshipped as different objects, which gave protection against spirits, before they were chosen as a badge by any clan.

In the Bombay Presidency the practice of choosing **guardians, or dêvaks,** is universal among the Marâṭhâs of the Deccan, and to a less extent among the Kunbîs, Kôlîs, and Mâlîs of the Kônkan, and some husbandmen, like the Halvâkki Vâkkals of North Kânara. The usual *dêvaks* are animals, like the elephant, stag, deer, or cock, or trees, as the mango, *jambul*, *vaḍ*, or *bôr*. **The dêvak is the ancestor or head of the house,** and so families, who have the same guardian badge, or *dêvak*, cannot intermarry. If the *dêvak* be an animal, its flesh is not eaten. If the *dêvak* be a fruit tree, the use of the fruit is not forbidden, though some families abstain from eating the fruit of the tree which forms their *dêvak*, or badge. Among the Nâsik

[91] See on this a letter of Prof. M. Müller in the *Academy*, 22nd October 1892.

[92] On the myths I shall also mention a pamphlet by M. V. Henry, in which he applies the theory of nature or solar "riddles" to some ancient legends and in which the references to the Veda are numerous: *Quelques mythes naturalistes méconnus. Les supplices infernaux de l' antiquité*, Paris, 1892. In the case of Tantalus the author could have strengthened his position if he had noticed that, in its most ancient form, the punishment of Tantalus takes place not in hell, but in heaven.

[93] *A Vedic Concordance. Being a Collection of the Hymns and Sacrificial Formulas of the Literature of the Vedas.* By Maurice Bloomfield. From the Johns Hopkin's University Circulars, May 1892. Cf. *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, April 1892.

[94] *Announcement as to a Second volume of the Roth-Whitney edition of the Atharva-Veda*, by Prof. W. D. Whitney, in the *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, April 1892. [The great Professor died 7th June, 1894. — ED.]

[1] McLennan (*Fort. Rev.* Vol. VII. New Series, p. 218) thinks that the worship of animals or plants began in their being badges or protectors. Lubbock thinks it arose from certain ancestors choosing to be called as a memorial after some animal. It seems more likely to have its rise in the experience of men being re-born as animals (Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 237).

[2] *Fort. Rev.* Vol. VII. New Series, p. 215.

Mâlîs, rules about *dêvaks*, or guardian badges, are strictly observed. Among their *dêvaks* are such trees, or tree-leaves, as the *shami* (*Mimosa suma*), mango, *jambul* (*Calyptranthes jambolana*), *bôr* (*Zizyphus jujuba*), and *vaḍ* (*Ficus Indica*).[3] Some have wheat-bread for their *dêvak*, and some have a conch-shell, an earthen pot, or an axe, or *kurhâd*.[4] Among Ratnâgiri Kunbîs the *vaḍ* (*Ficus Indica*) is the badge of those who have the surname of Kadam, and an elephant of those whose surname is Sâvant.[5] A mango twig is the Shôlâpur Burud's *dêvak*, or guardian, and the *dêvak*, or guardian, of the Shôlâpur Têlî, or oil-maker, is an iron bar, or *pahâr*, and a mill, or *ghâna*.[6] The *dêvak* of the Shôlâpur Agarvâls, or scent-makers, is five piles, each of five earthen pots, with a lighted lamp in the middle.[7] The Pâtradavarus, or dancing girls, of Dhârwâr, when a girl is in her seventh year, worship the musical instruments, which are their guardians.[8] In North Kânara the important cultivating class of Halvâkkî Vâkkals, an early and wide-spread tribe, is divided into eight clans, each of which has a separate badge, which, when it is an animal, they do not eat. Thus the Kadanballîs do not eat the *kadavê*, or stag, the Bargalballîs do not eat the *bârgâ*, or deer, the Kuntiballîs do not eat the woodcock.[9] The Dhurvê Prabhus of Poona, before the thread-girding ceremony, set up a guardian, or *dêvak*. They take an earthen pot, which they white-wash and mark with yellow, green and red. In it are laid grains of wheat and rice, a betelnut, a piece of turmeric root, and a halfpenny. The lid of the pot is closed, and thread is wound round it. A lighted stone lamp is set before it, and fed with oil.[10] The *dêvak* of the Poona Rauls consists of leaves of the mango, *ruî*, and *saundad* trees.[11] The *dêvak*, or guardian, of the Bangars of Poona is a conch-shell, and the *dêvak* of the Pardêshî Râjputs is an earthen pot filled with wheat.[12] The *dêvaks*, or guardians, of the Ahmadnagar Sonârs, at their weddings, are their *sândâs*, or pincers, and their blowpipe, or *phunkanî*.[13] The *dêvak*, or guardian, of the Jain Shimpîs of Ahmadnagar is a pot with a flat lid, white-washed and marked with red and green.[14] The Ghisâdîs of Ahmadnagar have as a guardian the leaves of the mango, *umbar* (*Ficus glomerata*), *ruî* (*Calotropis gigantea*), and *jambul* trees.[15] The Ahmadnagar Khatrîs' family guardians at a thread-girding and a marriage are white-washed earthen pots.[16] The Châmbhârs of Ahmadnagar worship an axe as their *dêvak*, or guardian, and the Pâhâdîs, a small class of Nagar market gardeners, worship a pair of scales, or *tarâju*, as their *dêvak*.[17]

Several of the early tribes of Bengal shew traces of the worship of clan guardians, or badges. The Hôs and Mundâs are divided into clans or *kilis*. A man is not allowed to marry a girl of his own clan. The Mundarîs adopt the name of an animal as the clan badge, and its flesh may not be eaten. Among the animals chosen are the eel and tortoise. The badges of the Larkâs and Hôs are not generally animals.[18] The Mânbhûm Kharriâs neither eat mutton, nor use wool. Dalton suggests they may be a sheep tribe, and the flesh of the badge, according to Kolarian rules be forbidden. Several of the Khond clans are named after animals — Muningâ or Fish Tribe, Janingâ or Crab Tribe, Pochangiâ or Owl Tribe, Syalongâ or Spotted Deer, and Orangô or Blue Bull.[19] The Orâons of Chutiâ Nâgpur and the Kasiâs of the North-East frontier are called after

3 From MS. notes.
4 From MS. notes.
5 From verbal information given by a peon.
6 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XX. pp. 93, 143.
7 *Op. cit.* Vol. XX. p. 49.
8 *Op. cit* Vol. XXII. p. 191.
9 *Op. cit.* Vol. XV. p. 203. See *ante*, note 6.
10 From MS. notes.
11 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 360.
12 *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. pp. 265, 403.
13 *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p. 136.
14 *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p. 101.
15 *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p 98.
16 *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p. 111.
17 *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. pp. 167, 91.
18 Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 189.
19 *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 161. Macpherson's *Khonds*, p. 34. Other tribal names seem to have an animal origin. The Kods are perhaps the horse tribe, as Koda Pen is the horse god of the Central Province Gonds (Hislop's *Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, p. 18). Lamani is a peacock in Naikadu Gondi (*op. cit.* p. 27). Konda is a bullock in some Gond dialects (*op. cit.* p. 7). Koi is a cock or crow in Kaikaḍi (*op. cit.* p. 9), and a crow in Muda (*op. cit.* p. 10). The Marâṭhî Selars do not eat goat's flesh, and seem to take their name from the Telugu *shel* for a goat. It seems probable that Selar has been Sanskritized into Silahara, the dynasty who ruled in the Kônkan from A.D. 850 to 1300. Similarly it may be suggested that the well-known dynasty of Chalukyas, whose chief capital was Kalyân near Haidarâbâd, are the Chalkîs, or goat-herds, of the Deccan, who appear as Chherkyas among the Gonds (*op. cit.* p. 6).

animals, and are forbidden to use the animal after whom they are called.[20] Thus the Tirkîs, or Mice, may not eat mice; Ekhars, or Tortoises, may not eat the tortoise; Kirpôtâs may not eat the stomach of a pig; Lakrars may not eat tiger's flesh; Kujrars may not eat oil from the tree or sit in its shade; Gedhiars may not eat the kite; Khakhars may not eat the crow; Minjars may not eat the eel; Kerketars may not eat the bird of that name; and Barars may not eat from fig leaves.[21] The Santhâls have twelve tribes, but only one is called after an animal.[22]

The clan guardian seems to appear among the tribes of Central Asia, many of whom trace their descent from animals.[23] The Chinese have clan-names and keep the rule forbidding the people of the same clan-name marrying.[24] The Japanese of the old Shinto faith have a *kami*, or guardian saint, in each house.[25] In Australia the badge or clan-guardian, which is called *kobong*, is widespread. It is accompanied with the two rules — that succession is generally through the mother, and that people with the same crest may not marry.[26] They have also the rule forbidding the killing, or use, of the clan-guardian.[27] The Australian tribes are called after animals, as Murui the kangaroo, Tdhuru the brown-snake, Kuraki the opossum. When they go to war each carries his own animal stuffed as a standard.[28] The Australian guardians are both plants and animals. Many of the animals are birds, and one is a fish. They believe that their forefathers were turned from these animals into men [29] The Philippine islanders had many ancestral guardians called *anitos*, whom they called in time of trouble.[30] The Fiji islanders have badges, and follow the rule that the badge may not be eaten. He who worships the eel-god must never eat eel. Some cannot eat men, because their badge is man.[31] In Africa tribes have a badge or guardian, and keep the rule against marriage between people with the same crest.[32] The Banyai of Equatorial Africa pray to the dead. The Veddahs think the spirits of ancestors guard them, and the Dakotahs and the New Caledonians call on ancestors to help.[33]

Many North American tribes have a clan-guardian, generally an animal, bear, wolf, or deer. The guardian is held to be the clan-ancestor, and marriage between families of the same guardian is forbidden. In many cases the child takes its mother's guardian.[34] It was an American rule that the guardian was not to be killed.[35] Besides the clan-guardian some of the American tribes had a personal guardian. Each youth sees his guardian in a dream. It may be an animal or part of one, the skin or the claws, a feather or a shell; a plant, a stone, a knife, a pipe. This becomes his protector, and is buried with him.[36] In other tribes the naked child was laid on a bed of ashes, and the marks which were found next morning became his guardian.[37] The Canadians have also guardians or medicines. The red-maise is the oldest: the red deer the strongest.[38] The Eskimos have also guardians, but their rules are less strict. If they are unlucky they start a new guardian, and under certain circumstances they may shoot their guardian.[39] The idols of the South American Indians are guardian spirits of places.[40] They will not kill the animal, from which they believe they are sprung.[41] Among the Amazulus the ancestral spirits of one tribe go to fight the ancestral spirits of the other.[42] The Amazulu ancestors are angry when their rites are neglected.[43] In the Roman camp the eagles and other standards held a first

[20] Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 57.
[21] *Op. cit.* p. 251.
[22] *Op. cit.* p. 218.
[23] *Fort. Rev.* Vol. VI. New Series, p. 418.
[24] *Early History of Man*, p. 280.
[25] Silver's *Japan*, p. 39.
[26] *Early History of Man*, p. 284.
[27] *Fort. Rev.* Vol. VI. p. 411.
[28] *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. VII. p. 249.
[29] *Fort. Rev.* Vol. VI. p. 410.
[30] *Careri in Churchill*, Vol. IV. p. 431.
[31] *Fort. Rev.* Vol. VI. p. 421; Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 232.
[32] *Early History of Man*, p. 282.
[33] Spencer's *Princ. of Sociology*, Vol. I. p. 295.
[34] *Early History of Man*, p. 284.
[35] Bancroft, Vol. III. p. 35. Among the animal guardians were (*Fort. Rev.* Vol. VI. New Series, p. 413) wolf, bear, beaver, turtle, deer, snipe, heron, hawk, crane, duck, turkey, musk-rat, pike, cat fish, sturgeon, carp, buffalo, elk, reindeer, eagle, hare, rabbit and snake. Many others were plants (*op. cit.* p. 411); sand, water and rock were also guardians (*op. cit* p. 413); and so were the sun and the moon (*op. cit.* pp. 419, 420).
[36] Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 155.
[37] Bancroft, Vol. III. p. 467.
[38] *Fort. Rev.* Vol. VI New Series, p. 412.
[39] Bancroft, Vol III. p. 128.
[40] *Jour. Ethno Soc.* Vol. II. p. 231.
[41] Spencer's *Princ. of Sociology*, Vol. I. p. 365.
[42] *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 210.
[43] *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 211.

rank among tutelary deities.[44] Mr. McLellan traces clan-guardians among old tribes in South Europe.[45] He suggests that the animals in the sky, the serpent, scorpion, dragon, horse, bull, dog, swan, ram, goat and fish were originally clan-guardians. But the origin of animal worship seems to have preceded the choice of an animal as a clan-guardian. The Celtic clans of Scotland have their badges, some of which are plants, as the Campbells' bog-myrtle and the Macdonalds' heather. Some of the Scotch borderers had the moon as an armorial bearing, meaning that they were gentlemen of the night, or minions of the moon.[46] The clan-guardian would seem to be the origin of the ensign and the crest.[47]

3. Spirits are Mortals.

It seems probable, from the examples given under the heading of Ancestor-worship, that all spirits were originally the spirits of men. It is also probable that all spirits were originally mortal.

According to the *Vêdas*, offerings should be given to ancestors for three generations,[48] and so in Western India the higher class Hindus worship their ancestors for three generations. But among the lower classes uneasy ghosts are rarely worshipped for more than a generation or two.

Ghosts are like men, and like men die and pass into powerlessness. The Kunbîs of the Kônkan believe that a ghost cannot trouble a man for more than twelve years. In the Deccan there is a belief that ghosts do not live for more than three or four generations.[49] The Midhîs of the North-East frontier think spirits are mortal.[50] The Kurkûs of the Central Provinces worship the dead for a year after death.[51] In Siberia the ordinary spirit lived in a pillar for three years; a sorcerer's spirit was immortal.[52] Among the Persians both the *parîs*, or kindly spirits, and the *dêôs*, or unfriendly spirits, were mortal.[53] The Burmans believe that the victims, who are buried alive at the foundation of a tower and become guardians, last only for a time.[54] Among the Chinese the common people sacrifice to the father and grand-father; the nobles to three generations; the petty kings to five; and the emperors to seven ancestors.[55] The Zulus worship no ancestors except the father.[56] The figures set up for the dead in Melanesia are either the lately dead or the great dead. People seldom pray to a soul they have not known in life. Most ghosts perish after a time.[57] The Greenlanders believe that spirits are mortal.[58] The Greeks and Romans held that the life of the tree-nymph was bound up in the life of the tree.[59] In Europe the Middle Ages (1000-1500 A. D.) Cabalists believed in mortal sylphs, gnomes and undines.[60] In Scotland the elfin people were believed to die.[61]

4. Spirits cause Disease.

In early times the great fear which people entertained of the spirits of the dead was due to the belief that all diseases are caused by spirits; and the belief that spirits are the cause of sickness and misfortune is still entertained by many early tribes in India, as well as in other countries. Thus the Kôlîs of Thânâ ascribe every sickness and death to the agency of the *bhûts*, or evil spirits, or to witchcraft.[62] In the Kônkan, which is locally considered the hot-bed of evil spirits, among the lower classes ninety per cent. of the sickness and diseases is ascribed to *bhûts*, or evil spirits. The Mâhâdêv Kôlîs of Ahmadnagar believe that every malady or disease, which seizes man, woman, child or cattle, is caused either by an evil spirit or by

44 Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, Vol. I. p. 169.
45 *Fort. Rev.* Vol. VI. p. 563.
46 Scott's *Border Minstrels*, p. 28.
47 *Fort. Rev.* Vol. VI. pp. 418-569.
48 Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 189.
49 From MS. notes.
50 Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 21.
51 Hislop's *Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, App. VI.
52 *Early History of Man*, p. 109.
53 Scott's *Border Minstrels*, p. 442.
54 Shway Yoe's *The Burman*, Vol. II. p. 209.
55 *Careri* (1695) *in Churchill*, Vol. IV. p. 361.
56 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 116.
57 *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. X. pp. 283, 285, 294.
58 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 22.
59 Smith's *Classical Dictionary*.
60 *Eur. Rat.* Vol. I. p. 47.
61 Scott's *Demonolatry and Witchcraft*, p. 128.
62 From MS. notes.

an angry god;[63] and the Bîjâpur Vaddars have a yearly feast to their ancestors to prevent the dead bringing sickness into the house.[64] In the *Dâbistân*[65] it is stated that in Kalinga in East India (1649 A. D.) every village had a spirit called by some particular name, each supposed to be the author of some disease. One was called *anambaram*. In North Bhutân all diseases are believed to be special spirits, and the only treatment is by exorcising.[66] Among the Gâros when a man sickens, the priest asks what god has done it.[67] The Kûkîs and nearly all aboriginal tribes hold that disease is caused by evil spirits.[68] The Khonds think disease is sent either by a god, or by an angry ancestor.[69] The Bâstâr Kôis believe that death is generally caused by female spirits, probably at the instigation of an enemy.[70] The Katals, or Kurumbals, of Malabâr, a higher class slave tribe, believe that the spirits of men after death inflict diseases, and are appeased by the offerings of distilled liquor, which the votary drinks, after calling on the spirit to partake of it.[71] The Mogayers, South Kânara fishermen, believe that evil spirits cause disease, and so in cases of sickness they call in Billavars, and even Musalmân exorcists.[72]

The old Persians had, as the Pârsî sacred books still have, a spirit-explanation for almost all diseases. Fever was made by the devil.[73] Sickness, fever, cold, and shivering gather at the Tower of Silence.[74] The Pârsî has also a spirit of blindness,[75] of hunger and thirst,[76] of bad swelling,[77] and of irregular sickness.[78] The Prophet Muḥammad,[79] held that all diseases were the work of devils, except fever, which was a foretaste of hell-fire.[80]

The Chinese believe that all diseases are caused by the spirits of the unfriendly dead.[81] The inhabitants of Melanesia believe that all sickness and mischief to the living is the work of the ghosts of the dead, who are always seeking an opportunity to do evil. So, for fear of *tamates*, no one will go about at night, unless he carries a light, which ghosts are afraid of. If a child is sick, it is thought that it has wandered within reach of some ghost. When a man goes out of his mind, it is thought that a ghost has possessed him, and wonderful things are thought to be done by one in such a condition.[82] The Australians believe that diseases are caused by evil spirits.[83] The Inthlangwains near Natal do not know how long the spirit of a dead person lives. They attribute every untoward occurrence to the influence of the spirit, and if sickness comes, slaughter a beast to please the spirit.[84] Among the Wazaramos of East Africa, whenever any one is ill he is supposed to be possessed by the evil one.[85] In East Africa all disease is believed to be caused by spirits or winds. The spirit doctor drives out the spirit by music and hard exorcism.[86] The Tanalas of Madagascar believe that death is caused by spirits, and so at the grave a man shouts: "This is what ye[87] get; you must not follow after his children. This is the one you have got."[88] The Indians of Arizona believe that death is caused by the devil.[89]

The next step was that **only certain diseases came to be attributed to spirits.** Thus the Mângellâs of Thânâ believe that most diseases and misfortunes in life are due to *bhûts*, evil spirits, witchcraft, or to the influence of the nine planets.[90] The palm-tappers of South Kânara, called Billavars, believe that most women are liable to spirit-possession.[91] The Wasnaluli

[63] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVII. p. 200.
[64] *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 212.
[65] Vol. II. p. 160.
[66] Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 97.
[67] *Op. cit.* p. 60.
[68] *Op. cit.* p. 43.
[69] Macpherson's *Khonds*, p. 76.
[70] *Jour. R. A. Soc.* Vol. XIII. p. 416.
[71] 1800 A. D., Buchanan's *Mysore*, Vol. II. p. 498.
[72] *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 63.
[73] Bleek's *Avesta*, Vol. I. p. 12.
[74] *Op. cit.* p. 63.
[75] *Op. cit.* p. 56; *Yaśna*, Vol. X.
[76] Bleek's *Avesta*, Vol. I. pp. 63-65.
[77] *Op. cit.* p. 69.
[78] *Op. cit.* p. 12.
[79] A. D. 612.
[80] *Fort. Rev.* Vol. VI. p. 426.
[81] *Jour. Ethno. Soc.* Vol. II. p. 21.
[82] Codrington in *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. X. p. 284.
[83] Wallace's *Australasia*, p. 100.
[84] Gardiner's *Zulu Country*, p. 314.
[85] Thomson's *Central Africa*, p. 104.
[86] Burton's *Central Africa*, Vol. II. p. 353.
[87] *I. e.*, spirits of the dead ancestors.
[88] Sibree's *Madagascar*, p. 237.
[89] *First Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Washington.
[90] From MS. notes.
[91] Buchanan's *Mysore*, Vol. III. p. 53.

of East Africa believe that many diseases are caused by evil spirits, or *pepo*, who get into the body, and must be driven out.[92]

As men advanced in knowledge and power, the assumption that all diseases or most diseases, are caused by spirits was narrowed into the belief that some diseases, or certain diseases, are caused by spirits. The diseases thus attributed to spirits were sudden sicknesses, seizures, fainting, mania, rheumatism, small-pox, barrenness, cholera, and other epidemics. In the Kônkan the lower and middle classes, and to some extent even the higher classes, believe all these diseases to be due to the influence of spirits.

The following examples shew, too, how widely the belief that spirits cause disease is, or has been, entertained. In North Kânara, thirty miles up the Kârwâr river, a place named Kadêiî, when Dr. Buchanan visited it (1792), had for many years been troubled by a curious sickness: The people, who were Brâhmans, thought the epidemic was the work of an enraged *bhût* or spirit.[93] The Komarpaiks, a class of North Kânara husbandmen, believe that the spirits of children, whose mothers die in pregnancy, become *bhûts* or devils, and enter into people and cause sickness. The sufferers attempt to be relieved by prayer and sacrifice, and some villages are supposed to know charms which drive the spirits away.[94] In the Deccan, when a Chitpâvan woman suffers greatly in child-birth, a priest is called who reads the passages from the *Veds* and *Purâns* which drive away evil spirits.[95] In Bengal, whenever a woman is seized with a sudden sickness she is supposed to be witch-ridden.[96] The Brinjârîs of Mysore in 1792 claimed the right to put witches to death, because all sickness among children was due to witchcraft.[97] The Coorgs believe that diseases of men and cattle rarely come in the natural order of things, but are due either to magic or to an enemy.[98] In Mysore, an acute conical mound of mud, on a round base, ornamented with wild flowers is set up to keep off cattle-disease. It is called Kâtama Râya.[99] In Mysore men are possessed and bewitched by spirits, who lodge in trees and burial-grounds.[100] Among the Kols of the Central Provinces when any one falls ill, the ancestors are propitiated.[1] The early Brâhmans in India were always troubled by spirits and demons.[2] In Mysore and North Tulu, if the worship of Bhûtâ is neglected, he is supposed to cause sickness and suffering. If a sacrifice is made to Bhûtâ he takes the spirit or life of the sacrifice, and gives no more trouble.[3] Children get epileptic fits from 'Siva.[4] Sneezing is due to spirit-possession. The Pârsîs say a prayer when they sneeze.[5]

The Circassians believe that diseases are caused by spirits.[6] In Egypt, Mr. Douglas has seen barren women pass under the belly of an elephant, to drive out the haunting spirit of barrenness.[7] The Jews held that madness was the work of a spirit, and at the time of Christ spirits were believed to cause madness, fits, and other forms of disease.[8]

The Burmans believe that witches, called *sôns*, kill people and give epileptic fits,[9] and that some diseases are caused by bones and other things being forced into the body by witches.[10] Epidemics are specially believed to be due to spirits. In Burma, when cholera appears in a village, the people climb on to the roofs of the houses and beat them with bamboos and billets of wood.[11] Sometimes, when a person is sick, a small coffin and a tiny corpse are buried, and the

92 News' *East Africa*, p. 68.

93 Buchanan's *Mysore*, Vol. III. p. 188. [See also in this *Journal*, "Devil Worship of the Tuluvas," *passim*.—ED.]

94 *Op. cit.* p. 185.

95 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 112.

96 Ward's *View of the Hindus*, Vol. III. p. 210.

97 Wilk's *South of India*, Vol. III. p. 211.

98 Rice's *Mysore*, Vol. III. p. 211.

99 *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 363.

100 *Op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

1 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 33.

2 Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. IV. p. 632.

3 Buchanan's *Mysore*, Vol. III. p. 107.

4 Ward's *View of the Hindus*, Vol. I. p. 234.

5 *Dâbistân*, Vol. I. p. 313.

6 Balfour's *Encyc.* Vol. V. p. 531.

7 From MS. notes. Compare :—In Gujarât, when an ascetic of the Dundiâ sect dies, women who seek the blessing of a male child strive to secure it by creeping beneath his litter (Forbes' *Râs Mâla*, Vol. II. p. 332).

8 From MS. notes.

9 Shway Yoe's *The Burman*, Vol. II. p. 126.

10 Fytche's *Burma*, Vol. II. p. 80.

11 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 104.

disease disappears.[12] The Burmans use the following articles to cure sores or spirit-diseases :— the hand of a lizard, sulphur, the bulb of a white lily, roast chillies, and cock's dung.[13] A Burman, also when suffering from headache, hangs up pictures of peacocks and hares under the eaves; headache is considered a sun-(or a moon-)stroke, and the peacock belongs to the sun and the hare to the moon.[14] Spirits are considered one of the chief causes of disease in Burma,[15] and the Buddhist novice is asked if he is free from madness or other ills caused by giants, witches, or the evil spirits of forests and hills.[16] In China epidemics are supposed to be devil-caused.[17] The Chinese believe that drought is caused by evil spirits,[18] and also any sickness that does not give way to medicine.[19] The belief that spirits cause disease, is wide-spread in China.[20] Ancestors are supposed to cause sickness if their tombs are neglected; they are appeased by the present of paper money and paper clothes.[21] When a Chinaman has had an ill-omened dream he fills his mouth with water, slashes the air with a sword, and holding a red or yellow scroll in his hand says: "O scroll, avert all evil influences."[22] In China, spirits are supposed to raise storms, especially the summer squalls known as "devils' winds,"[23] and the stye is exorcised by a priest in order that the pigs may not become diseased.[24] The spirits of cows are much feared in China, and must be driven away by exorcists or priests; otherwise the whole herd may die.[25] In China, when many people are drowned the belief is that the spirits of the poor have caused the accident. They have had no proper funeral and so are angry.[26]

The West Australians believe that sickness is caused by evil spirits; doctors go round the sick man, and shout to keep the devil away. They do not believe in natural death,[27] but believe that fatal sickness is caused by their medicine-men, called Boglias, who can kill even at a distance from the power of some stones in their stomachs.[28] In Australasia, illness and death, especially of the young, is attributed either to sorcery or to evil spirits.[29] The Motus of New Guinea connect a sudden attack of illness with an evil spirit, called Vata. He is supposed to live in the bush; they neither worship nor propitiate him in any way. When a person is taken ill they say Vata has killed him; the patient's life is despaired of, and little or nothing is done to him. In rare cases some leaves and roots are used as an antidote in charming diseases.[30] Spirits cause epidemics, and so the Motus after an epidemic drive away the disease-spirit by beating sticks, shouting, making a noise generally, and throwing burning sticks into the air.[31] The Samoans hold that all disease marks the displeasure of some god. In cases of sickness the village priest is consulted, gifts are made, and mouthfuls of water are sprinkled over the sick bed.[32]

The Tanalas of Madagascar believe that sudden death is caused by witchcraft; and other tribes, especially the Sihanakas, think all death to be due to witchcraft. When the dead is in the tomb the Sihanakas say: "Whoever it is that has bewitched you, break him upon the rock that the children may see it."[33] The people of Madagascar believe that any one who is sick is possessed by an evil spirit.[34] In East Africa a madman is said to have fiends.[35] Barrenness is a spirit disease, and so in South Central Africa a baton of wood covered with grass is rubbed on a woman to cure her of barrenness.[36] The people of South Central Africa think that sickness is due either to spirits or to sorcery.[37] The inhabitants of the country to

[12] Shway Yoe's *The Burman*, Vol. II. p. 138.
[13] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 140.
[14] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 137.
[15] Fytche's *Burma*, Vol. II. p. 79.
[16] Shway Yoe's *The Burman*, Vol. I. p. 138.
[17] Gray's *China*, Vol. II. p. 31.
[18] *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 148.
[19] Cubbold's *China*, p. 69.
[20] Gray's *China*, Vol. II. p. 17.
[21] *Op. cit.* p. 23.
[22] *Op. cit.* p. 13.
[23] *Op. cit.* p. 286.
[24] *Op. cit.* p. 169.
[25] *Op. cit.* p. 158.
[26] *Op. cit.* p. 35.
[27] *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. V. p. 319.
[28] *Op. cit.* Vol. VII. p. 289.
[29] Wallace's *Australasia*, p. 108.
[30] *Op. cit.* p. 483.
[31] *Op. cit., loc. cit.*
[32] Pritchard's *Polynesian Remains*, p. 147.
[33] Sibree's *Madagascar*, p. 291.
[34] *Op. cit.* p. 295.
[35] Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 130.
[36] Pinto's *How I crossed Africa*, Vol. I. p. 337.
[37] *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 130.

the north of the Zambesi, have a great fear of spirits. They think that spirits cause sickness and wish to take away the living. When one man has killed another, a sacrifice is made to lay the ghost.[38] The South-West Africans believe that if the spirits of the departed are appeased, there is no other cause of death except witchcraft.[39] Sneezing is supposed to be spirit-caused. Gardiner notes that when Dingaru, a Zulu chief, sneezed, his people said :— "May he grow greater."[40] The Nubras divide diseases into two classes, wind or spirit diseases and blood diseases.[41] The Moors of Morocco, when they stumble or fall, stain their clothes, cut their fingers, break a pot, or hear an ass bray, say : — "God damn the devil."[42] The old belief that spirits cause diseases seems to have been modified by the Moors of North Africa, who now consider every sickness a judgment.[43]

The American Indians almost universally believe that death is caused by witchcraft.[44] The Zaparo Indians of South America think illness and death due to sorcery.[45] In the West Indies, Columbus (1495) found a sorcerer, who pulled diseases off the patient as one pulls off a pair of trousers;[46] and the Californian Indians spend all their time in shaking off evil spirits.[47]

Homer's[48] Greeks thought that disease was caused by a demon,[49] and this belief was upheld by Pythagoras.[50] Madness they thought was due to a spirit.[51] The Romans called madmen *lymphati*, ghost-haunted, and a Temple of Fever stood on the Palatine Hill.[52] The Roman matrons were cured of barrenness by being beaten with thongs by the priest of the Lupercalia. The Lupercalia continued to be held in Rome till the middle of the fifth century.[53] The Skandinavians believed that Runic letters eased women in labour, kept off poison, dispelled evil thoughts, and cured child-diseases and melancholy.[54] In Russia, the ague is called the Female Neighbour or the Female Friend. Ague is a spirit which will worry her patient till she goes, and before she goes she appears in terrible dreams.[55] Toothache is cured in Russia by rubbing on the gum the ends of candles, which have been burnt in church.[56] Barrenness is supposed to be a spirit-disease, and so in France, even to-day, women are said to sit on dolmens to cure sterility.[57] Formerly in England it was held that pestilences and other diseases and sicknesses were due to wicked spirits. In the *Episteles and Gospelles*, London, imprinted by Richard Bankes, a sermon on "Rogation Dayes" runs : — "In these Rogation Days, it is to be asked of God and prayed for, that God of His goodness will defend and save the corn in the field and that He will vouchsafe to purge the air; for this cause be certain Gospels read in the wide fields among the corn and grass, that by the virtue and operation of God's word the power of the wicked spirits, which keep in the air and infect the same (whence come pestilence and other kinds of diseases and sicknesses), may be laid down and the air made pure and clean to the intent the corn may remain unharmed and not infected of the said hurtful spirits."[58] In England a stoppage in the throat was supposed to be due to witchcraft, or spirits, and the following remedy was resorted to as a cure : — "Hold the diseased by the throat, and say — 'Blaze, the martyr and servant of Jesus Christ, commands thee to pass up or down.' "[59] In England convulsions were an attack of dwarves.[60] Pestilences came in human form.[61] Barrenness was a spirit-disease, which was believed to affect trees, as well as men and women. So, till 1790, the Devonshire farmers used to go round their apple

38 Livingstone's *Travels in South Africa*, p. 484.
39 *Op. cit.* p. 440.
40 Gardiner's *Zulu Country*, p. 52.
41 Schweinfurth's *Heart of Africa*, Vol. II. p. 325.
42 Rohlf's *Morocco*, p. 60.
43 *Op. cit.* p. 76.
44 *First Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Washington, p. 158.
45 *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. VII. p. 506.
46 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 129.
47 Bancroft, Vol. III. p. 497.
48 B. C. 1000.
49 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 137.
50 B. C. 540.
51 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 138.
52 Pliny's *Natural History*, Vol. I. p. 8.
53 Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, Vol. IV. p. 78.
54 Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, p. 118.
55 Mrs. Romanoff's *Rites and Customs of the Græco-Russian Church*, p. 226.
56 *Op. cit.* p. 90.
57 Walhouse in *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. VII. p. 34.
58 Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. I. pp. 201, 202.
59 *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 52.
60 Taylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 140.
61 *Op. cit.* Vol. I. pp. 295, 296.

trees on Twelfth Day in order that they might bear well.[62] In Herefordshire, under the name of Wassailing, the following rites were observed :—At the approach of evening, on the vigil of the Twelfth Day, the farmers, with their friends and servants, used to meet together, and at about six o'clock walk to a field of wheat. In the highest part of the ground twelve small fires and one large fire were lighted. The attendants, headed by the master of the family, pledged the company in old cider, which circulated freely. A circle was formed round the large fire, and a general shouting and hallooing was raised. Sometimes fifty or sixty of these fires might be seen at once.[63] In England, the "falling sickness," like barrenness, was considered to be a spirit-disease. Lupton in his *Book of Notable Things* (1660), p. 40, says: — "Three nails, made in the vigil of the Midsummer Eve and driven in so deep that they cannot be seen, in the place where the party doth fall that hath the falling sickness, doth drive away the disease quite."[64] Sir T. Browne (1660) thought fits to be natural, but heightened by the power of the devil and of witchcraft.[65] Spirits cause certain diseases, and so Prospero[66] tells Ariel to charge his goblins, to grind Caliban's joints with dry convulsions, to shorten his sinews with aged cramps, and make him more pinch-spotted than a cat-a-mountain. In Yorkshire, St. Vitus' dance was believed to be caused by an evil eye or a witch.[67] The belief in the spirit-theory of disease is still common in rural England. Fits, the falling sickness, ague, cramp and warts are all believed to be caused by a spirit going into the patient's body. These diseases are cured, — that is, the spirit who causes the disease is scared, —by a charm. In the charm, the disease is addressed as a spirit or being :— thus, in ague the charm runs: "Ague, farewell till we meet in hell;" and cramp is addressed: "Cramp, be thou faultless, as our Lady was sinless when she bore Jesus."[68] In Lancashire, the people think casting out the ague is the same as casting out the devil, for it is the devil in the sick man that makes him shiver and shake.[69] Warts are cured by rubbing them with a green elder stick and burying the stick.[70] In certain parts of England, fits and hiccough are still believed to be possessions, and are cured by charms.[71] Severe bleeding at the nose is in England thought to be caused by a spirit sucking the blood. In a case recorded in Northumberland a woman's nose bled so dangerously that the husband went to call a wizard. On his way the wizard crossed a stream between him and the woman's house, muttered a spell, and said that the bleeding had stopped. The husband went home, and finding that the bleeding had not stopped, returned to the wizard, who remembered that there was a second stream. He crossed this stream, repeated the charm, and the bleeding was stayed.[72] Big neck, or goitre, was cured in England by the touch of a dead hand, especially of that of a suicide,[73] and shoes used to be set cross-wise near a bed to keep off cramp.[74] In Scotland epilepsy is still supposed to be fiend-possession. One cure was to put the epileptic in bed with his dead mother, apparently in the belief that the evil-spirit that caused the disease would leave the sufferer and go into the dead.[75] In parts of England (1870) erysipelas is thought to be a spirit called Ceronsepel. The charm for erysipelas runs:—"Ceronsepel coming in at the town end. By the name of the Lord I medisen thee."[76] The people of Moray in Scotland pare the finger and toe nails of a hectic person, tie them in a rag, and wave the rag thrice round his head sunways, *deas soil*, and bury the rag. So, according to Pliny, did the Druids.[77]

1. *Effect of the belief that Spirits cause disease.*

One result of the universal belief that disease is caused by unfriendly spirits is the anxiety to find out articles[78] that scare spirits. The early Hindus found that the juice of

62 Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 29.
63 *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 30.
64 *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 336.
65 Scott's *Demonolatry and Witchcraft*, p. 264.
66 *Tempest*, IV. ; 1.
67 Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 152.
68 Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, pp. 158-164.
69 *Op. cit.* p. 163.
70 *Op. cit.* p. 165.
71 *Op. cit.* pp. 145-149.
72 Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 153.
73 *Op. cit.* p. 153.
74 *Op. cit.* p. 155.
75 Mitchell's *Highland Superstitions*, p. 24.
76 Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 150.
77 Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 150.
78 The names of the principal articles, which were believed to scare spirits, are given under the heading "Articles which scare Spirits."

the holy basil, or tulsî, restored consciousness, removed pain in the ear, cured scratches, and ringworm, and destroyed *krîmî*, or intestinal worms. They also perceived that the smell of the basil flower was sweet, and that the basil leaf, when eaten, was agreeable to the taste. They, therefore, held that the sweet basil scared spirits, and so was a Guardian. So they made garlands and necklaces of sweet basil leaves and stems; and the necklace was called *tulsî-patî*, a name still borne by a gold ornament worn by Hindu women. In the same way it was found that the darbha, or durva, grass was healing or spirit-scaring, and so *pavitrîs*, or purifying rings of this grass, were worn on the fingers. In the Bombay Kônkan, where rice is the staple food, it was considered to contain some divine principle. Four deities were supposed to live in rice: — *Brahmâ* the creator, *Ravi* the sun, *Sôma* the moon, and the *Marudgaṇas* the wind-gods. As rice was the abode of gods, it was thought to be a protection against unfriendly spirits. They, therefore, worshipped rice, and, to scare spirits, put into their ears fresh ears of the rice called *bugdî*, a practice which is preserved in the Hindu female ear-ornament *bugdî* or *mugdî*.[79]

In early times, especially in India, the cow was considered the most useful of animals. Its milk gave strength and vigour, its urine and dung were medicinal, and its head gave a yellow substance, called *gôrôchan*, which was found a valuable cure for child-diseases. Everything that appertained to the cow was taken to be sacred and spirit-scaring. So the word *pâtala* in Sanskrit means "pale-red" or "cow-coloured," and hence the *pâtalî*, or cow-coloured ornament worn by Hindu females. Again it was believed that the sacred thread of Brâhmans kept off spirits, partly because it has several knots called *Brahmâ granthîs*: knots, or knotted things, being a spell against evil spirits. Hence the *gânthalê*, or knotted necklace, and the *gântha*,[80] or knotted earring, worn by the low class Hindus.

Palm-leaves, beads, and certain teeth and bones were supposed to possess the power of dispelling spirits, and so the wearing of ornaments made of palm-leaves, beads and ivory came into fashion. Thus, the Hindu *tanmanî* and *kâlîgâthî* ornaments, which are now made of gold or pearls, were formerly made of black beads, the word *kâlîgâthî* meaning black beads or black knots, and *tanmanî* meaning beads of life. Similarly the chief neck ornament of married Hindu females, called *galaśrî* or neck-luck, must, as a rule, be of black beads. *Pâtalîs* made of ivory are still worn by Hindu women, and are considered to be more auspicious than either gold or pearl ornaments.

With the working of metals came the discovery of the healing value of minerals. The Hindus considered *lôhabhasma*, the ashes of iron, *tâmrabhasma*, the ashes of copper, and *raupyabhasma*, the ashes of silver, to be the elixir of life. Again, as branding the patient with an iron or copper rod was found an effective cure for certain diseases, which were supposed to be spirit-caused, the belief spread that metal was a great spirit-scarer. So they exchanged their ornaments of grass, tree-leaves, bones and beads for ornaments of iron, copper, silver and gold.

2. *Ornaments scare Spirits.*

The meanings of many of the ornaments worn by Hindu women support this view of the general history of personal ornament.

Among Head-ornaments are: — *Kêtaka*, the Sanskrit *kêtaki*,[81] the flower of the *Pandanus odoratissimus*, a golden hair ornament worn by Hindu women. *Kamal*, the Sanskrit *kamala*, a lotus, a hair ornament resembling a lotus. *Kuluka*, the Sanskrit *kalittha*, Marâṭhî *kulîta*, a bunch of the *Glycine tomentosa* leaves, is worn on the hair: the word also means a golden hair ornament, which is otherwise called *mûda*, the joy-giver. *Chândanî*, the Sanskrit *chandra*, moon,

79 Molesworth's *Marâṭhî Dictionary*. The *bugdî* resembles an ear of rice.

80 Sk. *granthi*, a knot.

81 *Pandanus odoratissimus*.

a full-moon shaped gold ornament worn on the hair. *Chandrakôr*, the Sanskrit *chandra*, moon, and *kôra*, a part or portion: a half quarter-moon head ornament. *Châmpyâchibâr*, the Sanskrit *champaka*, the *châmpâ* tree,[82] and *bâr* a row: a golden hair-ornament resembling a row of *châmpâ* flowers. *Gulâbâchêphul*, the Marâṭhî *gulâb*, rose, and *phul*, a flower: a golden head ornament like a rose flower. *Gôndâ*, the Marâṭhî *gôndâ*, the *Globe amaranth*: a golden and silken head-ornament like a bunch of *Globe amaranth* flowers. *Nâg*, the Sanskrit *nâga*, a serpent, a gold snake-shaped ornament.

Among **Nose-ornaments** are: — *Nath*, apparently the Marâthi *nâth*, the juice of a plant administered through the nose, a common nose-ornament. *Vâlî*, the Marâṭhî *vâlî*, *Bassella rubra*, a pearl nose-ring.

Among **Ear-ornaments** are: — *Bugdî*, the Marâṭhî *bugdî*, a kind of rice, a gold ornament like a rice ear. *Bâlî*, the Sanskrit *baḷi*, Marâṭhî *baḷ*, strength, a gold and pearl ornament supposed to protect or strengthen. *Gânthâ*, the Sanskrit *granthi*, Marâṭhî *gântha*, a knot: any knotted ear-ornament worn by low class Hindus *Lavangê*, the Marâṭhî *lavang*, clove, a golden ear-ornament resembling a clove. *Kudên*, the Marâṭhî *kudên*, a root shoot of turmeric, rice, ginger, or garlic, an ear-ornament worn by females.

Among **Neck-ornaments** are: — *Javâchimâl*, the Marâṭhî *java*, barley, and *mâl*, a garland: a garland of gold beads like barley grains. *Châmpekalichîmâl*, the Marâṭhî *châmpâ*, *kaḷî*, a bud, and *mâl*, a garland: a golden garland resembling *châmpâ* flowers. *Hâr râmnâmâchâ*, the Marâthî *hâr*, a garland, and *râmanâma*, the name of the god Râma: golden garland, on which the name of the god Râma is written. *Tulsîpattî*, the Marâṭhî *tulsî*, sweet basil, and *pattî*, a necklace: a necklace of *tulsî* leaves or stalks, a golden necklace. *Chinchpattî*, the Marâṭhî *chinch*, tamarind, and *pattî*, a necklace: a gold necklace. *Vajratîka*, the Sanskrit *vajra*, thunderbolt, and Marâṭhi *tîka*, a bit: an ornament worn round the neck, as powerful a guardian as a bit of Indrâ's thunderbolt.

Among **Hand-ornaments** are: — *Bângdî*, probably the Marâṭhî *bângdâ*, a kind of fish: said to have been adopted by the Hindus from the Muhammadans: — orthodox Hindu ladies prefer the *pâtalî* or cow-colour, which was supposed to avert evil. *Vâlâ*, the Marâṭhî for the sweet-rooted grass, *Andropogon muricatum*, a round golden hand ornament. *Pâtalî*, the Sanskrit pale red or cow-coloured, a cow-coloured ornament of gold or ivory.

Among **Foot-ornaments** are: — *Vâlâ*, the Marâṭhî name for the *Andropogon muricatum*, a foot-ornament of silver. *Phulên*, the Marâṭhî word *phul*, a flower: silver foot-ornaments, *Mâsôlyâ*, the Sanskrit *matsya*, Marâṭhî *mâsâ*, a fish: a silver fish-shaped toe-ornament.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

A TELUGU SUPERSTITION.

The Telugus, as a rule, wear *dhôtîs*, but occasionally also *pâejâmas*, extending from the waist to the knee, and fastened round the waist by a cord, called *nada*, run through a turned in border or selvedge by means of a small stick, which they say should be split in two before it is thrown away when done with, or the wearer of the *pâejâmas* will become lean. Repeated failure of the superstition has had as yet no effect on its prevalence.

M. N. VENKETSWAMY.

[82] *Michelia champaca.*

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT NATESA SASTRI, B. A., M.F.L.S.

No. 38. — The Talisman of Chastity.

(Continued from p. 344.)

MEANWHILE the fair name of Ambikâ had been spoiled by the minister of Vijayânagara. But she had no idea of how great the mischief was that had been done. All she had wanted were funds for the 'Saiva temple, which her lord had ordered her to acquire for herself. The funds had been acquired in the manner directed. So when the merchant, after giving away all that he had to Dêvî, left Madura for the north, and when all this property was safely and secretly collected and kept in the choultry, Ambikâ said to Dêvî:—

"My dear friend, I mean to entrust the building of the 'Saiva temple to you, for I must leave this place soon, if I am to execute the last hard condition of my lord. Meanwhile, you must daily go to the palace to receive the dole for our maintenance. Everything must go on, as if I remained here. Not a word, not a syllable, must escape from your lips about my absence. The building of the 'Saiva temple, opposite to our choultry, must commence from to-morrow, and slowly must the work go on. You must keep a regular account of all the money that you spend upon it, and it must be built strictly from the funds that we have acquired from the merchant."

Dêvî listened eagerly to what all Ambikâ said, and put her a thousand questions, and promised to do all that a maid-servant could do in helping Ambikâ.

Now, as her lord left her for Banâras, the princess had determined to follow him there in disguise, for successfully accomplishing the last and the most severe of his conditions — that she should, through him and without his knowledge, — give birth to a son. But she now saw that unless she had strong help the successful execution of her project would be an extremely difficult, nay, an impossible, task. So she wrote to her father secretly about her hard life, and why she had to go to Banâras, and saying that for this journey she wanted a good retinue composed of men and women quite foreign to India, a very confidential man for superintending her affairs at Madura, and ample funds for her journey and stay at Banâras. Her father had the greatest regard for his daughter, and so he at once sent men and money, and, as desired by his daughter, made the whole retinue wait at a day's journey from Madura. The men and women that composed this retinue were all persons from the Siṁhaladvîpa, and the king made two of his confidential ministers assume the guise of common men of that island, and ordered them to obey the princess's orders.

One of these men was to superintend the work that Dêvî was to undertake for the 'Saiva temple; and great was Ambikâ's delight when she saw him near her, disguised as a beggar. She came to know through him that a retinue of a hundred men and a hundred women, with another person, disguised like himself, was waiting for her at a day's journey from Madura. Her joy knew no bounds when she heard of this. She called Dêvî to her side, recommended her to the confidential friend in disguise, and made arrangements that the 'Saiva temple should be built by him with funds supplied by Dêvî. She then took a box from the hands of the disguised friend, which contained something for her from her father, and went in to her own room. After a *ghaṭika* she returned, and the persons found a strange prince standing before them, and no longer the princess Ambikâ, for the box that the princess received from her father contained a complete set of a male dress. The confidential friend accompanied the disguised Ambikâ to the spot where the retinue was waiting, and returned to Madura to attend to his duty. Thus did Ambikâ, disguised as a prince, begin her long, troublesome and rapid pilgrimage to Banâras. She reached the sacred city a day after her lord's arrival there, and took up her abode opposite to his house, calling herself, in her disguise, the prince of Siṁhaladvîpa.

The several festivities, the music and the nautch parties were purposely held in the house of the Siṁhaladvîpa prince to attract the attention of the Pâṇḍiyan prince. But the latter never for a moment had any reason to suspect that these things were wholly done for his sake,

and he was for several days eagerly waiting for an opportunity to get himself introduced to one whom he considered to be the happiest prince in the world. In about a couple of months after his arrival in Banâras, he was allowed to become the friend of the prince of Siṁhaladvîpa, and little by little the friendship between the two princes grew thicker and thicker, till on a certain day the Siṁhaladvîpa prince thus questioned his friend:—

"O Pâṇḍiya, notwithstanding the several festivities, nautches and music that I get up day after day on your account, I now and then find that you are absent-minded. There must be some cause for all this. Though we have become bosom friends now, you have not been free with me. Tell me now, please, what lurks in your mind, and let me try my best to console you."

The prince then related all about his wife, except her banishment to the choultry, and so his listener came to understand who the pearl merchant had been. The Siṁhaladvîpa prince laughed freely over the story, and this want of politeness enraged the vexed husband very much.

"You laugh now, O Siṁhala! I do not know how you would have liked these things, if your wife had behaved thus towards you," said the Pâṇḍiyan prince, to which the listener replied: —

"Thank God, O Pâṇḍiya, I have no wife. I shall never marry one."

Now that the topic had been once mooted, there were several occasions in the next and succeeding days on which they had again to revert to it. Though Ambikâ, disguised as the Siṁhala prince, had laughed over the volley of abuse that her husband, without knowing who his listener was, had showered upon her, there was no sadder soul in the world than herself at the time.

"Thus, thought she, "has my lord been deceived by the Vijayânagara minister, and believes me to be a bad woman and disbelieves my talisman, and calls it a magic. It is my fate to undergo such hardship. Let things only go on as I wish them now, and I shall soon win over my lord to my side."

One evening, the Siṁhala prince thus consoled his friend: —

"From all that I can gather from your speech, you seem to envy my happy life in the midst of so many courtezans, while you look upon your stay opposite to me all alone as a great hardship. If you have no objection, I can easily send you one of these courtezans for company."

The Pâṇḍiyan prince gladly accepted his friend's suggestion, and from that night, the Siṁhala prince assumed the disguise of a courtezan of Siṁhaladvîpa during the nights, and spent them with her lord. The Pâṇḍiyan prince never suspected that the prince and the courtezan, who visited him every night, were one and the same person. Thus matters continued till Ambikâ became certain of her pregnancy, and the moment she was certain of this, her whole thoughts were fixed on Madura. But before she thought of returning there, she secured the best of his ornaments from her lord — of his finger and ear rings, garlands, and even of the talisman of lotuses which she had given him. Having no more thought of his bad wife, and never suspecting the courtezan to be a princess or his wife, he gave her all that she asked, and more. The object of the pilgrimage of the princess to Banâras was now successfully accomplished, and four full months she had spent happily with her lord.

One day, the following letter was shewn to the Pâṇḍiyan prince by the Siṁhala prince: —

"My dearest son! Your presence is urgently needed here. Start at once and come away. You have spent too long a time at the sacred city."

"Do you see, O Pâṇḍiya, this letter from my father? I cannot stay long. I must be off in a day or two. Though we may part now, we shall meet soon, I hope. Before I go, I want to advise you a bit, encouraged to do so by our long friendship. On your return to your country take care first to dive into the whole secret of your wife's conduct, before you think of punishing her. She may still be chaste, and the minister's story after all a lie. He might have purchased the ornaments easily from some maid-servants."

The Pâṇḍiyan thanked the Siṁhala for his good advice. Now that a kind and good friend suggested it to him, this idea — that the Vijayânagara minister's version of his wife's

character might after all be a tale, and that the ornaments might have been got by unfair means, occurred to him at once. But the original warmth of his true regard to his singular wife, which he had before he came to Vijayânagara, was gone. He promised to himself secretly that, on his return, he would sift the matter well before taking any harsh steps, and no sooner had this idea entered into his head than he also wanted to return to his country.

The Siṁhala prince, after intimating to his friend that he would be going down to the south in a few days, resolved within himself that his departure must be sudden, secret and rapid. All arrangements necessary for this were secretly made, and executed the very next day. The third morning after the letter was seen by the Pâṇḍiyan prince he saw the mansion opposite to his house vacant, and the inmates all gone. On asking the landlord, he was told of the abrupt departure of the inmates to their country on the previous night.

"What," thought the Pâṇḍiya. "Is friendship a mere name without any meaning attached to it, that my friend, the Siṁhala, should thus quit this place without one word as to the time of his leaving? But let me not accuse him. I was advised by him only the other day not to be so hasty and foolish in believing the Vijayânagara minister's accusation against my wife."

Thus thought he, and made arrangements for going also to his country.

As soon as the princess Ambikâ in her male disguise left Banâras, she requested her confidential friends to hasten the journey as much as possible, and reached Madura in four months' time. As might be expected, she sent away to her father all the men and women who had formed her retinue a day's journey from her choultry, and taking only two chosen and trustworthy friends with her, she reached her poor habitation safely in the middle of the night. She met her confidential friend and Dêvî. Great were their rejoicings at this happy meeting, and Ambikâ was delighted to find that the temple was almost approaching to completion. The other part of her promise, too, she expected to be fulfilled in a couple of months in the natural course of circumstances. No one ever doubted that the princess had not remained in the choultry, for the morning doles had been regularly received, and now Dêvî and the other servants were mightily pleased at all the steps Ambikâ had taken for successfully retrieving her character. She requested them all to keep everything to themselves till her lord's return.

Six months after her return to Madura, her lord, the prince of the Pâṇḍiya country, returned to his palace from his pilgrimage to the north. The first news that he heard, when entering his dominions, was a scandal about his banished wife. Births and deaths cannot be kept secret for long time, and it became known throughout the palace first, then throughout the city, that the banished princess had given birth to a son. Then the whole Pâṇḍiyan realm came to know of it. This event took place just four months before the return of the prince, who, after leaving Banâras, travelled in haste for a few days to join the Siṁhala prince, but, being unable to catch him up and obtain news of his movements, had taken his own time for his return journey.

The prince's return was welcome to all in the capital, except to himself, for though now and then he consoled himself with the thought that the character of a banished princess should not at all put him out of his usual peace of mind, the scandal, as it appeared to him, was in the mouth of every one, and made him hang his head. His father the old king gave the prince a very kind and hearty welcome, but at their first meeting, it so happened that Dêvî also was waiting to receive her morning dole. All the anger which the prince was keeping to himself broke out at once at the sight of that maid-servant:—

"Has your lady a baby with her?" asked the prince.

"Yes, my lord," replied she.

"Cannot the father of that child feed you all?" roared out the prince, his tone of speech having changed itself by anger to a high pitch.

Coolly the maid-servant replied: — "Your Highness, my lord, is its father, and, in keeping with your Highness's orders, I come daily to the palace gates."

The prince, who had not the slightest reason to connect himself with its origin, thought himself doubly insulted by the cutting remarks by the maid-servant. He would have rushed at her and plunged his dagger in her body, had not half a dozen friends near him held him back, fearing his attitude. He abused her, and several people had already rushed at her to push her away, when the old king restored order, and severely reprimanded Dêvî.

But she was glad at heart that unwittingly the matters had taken such a course.

"Let me be abused and thrashed," thought she. "I shall be proud of having brought this separation between the prince and his chaste wife the sooner to an end."

With this thought, she bowed very respectfully to the prince, and requested him to turn his mind back to the Siṁhala prince, and that she was not at all joking, but in earnest, when she said that he was the father of the beautiful baby. She even went out of her way, and remarked that in all the fourteen worlds there could not be found a better lady than the princess of Akhaṇḍakâvêrî.

The prince's face changed colour when the name of the Siṁhala prince fell into his ears.

"What? Is it possible! What connection is there with that company in Banâras and the baby's birth here? Let me enquire," thought he.

Dêvî was not that day permitted to return to the choultry. Immediately, the princess with her baby and the other maid-servants were sent for. The prince, overcome by extreme anger, had forgotten all his hard conditions, which he had imposed on his wife before he started for the sacred city :— the raising of the Śaiva temple and the giving birth to a son by his own self without his knowledge.

Ever obedient to orders issued by her lord or his father, Ambikâ, with her little baby at her bosom, arrived at the court like an ordinary woman without any reference to her position. But what did she, the gem of womankind, care for all the outward formalities? Her face, which bore on every line of it, furrows of deep anxiety and misery, indicated for all that her chaste innate character. Reaching the court she bowed with grace to her father-in-law and then to her lord. When questioned by the former as to who was the father of the baby, she replied :—

"Respected father-in-law. Your noble son and my husband is its father. Let him kindly remember the Siṁhala prince, his friend, at Banâras, and the courtezan that visited him every night there. This is that courtezan, and the cause of all this is the imposition of two severe conditions, which your own son will explain to you, sire. If he is doubtful of the courtezan, let him please examine these ornaments, which he presented to me."

Here she placed before the old king all the jewels that her husband had given her in her disguise as a courtezan. She then explained her whole story, from the beginning of her wedding night to that moment. All the people concerned in the affair were called and examined. The further the examination went the more the prince began to admire his chaste wife. What hardships, what renunciations she had undergone to please the whims of his own bad self? Even the Vijayânagara minister with his sovereign had to come in to give evidence, and on the former's saying that the princess he slept with for a night, as a pearl merchant, had a mole in her right cheek, the last lingering doubt in the minds of the most suspicious of men assembled there was removed. This on examination was proved to exist on the face of the maid-servant who had put on the disguise of the princess for a night. The examination was thorough and extremely minute, and before it was over there was not a single soul in the court, who did not condemn the prince for his bad treatment of his excellent wife, nor praise Ambikâ for all her successful adventures and noble execution of her undertakings for unsullied fame.

The prince was more than sufficiently pleased. He took back with pleasure his virtuous wife, and many were the occasions when they recounted their Banâras adventures. Once thus closely united by so many pleasant recollections and adventures they never became separated afterwards in their life. Ambikâ, by her purity of conduct, soundness of learning, and kindness to every one, became an object of respect to every person, and even to her husband. And they now lived together happily for a long time.

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